THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER, *Plutarke of Chæronea*:

Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMIOT, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuie counsell, and great Amner of France, and out of French into English, by *Thomas North*.

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TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCESSE ELIZABETH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF ENGLAND, *Fraunce, and Ireland Queene, defender of the Faith, &c.*

VNDER hope of your highneſſe gratious and accuſtomed fauor, I haue preſumed to preſent here vnto your Maieſtie, Plutarkes liues tranſlated, as a booke fit to be protected by your highneſſe, and meete to be ſet forth in Engliſh. For who is fitter to giue countenance to ſo many great ſtates, than ſuch an high and mightie Princeſſe? who is fitter to reuiue the dead memorie of their fame, than ſhe that beareth the liuely image of their vertues? who is fitter to authorize a worke of ſo great learning and wiſedome, than ſhe whom all do honor as the Muſe of the world? Therefore I humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, to ſuffer the ſimpleneſſe of my tranſlation, to be couered vnder the ampleneſſe of your highneſſe protection. For, moſt gracious Soueraigne, though this booke be no booke for your Maieſties ſelf, who are meeter to be the chiefe ſtorie, than a ſtudent therein, and can better vnderſtand it in Greeke, than any man can make it Engliſh: yet I hope the common ſort of your ſubiects, ſhall not onely profit them ſelues hereby, but alſo be animated to the better ſeruice of your Maieſtie. For among all the profane books that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your highneſſe beſt knowes) that teacheth ſo much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and deuotion to Princes, as theſe liues of Plutarke do. How many examples ſhall your ſubiectes reade here, of ſeuerall perſons, and whole armies, of noble and baſe, of young and old, that both by ſea and land, at home and abroad, haue ſtrayned their wits, not regarded their ſtates, ventured their perſons, caſt away their liues, not onely for the honor and ſafetie, but alſo for the pleaſure of their Princes?

Then well may the Readers thinke, if they haue done this for heathen kings,

what ſhould we doe for Chriſtian Princes? If they haue done this for glorie, what ſhould we do for religion? If they haue done this without hope of heauen, what ſhould we do that looke for immortalitie? And ſo adding the encouragement of theſe examples, to the forwardneſſe of their owne diſpoſitions: what ſeruice is there in warre, what honor in peace, which they will not be readie to do, for their worthie Queene?

And therfore that your highnes may giue grace to the booke, and the booke may do his ſeruice to your Maieſtie: I haue tranſlated it out of French, and do here moſt humbly preſent the ſame vnto your highneſſe, beſeeching your Maieſtie with all humilitie, not to reiect the good meaning, but to pardon the errors of your moſt humble and obedient ſubiect and ſeruant, who prayeth God long to multiply all graces and bleſſings vpon your Maieſtie. VVritten the 16. day of Ianuarie. 1579.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient ſeruant,

Thomas North.

TO

To the Reader.

THE profit of ſtories, and the praiſe of the Author, are ſufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epiſtle to the Reader: ſo that I ſhall not neede to make many words therof. And indeed if you will ſupply the defects of this tranſlation, with your owne diligence and good vnderſtanding: you ſhall not neede to truſt him, you may proue your ſelues, that there is no prophane ſtudie better then Plutarke. All other learning is priuate, fitter for Vniuerſities then cities, fuller of contemplation than experience, more commendable in ſtudents themſelues, than profitable vnto others. Whereas ſtories are fit for euery place, reach to all perſons, ſerue for all times, teach the liuing, reuiue the dead, ſo farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to ſee learning in noble mens liues, than to reade it in Philoſophers writings. Now for the Author, I will not denie but loue may deceiue me, for I muſt needes loue him with whom I haue taken ſo much paine: but I beleeue I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitableſt ſtorie of all Authors. For all other were faine to take their matter, as the fortune of the countreys whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath choſen the ſpeciall actes of the beſt perſons, of the famouſeſt nations of the world. But I will leaue the iudgement to your ſelues. My onely purpoſe is to deſire you to excuſe the faults of my tranſlation, with your owne gentleneſſe, and with the opinion of my diligence and good intent. And ſo I wiſh you all the profite of the booke. Fare ye well. The foure and twentie day of Ianuarie. 1579.

THOMAS NORTH.

Amiot to the Readers.

THe reading of bookes which bring but a vaine and vnprofitable pleasure to the reader, is iustly misliked of wise and graue men. Againe, the reading of such as doe but only bring profit, and make the reader to be in lone therwith, and doe not ease the paine of the reading by some pleasantnes in the same: doe seeme somewhat harshe to diuerse delicate wits, that cannot tary long vpon them. But such bookes as yeeld pleasure & profit, and doe both delight and teach, haue all that a man can desire why they should be vniuersally liked and allowed of all sorts of men, according to the common saying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth winne the price in euery poynt aright.

Either of these yeeld his effect the better, by reason the one runneth with the other, profiting the more because of the delight, and delighting the more because of the profit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to haue pleasure and profit matched together, which kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this wise arme in arme, hath more allowance then any other kind of writing or inuention of man. In respect whereof it may be reasonably auowed, that men are more beholding to such good wittes, as by their graue and wise writing haue deserued the name of Historiographers, then they are to any other kind of writers: because an historie is an orderly register of notable things sayd, done, or happened in times past, to maintaine the continuall remembrance of them, and to serue for the instruction of them to come.

And like as memorie is as a storehouse of mens conceits and deuises, without the which the actions of the other two parts should be vnperfect, and wellneere vnprofitable: so may it also be sayed, that an historie is the very treasury of mans life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, & the wonderfull aduentures and strange cases, (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserued from the death of forgetfulnes. Hereupon it riseth that Plato the wise sayeth, that the name of historie was giuen to this recording of matters, to stay the fleeting of our memorie, which otherwise would be soone lost, and retaine litle. And we may well perceiue how greatly we be beholding vnto it, if we doe no more but consider in how horrible darkenes, and in how beastlie and pestilent a quamyre of ignorance we should be plunged: if the remembraunce of all the things that haue bene done, and haue happened before we were borne, were vtterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will ouerpasse the excellencie and worthines of the thing it selfe, forasmuch as it is not onely of more antiquitie then any other kinde of writing that euer was in the world, but also was vsed among men, before there was any vse of letters at all: because that men in those daies deliuered in their life times the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songs, which they caused their children to learne by hart, from hand to hand, as is to be seen yet in our daies by the exãple of the barbarous people that inhabite the newfound landes in the VVest, who without anie records of writings, haue had the knowledge of things past, welneare eight hundreth yeares afore. Likwise I leaue to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, & durablest monument that men can leaue of their doings in this world, to cõsecrate their names to immortality. For there is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor arch of triumph, nor Pillar, nor sumptuous sepulcher, that can match the durablenesse of an eloquẽt history, furnished with the properties which it ought to haue. Againe, I mind not to stand much vpon this, that it hath a certaine troth in it, in that it alwayes professeth to speake truth, and for that the proper ground thereof is to treate of the greatest and highest things that are done in the world: insomuch that (to my seeming) the great profit thereof is as Horace saith, that it is commonly called the mother of troth and vprightnesse, which commendeth it so greatly, as it needeth not elsewhere to seeke any authoritie, or ornament of dignitie, but of her very selfe. For it is a certaine rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth vs to iudge of things present, and to foresee things to come: so as we may know what to like of, and what to follow, what to mislike, and what to eschue. It is a picture, which (as it were in a table) setteth before our eyes the things worthy

of

of remembrance that haue bene done in old time by mighty nations, noble kings and Princes, wise gouernours, valiant Captaines, and persons renowmed for some notable quality, representing vnto vs the maners of strange nations, the lawes and customes of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations and enterprises, the means that they haue vsed to compasse thē withall, & their demeaning of them selues when they were come to the highest, or throwne down to the lowest degree of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or warre, in publike or priuate affaires, but that the person which shall haue diligently read, well conceiued, and throughly remembred histories, shall find matter in them whereat to take delight, and counsell whereby to resolue him selfe to take a part, or to giue aduice vnto others, how to chuse in doubtfull & dangerous cases that, which may be for their most profit, and in time to findout to what point the matter will come if it be well handled: and how to moderate him selfe in prosperitie, and how to cheare vp and beare him selfe in aduersitie. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacie, and speed, than the bookes of morall Philosophie do: forasmuch as examples are of more force to moue and instruct, than are the arguments and proofes of reason, or their precise precepts, because examples be the very formes of our deedes, and accompanied with all circumstances. Whereas reasons and demonstrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into vnderstanding: and examples tend to the shewing of them in practise and execution, because they do not only declare what is to be done, but also work a desire to do it, as well in respect of a certaine naturall inclination which all men haue to follow examples, as also for the beautie of vertue, which is of such power, that wheresoeuer she is seene, she maketh her selfe to be loued and liked. Againe, it doth things with greater weight and grauitie, than the inuentions and deuises of the Poets: because it helpeth not it selfe with any other thing than with the plaine truth, whereas Poetry doth commonly inrich things by commending them aboue the starres and their deseruing, because the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreouer, it doth things with more grace and modestie than the ciuill lawes and ordinances do: because it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, than to chastise or punish. And yet for all this, an historie also hath his maner of punishing the wicked, by the reproch of euerlasting infamie, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance, which is a great meane to withdraw them from vice, who otherwise would be leudly and wickedly disposed. Likewise on the contrarie part, the immortall praise and glorie wherewith it rewardeth weldoers, is a very liuely and sharpe spurre for men of noble courage and gentlemanlike nature, to cause them to aduenture vpon all maner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high courage and wisedome, who for desire to continue the remembrance of their name, by the sure and certaine record of of histories, haue willingly yeelded their liues to the seruice of the common weale, spent their goods, sustained infinit paines both of bodie and mind in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of lawes and gouernments, and in the finding out of artes and sciences necessarie for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithfull registring whereof, the thanke is due to histories. And although true vertue seeke no reward of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her selfe with the conscience of her well doing: yet notwithstanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to draw men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honour of their vertuous deeds, seeing that honor doth naturally accompany vertue, as the shadow doth the body. For we commonly see, not to feele the sparkes of desire of honor, is an infallible signe of a base, vile and cloynish nature: and that such as account it an vnnecessarie, needlesse, or vnseemely thing to be praised, are likewise no doers of any things worthy of praise, but are commonly men of faint courage, whose thoughts extend no further than to their liues, whereof also they haue no further remembrance, than is before their eyes. But if the counsell of old men be to be greatly esteemed, because they must needes haue seene much by reason of their long life: and if they that haue trauelled long in strange countries, and haue had the managing of many affaires, and haue gotten great experience of the doings of this world, are reputed for sage, and worthy to haue the reynes of great gouernments put into their hands: how greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, which is able to furnish vs with more examples in one day, than the whole course of the longest life of any man is able to do? Insomuch that they which exercise them selues in reading as they ought to do, although they be but yong, become such in respect of vnderstanding of the affaires

of this world, as if they were old and gray headed, and of long experience. Yea though they neuer haue remoued out of their houses, yet are they aduertised, informed, and satisfied of all things in the world, as well as they that haue shortened their liues by innumerable trauels and infinite daungers, in running ouer the whole earth that is inhabited: whereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done and come to passe before they were borne, continue still as children, though they be neuer so aged, and are but as strangers in their owne natiue countreyes. To be short, it may be truly sayd, that the reading of histories is the schoole of wisedome, to fashion mens vnderstanding, by considering aduisedly the state of the world that is past, and by marking diligently by what lawes, maners, and discipline, Empires, kingdomes and dominions, haue in old time bene stablished, and afterward maintained and increased: or contrariwise changed, diminished, and ouerthrowen. Also we reade, that whensoeuer the right sage and vertuous Emperour of Rome, Alexander Seuerus, was to consult of any matter of great importance, whether it concerned warres or gouernment: he alwayes called such to counsell, as were reported to be well seene in histories. Notwithstanding I know there are that will stand against me in this point, and vphold that the reading of histories can serue to small purpose, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: because skill consisteth in action, and is ingendred by the very experience and practise of things, when a man doth well marke and throughly beare away the things that he hath seene with his eyes, and found true by proofe, according to the saying of the ancient Poet Afranius:

My name is Skill, my Syre Experience hight,
And Memorie bred and brought me foorth to light.

Which thing was meant likewise by the Philosopher that sayd, that the hand is the instrument of skill. By reason whereof it comes to passe (say they) that such as speake of matters of gouernment and state, but specially of matters of warre by the booke, speake but as booke knights, as the French prouerbe termeth them, after the maner of the Grecians, who call him a booke Pilot, which hath not the sure and certaine knowledge of the things that he speakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the vnderstanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that consist in the deed doing, where the hand is to be set to the worke: no more then the often hearing of men talk and reason of painting, or the disputing vpon colors, without taking of the pensill in hand, can stand a man in any steed at all to make him a good painter. But on the contrary part, many haue proued wise men and good Captaines, which could neither write nor reade. Besides this, they alleage further, that in matters of warre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by meanes whereof the slights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, will serue the turne no more than mynes that are blowen vp. According whereunto Cambyses telleth his sonne Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Musicke the newest songs are commonly best liked of for once, because they were neuer heard afore: So in the warres, those pollicies that neuer were practised afore, are those that take best successe, & commonly haue the best effect, because the enemies do least doubt of them. Neuertheless I am not he that will maintaine that a wise gouernor of a common weale, or a great Captaine can be made of such a person, as hath neuer trauelled out of his study, and from his bookes: howbeit that which Cicero writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieutenant of the Romanes, to make warre against king Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the warres, and yet afterward he bestowed so great diligence in the reading of histories, & in conferring vpon euery point with the old Captaines and men of long experience, whom he caried with him, that by the time of his comming into Asia, where he was in deede to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a very sufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: in so much that by those wayes, cleane contrary to the common order of warre, he discomfited two of the most puissant, and greatest Princes that were at that time in the East. For his vnderstanding was so quicke, his care so vigilant, and his courage so great, that he needed no long trayning, nor grosse instruction by experience. And although I graunt there haue bene diuerse Gouernours and Captaines, which by the onely force of nature (furthered by long continued experience) haue done goodly and great exployts: yet can it not be denied me, but that if they had matched the giftes of nature with the knowledge of learning & the reading of histories, they might haue done much greater things, and they might haue become much more perfect. For like as in euery other cunning and skill wherein a man intendeth

tendeth to excell: so also to become a perfect & sufficient person to gouerne in peace & warre, there are 3 things of necessity required, namely, nature, art, & practise. Nature (in the case we treate of) must furnish vs with a good mother wit, with a body well disposed to endure all maner of trauell, and with a good will to aduance our selues: Arte must giue vs iudgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wise discourses that we haue read & double read in good histories: and practise will get vs readines, assurednes, & the ease how to put things in execution. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a vertue of the minde which teacheth a man the meane poynt betweene the two faultie extreamities of too much & too litle, wherein the commendation of all doings consisteth. And whosoeuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely tryall of experience, and had rather learne it at his owne cost, than at another mans: he may well be of the number of those that are touched by this auncient prouerbe, which sayth, Experience is the schoolemistresse of fooles: because mans life is so short, and experience is hard and dangerous, specially in matters of warre, wherin (according to the saying of Tamachus the Athenian Captaine) a man can not faulte twice, because the faultes are so great, that most commonly they bring with them the ouerthrow of the state, or losse of the liues of those that doe them. Therefore we must not tarie for this wit that is wonne by experience, which costeth so deare, and is so long in comming, that a man is oft times dead in the seeking of it before he haue attained it, so as he had neede of a second life to imploy it in, because of the ouerlate comming by it. But we must make speede by our diligent and continuall reading of histories both old and new, that we may enioy this happinesse which the Poet speaketh of:

Three things necessary for a Magistrate, or Captaine.

Prouerbe.

A happie wight is he that by mishappes
Of others, doth beware of afterclappes.

By the waye, as concerning those that say that paper will beare all things: if there be any that vnworthylie take vppon them the name of Historiographers, and doe deface the dignitie of the storie for hatred or fauour, by mingling any vntruth with it: that is not the faulte of the historie, but of the men that are partiall, who doe abuse that name vnworthylie, to couer and cloake their owne passions withall, which thing shall neuer come to passe, if the writer of the storie haue the properties that are necessarilie required in a storie-writer, as these: That he set aside all affection, be voyde of enuie, hatred, and flatterie: that he be a man experienced in the affayres of the world, of good vtteraunce and iudgement, to discerne what is to be sayed and what to be left vnsayed, and what would doe more harme to haue it declared, than doe good to haue it reproued or condemned: forasmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to serue the common weale, and that he is but as a register to set downe the iudgementes and definitiue sentences of goddes Court, whereof some are giuen according to the ordinarie course and capacitie of our weake naturall reason, and other some goe according to gods infinite power and incomprehensible wisedome, aboue and against all discourse of mans vnderstanding, who being vnable to reach to the bottome of his iudgementes and to finde out the first motions and groundes thereof, doe impute the cause of them to a certaine fortune, which is nought else but a fained deuise of mans wit, dazeled at the beholding of such brightnesse, and confounded at the gazing of so bottomlesse a deepe, howbeit, nothing commeth to passe nor is done without the leaue of him that is the verie right and truth it selfe, with whom nothing is paste or come, and who knoweth and vnderstandeth the verie originall causes of all necessitie. The consideration whereof teacheth men to humble themselues vnder his mightie hande by acknowledging that there is one first cause which ouerruleth nature, whereof it commeth, that neither hardinesse is all wayes happie, nor wisedome all wayes sure of good successe. These so notable commodities are euerie where accompanied with singular delights, which proceedeth chiefly of diuersitie and noueltie wherein our nature delighteth and is greatly desirous of: because wee hauing an earnest inclination towards our best prosperitie and aduancement, it goth on still seeking it in euery thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But forasmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content it selfe vnder the cope of heauen, it is soone wearie of the things that it had earnestly desired before, and so goeth on wandering in the vnskilfullnesse of her likings whereof she neuer ceasseth to make a continuall changing vntill she haue fully satisfied her desires, by attayning to the last end, which is to be knit to her chiefe felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodlines and goodnes. This liking of variety cannot be better releeued, than by that which is the finder-

out and the preſeruer of time, the father of all noueltie, and meſſenger of antiquitie. For if we finde a certaine ſingular pleaſure, in harkening to ſuch as be returned from ſome long voyage, and do report things which they haue ſeene in ſtrange coũtries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of liues, differing from ours: and if we be ſometime ſo rauished with delight and pleaſure at the hearing of the talke of ſome wiſe, diſcreete, and well ſpoken olde man, from whoſe mouth there floweth a ſtreame of ſpeech ſweeter than honny, in rehearſing the aduentures which he hath had in his greene & youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath endured, and the perils that he hath ouerpaſſed, ſo as we perceiue not howe the time goeth away: howe much more ought we to be rauished with delight and wondering, to behold the ſtate of mankind, & the true ſucceſſe of things, which antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the ſetting vp of Empires, the ouerthrow of Monarchies, the riſing and falling of kingdomes, and all things els worthie admiration, & the ſame liuely ſet forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that ſo liuely, as in the very reading of them we feele our mindes to be ſo touched by them, not as though the things were already done and paſt, but as though they were euen then preſently in doing, and we finde our ſelues caried away with gladneſſe & griefe through feare or hope, well neare as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithſtanding we be not in any paine or danger, but onely conceiue in our mindes the aduerſities that other folkes haue endured, our ſelues ſitting ſafe with our contentation and eaſe, according to thoſe verſes of the Poet Lucretius.

It is a pleaſure for to ſit at eaſe
Vpon the land, a nd ſafely for to ſee
How other folkes are toſſed on the ſeaes,
That with the bluſtring windes turmoyled be.
Not that the ſight of others miſeries
Doth any way the honeſt hart delight,
But for becauſe it liketh well our eyes,
To ſee harmes free that on our ſelues might light.

Alſo it is ſeene that the reading of hiſtories doth ſo holde and allure good wits, that diuers times it not onely maketh them to forget all other pleaſures, but alſo ſerueth very fitly to turne away their griefes, and ſometimes alſo to remedie their diſeaſes. As for example, we find it written of Alphonſus king of Naples, that Prince ſo greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wiſedome and goodneſſe, that being ſore ſicke in the city of Capua, when his Phiſicions had ſpent all the cunning that they had to recouer him his health, and he ſaw that nothing preuailed: he determined with himſelfe to take no mo medicins, but for his recreation cauſed the ſtorie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deeds of Alexander the great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke ſo wonderfull pleaſure, that nature gathered ſtrength by it, and ouercame the waywardnes of his diſeaſe. Whereupon hauing ſoone recouered his health, he diſcharged his Phiſitions with ſuch words as theſe: Feaſt me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, ſith they can no skill to helpe me to recouer my health: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could ſo good skill to helpe me to recouer my health. Now if the reading & knowledge of hiſtories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I ſay it is much more for great Princes and Kings, becauſe they haue to do with charges of greateſt weight and difficultie, to be beſt ſtored with giftes and knowledge for the diſcharge of their duties: ſeeing the ground of ſtories is, to treate of all maner of high matters of ſtate, as warres, battels, cities, coũtries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it ſeemeth more fit for them, than for any other kind of degrees of men: becauſe they being bred and brought vp tenderly, and at their eaſe, by reaſon of the great regard and care that is had of their perſons (as meet is for ſo great ſtates to haue) they take not ſo great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth thoſe to take which will learne the noble ancient languages, and the painefull doctrine comprehended in Philoſophie. Againe when they come to mans ſtate, their charge calleth thẽ to deale in great affaires, ſo as there remaineth no exerciſe of wit more conuenient for thẽ, than the reading of hiſtories in their own tongue, which without paine is able to teach them euen with great pleaſure and eaſe, whatſoeuer the painefull workes of the Philſophers concerning the gouernment of common wealthes can shewe them, to make them skilfull in the well ruling & gouerning of the people and coũtries that God hath put vn-

der

der their ſubiection. But the worſt is, that they euer (or for the moſt part) haue ſuch maner of perſons about them as ſeeke nothing els but to pleaſe them by all the wayes they can, and there are verie few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas on the contrary part, an hiſtory flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of ſuch as were like them in greatneſſe of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalerius (a man renowmed aſwell for his skill in the good gouernment of a common weale, as for his excellent knowledge otherwiſe) counſelled Ptolomy, firſt king of Aegypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he ſhould often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the gouernment of kingdoms, becauſe (ſaid he) thou ſhalt find many things there, which thy ſeruantes and familiar friends dare not tell thee. Moreouer this is another thing, that ſuch great perſonages cannot eaſily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions, to goe view ſtrange countries as priuate perſons doe: becauſe the iealouſie of their eſtate, and the regard of their dignity, requires that they ſhould neuer be in place where another man might cõmand them. And oftentimes for want of hauing ſeene the countries, and known the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they haue aduentured vpon attempts without good ground: to auoide the which, the inſtruction they may haue by the reading of hiſtories, is one of the eaſieſt & fitteſt remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cauſe then onely this laſt, ſurely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of hiſtories, wherein are written the heroicall deedes of wiſe and valiant men, ſpecially of kings that haue bene before them, the conſideration whereof may cauſe them to be deſirous to become like them, ſpecially which were of ſtately and noble courage: becauſe the ſeedes of Princely vertues that are bred with themſelues, doe then quicken them vp with an emulation towards thoſe that haue bene or are equall in degree with them, aſwell in reſpect of noblenes of blood, as of greatnes of ſtate, ſo as they be loth to giue place to any perſon, and much leſſe can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alleadged, if the thing were not ſo well knowen of it ſelfe, that it were much more againſt reaſon to doubt of it, than needfull to proue it. Therfore a man may truly conclude, that an hiſtorie is the ſchoolemiſtriſſe of Princes, at whoſe hand they may without paine, in way of paſtime, and with ſingular pleaſure learne the moſt part of the things that belong to their office. Now, according to the diuerſitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and maner of writing that it vſeth, it hath ſundry names giuen vnto it: But yet among the reſt there are two chiefe kinds. The one which ſetteth downe mens doings and aduentures at length, is called by the common name of an hiſtorie: the other which declareth their natures, ſayings, & maners, is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both do cloze very neare in one, yet doth the one reſpect more the things, and the other the perſons: the one is more common, and the other more priuate: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceed from within: the one the euents, the other the conſultations: betweene the which there is oftentimes great oddes, according to the anſwer of the Perſian Siramnes, to ſuch as maruelled how it came to paſſe, that his deuiſes being ſo politicke had ſo vnhappy ſucceſſe: It is (quoth he) becauſe my deuiſes are wholly frõ my own inuention, but the effects of them are in the diſpoſition of fortune & the king. And ſurely among all thoſe that euer haue taken vpon them to write the names of famous men, the chiefe prerogatiue, by the iudgement of ſuch as are cleareſt ſighted, is iuſtly giuen to the Greeke Philoſopher Plutarke, borne in the citie of Chæronea in the country of Bœotia, a nobleman, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt, if they liſt to read them throughout, who all his life long euen to his olde age, had to deale in affaires of the common weale, as he himſelfe witneſſeth in diuers places, ſpecially in the treatiſe which he intituled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the gouernment of a common weale or not: *and who had the hap & honor to be ſchoolmaiſter to the Emperor Traian, as is commonly beleeued, and as is expreſsly pretended in a certaine Epiſtle ſet before the Latine tranſlation of his matters of ſtate, (which to ſay the truth) ſeemeth in my iudgement to be ſomewhat ſuſpitious, becauſe I find it not among his works in Greeke, beſides that it ſpeaketh as though the booke were dedicated to Traian, which thing is manifeſtly diſproued by the beginning of the booke, and by diuers other reaſons. Yet notwithſtanding becauſe me thinks it is ſagely & grauely written, and well beſeeming him: I haue ſet it downe heere in this place. Plutarke vnto Traian ſendeth greeting. I know well that the modeſtie of your nature was not deſirous of Some-*

« raignтie, though you haue alwayes indeuored to deſerue it by your honorable conuerſation: by reaſon « whereof you haue bene thought ſo much the worthier of it, as you haue bene found the further off « from all ambition. And therefore I do now reioyce in your vertue & my fortune, if it be ſo great as « to cauſe you to adminiſter that thing with iuſtice, which you haue obtained by deſert. For otherwiſe « I am ſure you haue put your ſelfe in hazard of great dangers, and me in perill of ſlanderous tongues, « becauſe that Rome cannot away with a wicked Emperour, and the common voice of the people is al- « wayes wont to caſt the faultes of the ſchollers in the teeth of their ſchoolemaiſters: as for example: « Seneca is rayled vpon by ſlanderous tongues, for the faults of his ſcholler Nero: the ſcapes of Quinti- « lians young ſchollers are imputed to Quintilian himſelfe: and Socrates is blamed for being too mild « to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you ſhall doe all things well enough ſo you keepe you as you « are. If you firſt ſet your ſelfe in order, and then diſpoſe all other things according to vertue, all things « ſhall fall out according to your deſire. I haue ſet you downe the meanes in writing, which you muſt « obſerue for the well gouerning of your common weale, and haue ſhewed vnto you of how great force « your behauior may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follow thoſe things, you haue Plutarke « for the director & guider of your life: if not, I proteſt vnto you by this Epiſtle, that your falling into « danger to the ouerthrow of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke. This Epiſtle witneſſeth plainly that he was the ſchoolemaiſter of Traian, which thing ſeemeth to be auowed by this writing of Suidas: Plutarke being borne in the citie of Chæronea in Bœotia, was in the time of the Emperour Traian, and ſomewhat before. But Traian honored him with the dignity of Conſulship, and commaunded the officers and magiſtrates that were throughout all the country of Illyria, that they ſhould not doe any thing without his counſell and authoritie. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am of opinion, that Traian being ſo wiſe an Emperour, would neuer haue done him ſo great honor, if he had not thought himſelf greatly beholding to him for ſome ſpeciall cauſe. But the thing that maketh me moſt to beleeue it true, is, that the ſame goodneſſe and iuſtice appeared to be naturally imprinted in moſt of Traians ſayings and doings, whereof the patterne and mould (as a man might terme it) is caſt and ſet downe in Plutarkes Morals, ſo as men may perceiue expreſly, that the one could well skill to performe rightly, that which the other had taught wiſely. For Dion writeth, that among other honors which the Senate of Rome gaue by decree vnto Traian, they gaue him the title of the Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that euen vnto his time, when a new Emperour came to be receiued of the Senate, among the tries of good hanſell, and the wiſhes of good lucke that were made vnto him, one was: happier be thou than Auguſtus, and better than Traian. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtood, it is very certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes vnto him. But when he had liued a long time at Rome, and was come home againe to his owne houſe, he fell to writing of this excellent worke of Liues, which he calleth Parallelon, as much to ſay, as a coupling or matching together, becauſe he matcheth a Grecian with a Romane, ſetting downe their liues each after other, and comparing them together, as he found any likeneſſe of nature, conditions, or aduentures betwixt them, and examining what the one of them had better or worſer, greater or leſſer than the other: which things he doth with ſo goodly and graue diſcourſe euery where, taken out of the deepeſt and moſt hidden ſecrets of morall and naturall Philoſophy, with ſo ſage precepts & fruteſull inſtructions, with ſo effectuall commendation of vertue, and deteſtation of vice, with ſo many goodly allegations of other authors, with ſo many fit comparisons, & with ſo many high inuentions: that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treaſory of all rare & perfect learning, than by any other name. Alſo it is ſayd, that Theodarus Gaza, a Grecian of ſingular learning, and a worthie of the auncient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar friends (which ſaw him ſo earneſtly giuen to his ſtudie, that he forget all other things) what author he had leuereſt to chuſe, if he were at that peint that he muſt needes chuſe ſome one to hold him to alone, did aunſwere, that he would chuſe Plutarke: becauſe that if they were all put together, there was no one both ſo profitable, and ſo pleaſant to reade, as he. Soſſius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his worke, was a Senatour of Rome, as witneſſeth Dion, who writeth that the three perſons whom Traian moſt loued and honoured, were Soſſius, Parma, and Celſus, inſomuch that he cauſed images of them to be ſet vp. « True it is that he wrote the liues of many other mẽ, which the ſpiteſulnes of the time hath bereft vs of, among which he himſelfe maketh mention of the liues of Scipio Africanus, & Metellus Numidi-

cus.

cus. And I haue read a litle Epiſtle of a ſonne of his, whoſe name is not expreſſed, copied out of an old copie in the Librarie of S. Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, a regiſter of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the couples of lines, he ſetteth downe the liues of Scipio and Epaminondas, and laſtly the liues of Auguſtus Cæſar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But hauing vſed all the diligence that I could in ſearching the chiefe Libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could neuer finde them out. Onely I drewe out certaine diuerſities of readings, and many corrections, by conferring the old written copies with the printed bookes: which haue ſtood me in great ſtead to the vnderſtanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I haue reſtored by coniecture, by the iudgement and helpe of ſuch men of this age, as are of greateſt knowledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine ſome places vnamended, howbeit very few, becauſe ſome lines were wanting in the originall copies, whereof (to my ſeeming) it was better for me to witneſſe the want by marking it with ſome ſtarre: than to gueſſe at it with all aduenture, or to adde any thing to it. Now finally, if I haue ouershot my ſelfe in any thing, as it is verie eaſie to do in ſo hard and long a worke, ſpecially to a man of ſo ſmall abilitie as I am: I beſeech the Readers, to vouchſafe for my diſchatge, to admit the excuſe which the Poet Horace giueth me, where he ſayth:

A man may well be ouerſeene
In workes that long and tedious beene.

Specially ſith that of ſo many good men, and men of skill as haue heretofore ſet hand to the tranſlating of it, there was neuer yet any one found that went through with it in any language, at leaſt wiſe that I haue ſeene or heard of: and that ſuch as haue enterpriſed to tranſlate it, ſpecially into Latine, haue euidently witneſſed the hardneſſe thereof, as they may eaſily perceiue which liſt to conferre their tranſlations with mine. Neuertheleſſe if it ſo fortune that men find not the ſpeech of this tranſlation ſo flowing, as they haue found ſome other of mine, that are abrode in mens hands: I beſeech the readers to conſider, that the office of a fit tranſlator, conſiſteth not onely in the faithfull expreſſing of his authors meaning: but alſo in a certaine reſembling and ſhadowing out of the forme of his ſtyle, and the maner of his ſpeaking: vnleſſe he will commit the error of ſome painters, who hauing taken vpon them to draw a man liuely, do paint him long where he ſhould be ſhort, and groſſe where he ſhould be ſlender, and yet ſet out the reſemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harſh or rude ſoeuer my ſpeech be, yet am I ſure that my tranſlation will be much eaſier to my countrimen, than the Greeke copie is, euen to ſuch as are beſt practiſed in the Greeke tongue, by reaſon of Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing, which is rather ſharpe, learned, and ſhort, than plaine, polished, and eaſie. At the hardeſt, although I haue not compaſſed my matters ſo happily as ye could haue wiſhed and deſired: yet do I hope that your Lordſhips in reading it will hold the parties good will excuſed, which hath taken ſuch paines in doing of it to profit you. And if my labour be ſo happie, as to content you: God be praiſed for it, which hath giuen me the grace to finish it.

THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED BY Plutarke of Chæronea.

Theseus. pag.1.
Romulus. Pag.20. } compared.41.

Lycurgus. pag.44.
Numa Pōpilius.p. 66. } compared.82.

Solon. pag.86.
Publicola. pag.107. } cōpared. 120.

Themistocles. pag. 123.

Furius Camillus. pag. 142.

Pericles. pag 166.
Fabius Maximꝰ. p.190 } cōpared. 206.

Alcibiades. pag.209.
Coriolanus. pag.235. } cōpared. 257.

Paulus Æmilius.p.260
Timoleon. pag.283. } cōpared. 303.

Pelopidas. pag.305.
Marcellus. pag.327. } cōpared. 346.

Aristides. pag. 348.
Marcus Cato.pa.369. } cōpared. 387.

Philopœmen. pa.391.
T.Q.Flaminius.p.405 } cōpared. 420.

Pyrrus. pag.422.

Caius Marius. p.447.

Lysander. pag.476.
Sylla. pag.495. } cōpared. 521.

Cimon. pag.524.
Lucullus. pag539. } cōpared. 572.

Nicias. pag.575.
Marcus Crassus.p.596 } cōpared. 618.

Sertorius. pag.621.
Eumenes. pag. 637. } cōpared. 650.

Agesilaus. pag.651.
Pompeius. pag.673. } cōpared. 714.

Alexander. pag.717.

Iulius Cæsar.pag.758

Phocion. pag. 791.

Cato Vtican.pag.809

Agis & Cleomenes.pa.842.
Tiberius and Caius Gracchi pag. 864. } compared. 883

Demosthenes.pa.886
Cicero.pag. . 911. } cōpared. 937.

Demetrius. pag.940.
Antonius. pag. 968. } cōpared.1009

Artaxerxes. pag.1013.

Dion. pag.1028.
Marcus Brutus.p.1053 } cōpared.1078

Aratus. pag.1081.

Galba. pag.1186.

Otho. pag.1119.

Annibal. pag.1129.
Scipio African. p.1154. } cōpared.1171.

Liues 50.

THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKES AND ROMAINES, THE MOST OF THEM COMPARED together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer PLVTARCH of Chœronea.

Theseus.

LIKE as the historiographers which do set forth the description of the earth in figure (my friend *Sossius Senecio*) are wont to place in the lowermost part of their mappes, the farre distant regions vnknowne vnto them, and to marke in the margent such like notes and reasons as these: beyond these countreyes are nothing but deepe drye sands without water, full of foule ill fauoured venimous beasts, or much mudde vnnauigable, or SCYTHIA forsaken for cold, or else the sea frosen with Ise. Euen so in this my historie, I could speake of strange things and more ancient, and further off from mens memorie. But herein I haue compared the liues of some noble men, the one with the other, hauing followed all those times, whereof the monuments remaine yet so whole, that men may speake of verie great likelihood, or rather write a very troth. What hath bin written before, is but of strange faynings, and full of monstrous fables, imagined and deuised by Poets, which are altogether vncertaine, and most vntrue. Howbeit hauing heretofore set foorth the liues of *Lycurgus* (which established the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and of king *Numa Pompilius*, me thought I might with reason also asced vnto the time of *Romulus*, sithens I was come so neere

Sossius Senecio a Senatour of Rome.

vnto his time. Wherfore hauing long debated with my ſelfe what *Æſchilus* the Poet ſayd:

VVhat champion may with ſuch a man compare?
or who (thinke I) ſhalbe againſt him ſet?
VVho is ſo bold? or who is he that dare
defend his force, in ſuch encounter met?

In the end I reſolued, to compare him which did ſet vp the noble and famous citie of ATHENS, vnto him which founded the glorious and inuincible cittie of ROME. Wherein I would haue wiſhed, that the fables of her antiquity had beene ſet out ſo in our writings, that we might yet haue graced them with ſome apparance of hiſtoricall narration. But if by chance in ſome places they range a litle to boldly out of the boundes or limites of true apparance, and haue no manner of conformity with any crediblenes of matter: the readers in curteſie muſt needes hold me excuſed, accepting in good part that which may be written, and reported, of things ſo extreamely old and ancient. Now ſurely me thinkes, that *Theſeus* in many things was much like vnto *Romulus*. For being both begotten by ſtealth, and out of lawfull matrimony, they were both bruted to be borne of the ſeede of gods.

Theſeus and Romulus very like.

Both valiant were, as all the world doth know.

Both were very wiſe, and ſtrong beſides of body. The one of them built ROME, and the other the city of ATHENS, two of the moſt noble cities of the world. The one and the other were rauiſhers of women: and neither the one nor the other could auoid the miſchiefe of quarell and contention with their friends, and to defile themſelues with the bloud of their neareſt kinſemen. Moreouer, they ſay that both the one and the other in the end, did get the hate and ill will of their citizens. At the leaſt if we beleeue thoſe things which are left written, and cary greateſt ſhow of troth, *Theſeus* of his fathers ſide, was deſcended of the right linage of *Erichtheus* the great, & of the firſt inhabitants which occupied the countrey of ATTICA, the which ſince were called AVTOCTHONES, as much to ſay, as born of themſelues. For there is no memory, or other mention made, that they came out of any other countrey then that. And of his mothers ſide he came of *Pelops*, who was in his time the mightieſt King of al the countrey of PELOPONNESVS, not ſo much for his goods and riches, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many in number, he beſtowed them on the greateſt Lords of all the couutrey: his ſonnes alſo, which likewiſe were many, he diſperſed into euery city and free towne, finding meanes to make them gouernours and heads of the ſame. *Pitheus*, granfather to *Theſeus* on the mother ſide, was one that founded the litle city of TROEZEN, & was reputed to be one of the beſt learned and wiſeſt men of his time. But the knowledge and wiſedome, which onely carried eſtimation at that time, conſiſted altogether in graue ſentences and morall ſayings. As thoſe are, which wan the Poet *Heſiodus* ſuch fame for his booke intituled, The works and dayes: in the which is read euen at this preſent, this goodly ſentence, which they father vpon *Pitheus*.

The linage of Theſeus.

Pelops King of Peloponneſus.

Pitheus, the grandfather of Theſeus. The wiſdome of Pitheus.

Thou ſhalt performe, thy promiſe and thy pay:
to hired men, and that without delay.

And this doth *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher himſelfe teſtifie: and the Poet *Euripides* alſo, calling *Hippolytus* the ſcoller of the holy *Pitheus*, doth ſufficiently declare of what eſtimation he was. But *AEgeus* deſiring (as they ſay) to know how he might haue children, went vnto the city of DELPHES to the oracle of *Apollo*: where, by a Nunne of the temple, this notable prophecie was giuen him for an aunſwer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, vntill he was returned againe to ATHENS. And becauſe the words of this prophecy were ſomewhat darke, and hard, he returued by the city of TROEZEN, to tell it vnto *Pitheus*. The words of the prophecy were theſe.

AEgeus the father of Theſeus.

O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace,
plucke not the tappe out of thy truſty tunne:
Before thou do, returne vnto thy place,
in Athens towne, from whence thy race doth runne.

Pitheus vnderſtanding the meaning, perſwaded him, or rather cunningly by ſome deuiſe deceiued him, in ſuch ſort, that he made him to lie with his daughter called *AEthra*. *AEgeus*, after

ter he had accompanied with her, knowing that she was *Pitheus* daughter with whom he had lyen, and douting that he had gotten her with child: left her a sword and a payre of shoes, the which he hidde vnder a great hollow stone, the hollownes wherof serued iust to receiue those things which he layde vnder it, and made no liuing creature priuie to it but her alone, straightly charging her, that if she happened to haue a sonne, when he were come to mans state, and of strength to remoue the stone, and to take those things from vnder it which he left there: that she should then sende him vnto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body els might know of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called *Pallas*, the which lay in wayte and spyall by all the meanes they could to kill him, only of despight because he had no children, they being fiftie brethren, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And *AEthra* within few moneths after was deliuered of a goodly sonne, the which frō that time was called *Theseus*: & as some say, so called, because of the tokens of knowledge his father had layd vnder the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwards at ATHENS when his father knew him, and auowed him for his sonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie & childhood, he was brought vp in the house of his granfather *Pitheus*, vnder the gouernmēt & teaching of one called *Connidas*, his schoolemaster: in honor of whom the ATHENIANS to this day doe sacrifice a weather, the day before the great feast of *Theseus*, hauing more reason to honour the memorie of this gouernour, then of a *Silanion* and of a *Parrhasius*, to whom they doe honour also, because they painted and cast mowldes of the images of *Theseus*. Now there was a custome at that time in GREECE, that the yong men after their infancy and growth to mans state, went vnto the citie of DELPHES, to offer part of their haires in the temple of *Apollo*. *Theseus* also went thither as other did: and some say that the place where the ceremonie of this offering was made, hath euer since kept the olde name, (and yet continueth) *Theseia*. Howbeit he did not shaue his head but before onely, as *Homer* sayth, like the fashion of the ABANTES in olde time: and this manner of shauing of haires, was called for his sake, *Theseida*. And as concerning the ABANTES, in trothe they were the very first that shaued them selues after this fashion: neuertheless they learned it not of the ARABIANS as it was thought of some, neither did they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS. But because they were warlicke and valiant men, which did ioyne neere vnto their enemie in battell, and aboue all men of the worlde were skilfullest in fight hande to hand, and would keepe their ground: as the Poet *Archilochus* witnesseth in these verses.

AEthra the daughter of king Pitheus, & the mother of Theseus.

The Pallantides.

Pallas had fiftie sonnes.

Why Theseus was so called.

Connidas Theseus schoolemaister.

A custome to offer haires at Delphes.

Theseia.

Theseus maner of shauing.

The Abantes.

They vse no slynges in foughten fields to haue,
nor bended bowes: but swords and trenchant blades.
For when fierce Mars beginneth for to raue,
in bloudy field: then euery man inuades
His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand,
then doe they deedes, right cruell to recompt.
For in this wise, the braue and warlike bande
doe shew their force which come from Negrepont.

The cause why they were thus shauen before, was, for that their enemies should not haue the vauntage to take them by the hayres of the head while they were fighting. And for this selfe same consideration, *Alexander* the great commanded his captaines to cause all the MACEDONIANS to shaue their beards: because it is the easiest holde (and readiest for the hand) a man can haue of his enemie in fighting, to hold him fast by the same. But to returne to *Theseus*. *AEthra* his mother had euer vnto thar time kept it secret from him, who was his true father. And *Pitheus* also had giuen it out abroad, that he was begotten of *Neptune*, because the TROEZENIANS haue this god in great veneration, and doe worship him as patron and protector of their citie, making offerings to him of their first fruits: and they haue for the marke and stamp of their money, the three picked mace, which is the signe of *Neptune*, called his *Trident*. But after he was come to the prime and lustines of his youth, and that with the strength of his body he shewed a great courage, ioyned with a natural wisedome, and stayednes of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollow stone lay, and telling him truely the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers to-

The cause of shauing their haires before.

Alexander Magnus made the Macedonians shaue their beardes.

Theseus sayd to be Neptunes sonne.

The Troezenians coyne stamped with Neptunes three picked mace.

Theseus youth.

kens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, & gaue him counsell to go by sea to ATHENS vnto him. *Theseus* easily lift vp the stone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: Howbeit he answered plainely, that he would not goe by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the safer way, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, because the way by lande from TROEZEN to ATHENS was very daungerous, all the wayes being beset by robbers and murderers. For the world at that time brought forth men, which for strongnesse in their armes, for swiftnesse of feete, and for a generall strength of the whole bodie, did farre passe the common force of others, and were neuer wearie for any labour or trauell they tooke in hand. But for all this, they neuer employed these gifts of nature to any honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanously to hurt and wrong others: as if all the fruit and profite of their extraordinary strength had consisted in crueltie, and violence onely, and to be able to keepe others vnder and in subiection, and to force, destroy, and spoyle all that came to their handes. Thinking that the more part of those which thinke it a shame to doe ill, and commende iustice, equitie, and humanitie, doe it of faint cowardly hearts, because they dare not wrong others, for feare they shoulde receiue wrong themselues: and therefore, that they which by might could haue vantage ouer others, had nothing to doe with such quiet qualities. Now *Hercules*, trauelling abroade in the world, draue away many of those wicked theeuish murderers, and some of them he slew and put to death, other as he passed through those places where they kept, did hide themselues for feare of him, and gaue place: in so much as *Hercules*, perceiuing they were well tamed and brought low, made no further reckoning to pursue them any more. But after that by fortune he had slaine *Iphitus* with his owne handes, and that hee was passed ouer the seas into the countrie of LYDIA, where he serued Queene *Omphale* a long time, condemning himselfe vnto that voluntarie paine, for the murder he had committed. All the Realme of LYDIA during his abode there, remained in great peace and securitie from such kinde of people. Howbeit in GREECE, and all thereabouts, these old mischiefes beganne againe to renew, growing hotter and violenter then before: because there was no man that punished them, nor that durst take vpon him to destroy them. By which occasion, the way to goe from PELOPONNESVS to ATHENS by lande was very perillous. And therefore *Pitheus* declaring vnto *Theseus*, what manner of theeues there were that lay in the way, and the outrages and villanies they did to all trauellers and wayfaring men, sought the rather to perswade him thereby to take his voyage along the seas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glory of *Hercules* noble deedes, had long before secretly set his heart on fire, so that hee made reckoning of none other but of him, and louingly hearkened vnto those which would seeme to describe him what manner of man he was, but chiefely vnto those which had seene him, and beene in his companie, when he had layd any done any thing worthy of memorie. For then he did manifestly open himselfe, that he felt the like passion in his heart, which *Themistocles* long time afterwardes endured, when he saide: that the victorie and triumph of *Miltiades* would not let him sleepe. For euen so, the wonderfull admiration which *Theseus* had of *Hercules* courage, made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and in the day time, pricked forwardes with emulation and enuie of his glorie, he determined with himselfe one day to doe the like, and the rather, because they were neere kinsemen, being cosins remooued by the mother side. For *Aethra* was the daughter of *Pitheus*, and *Alcmena* (the mother of *Hercules*) was the daughter of *Lysidices*, the which was halfe sister to *Pitheus*, both children of *Pelops* and of his wife *Hippodamia*. So he thought he should be vtterly shamed and disgraced, that *Hercules* trauelling through the world in that sort, did seeke out those wicked theeues to ridde both sea and land of them: and that he, farre otherwise, should fly occasion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he should meete on his way. Moreouer, he was of opinion, he should greatly shame and dishonour him, whom fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in shunning occasion to fight, he should conuey himselfe by sea, and should carrie to his true father also a paire of shooes, (to make him knowen of him) and a sword not yet bathed in bloud. Where he should rather seeke cause, by manifest token of his worthy deedes, to make knowen to the world,

Great robbing in Theseus time, Tlucid. lib. 1.

Hercules a destroyer of theeues.

Hercules serueth Omphale.

Theseus followeth Hercules.

Desire of fame pricketh men forward to great enterprises.

Theseus and Hercules neere kinsmen.

worlde, of what noble bloud he came, and from whence he was deſcended. With this determination, *Theſeus* holdeth on his purpoſed iourney, with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himſelfe, and to be reuenged of thoſe which would take vpon them to aſſault him. The firſt therefore whom he ſlewe within the territories of the citie of EPIDAVRVM, was a robber called *Periphetes*. This robber vſed for his ordinarie weapon to carrie a clubbe, and for that cauſe he was commonly ſurnamed *Corynetes*, that is to ſay, a clubbe carrier. So he firſt ſtrake at *Theſeus* to make him ſtande: but *Theſeus* fought ſo luſtely with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was ſo glad, and chiefly for that he had wonne his clubbe, that euer after he caryed it himſelfe about with him, as *Hercules* did the Lyons skinne. And like as this ſpoyle of the Lyon did witneſſe the greatnes of the beaſt which *Hercules* had ſlaine: euen ſo *Theſeus* went all about, ſhewing that this clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne handes inuincible. And ſo going on further, in the ſtreightes of PELOPONNESVS he killed another, called *Sinnis* ſurnamed *Pityocamtes*, that is to ſay, a wreather or bower of pine apple trees: whom he put to death in that ſelfe cruell manner that *Sinnis* had ſlaine many other trauellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practiſe or exerciſe: but onely to ſhew, that cleane ſtrength could doe more, then either art or exercise. This *Sinnis* had a goodly faire daughter called *Perigouna*, which fled away, when ſhe ſawe her father ſlaine: whom he followed and ſought all about. But ſhe had hidden her ſelfe in a groue full of certaine kindes of wilde pricking ruſhes called *Stœbe*, and wild ſparage, which ſhe ſimply like a childe intreated to hide her, as if they had heard, and had ſenſe to vnderſtande her: promiſing them with an oath, that if they ſaued her from being found, ſhee would neuer cut them downe, nor burne them. But *Theſeus* finding her, called her, and ſware by his faith he would vſe her gently, and doe her no hurt, nor diſpleaſure at all. Vpon which promiſe ſhe came out of the buſh, and lay with him, by whom ſhee was conceiued of a goodly boy, which was called *Menalippus*. Afterwardes *Theſeus* maried her vnto one *Deioneus*, the ſonne of *Euritus* the *Oechalian*. Of this *Menalippus*, the ſonne of *Theſeus*, came *Ioxus*: the which with *Ornytus* brought men into the Countrie of CARIA, where he built the Citie of IOXIDES. And hereof commeth that old auncient ceremonie, obſerued yet vnto this day by thoſe of IOXIDES, neuer to burne the bryers of wilde ſparage, nor the *Stœbe*, but they haue them in ſome honour and reuerence. Touching the wild ſauage Sowe of *Crommyon*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Phœa*, that is to ſay, ouergrowen with age: ſhe was not a beaſt to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kill. *Theſeus* notwithſtanding taryed for her, and killed her in his iourney, to the ende it ſhould not appeare to the worlde, that all the valiant deedes hee did, were done by compulſion, and of neceſſitie: adding thereto his opinion alſo, that a valiant man ſhould not onely fight with men, to defende him ſelfe from the wicked: but that he ſhould be the firſt, to aſſault and ſlay wilde hurtfull beaſtes. Neuertheleſſe others haue written, that this *Phœa* was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her bodie, which ſpoyled thoſe that paſſed by the place called CROMMYGNIA, where ſhe dwelt: and that ſhe was ſurnamed a Sow, for her beaſtly brutiſh behauiour, and wicked life, for the which in the end ſhe was alſo ſlayne by *Theſeus*. After her he killed *Sciron*, entring into the territories of MEGARA, becauſe he robbed all trauellers by the way, as the common report goeth: or as others ſay, for that of a cruell, wicked, and ſauage pleaſure, he put forth his feete to thoſe that paſſed by the ſea ſide, and compelled them to waſh them. And then when they thought to ſtowpe to doe it, hee ſtill ſpurned them with his feete, till he thruſt them headlong into the ſea: ſo *Theſeus* threw him headlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common report, and deſirous (as *Simonides* ſayth) to ouerthrowe it that had continued by preſcription of time: did maintayne that this *Sciron* was neuer any robber, nor wicked perſon, but rather a purſuer and puniſher of the wicked, and a friend and a kinſeman of the moſt honeſt, and iuſteſt men of GREECE. For there is no man but will confeſſe, that *Æacus* was the moſt vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that *Cychreus* the SALAMINIAN is honoured and reuerenced as a god at ATHENS: and there is no man alſo but knoweth, that *Peleus* and *Telamon* were men of a ſingular vertue. Nowe it is certaine,

Periphetes Corinetes, a famous robber, ſlaine of Theſeus.

Theſeus caried the clubbe wanne of Periphetes, as Hercules did the lyons ſkin.

Sinnis Pityocamtes, a cruel murtherer ſlaine.

Perigouna Sinnis daughter.

Theſeus begate Menalippus of Perigouna. Ioxus, Menalippus ſonne. Ioxides.

Phœa the wilde ſowe of Crommyon ſlaine.

Phœa a woman theefe.

Sciron a notable robber, throwē downe the rockes by Theſeus.

Æacus. Cychreus.

that this *Sciron* was the ſonne in lawe of *Cychreus*, father in law of *Æacus*, and grandfather of *Peleus* and of *Telamon*, the which two were the children of *Endeida*, the daughter of the ſayde *Sciron*, and of his wife *Chariclo*. Alſo it is not very likely, that ſo many good men would haue had affinitie with ſo naughtie and wicked a man: in taking of him, and giuing him that, which men loue beſt of all things in the worlde. And therefore the Hiſtoriographers ſay, that it was not the firſt time, when *Theſeus* went vnto ATHENS, that he killed *Sciron*: but that it was many dayes after, when he tooke the citie of ELEVSIN, which the MEGARIANS helde at that time, where hee deceiued the gouernour of the citie called *Dioçles*, and there he ſlewe *Sciron*. And theſe be the obiections the MEGARIANS alledged touching this matter. He ſlewe alſo *Cercyon* the ARCADIAN, in the citie of ELEVSIN, wreſtling with him. And going a little further, he ſlewe *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Procruſtes*, in the citie of HERMIONIA: and that by ſtretching on him out, to make him euen with the length and meaſure of his beddes, as he was wont to doe vnto ſtraungers that paſſed by. *Theſeus* did that after the imitation of *Hercules*, who puniſhed tyrants with the ſelfe ſame payne and torment, which they had made others ſuffer. For euen ſo did *Hercules* ſacrifice *Buſiris*. So he ſtifled *Antheus* in wreſtling. So he put *Cycrus* to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake *Termerus* head, from whom this prouerbe of *Termerus* euill came, which continueth yet vnto this daye: for this *Termerus* did vſe to put them to death in this ſort whom he met: to iolle his head againſt theirs. Thus proceeded *Theſeus* after this ſelfe manner, puniſhing the wicked in like ſort, iuſtly compelling them to abide the ſame paine and torments, which they before had vniuſtly made others abide. And ſo he helde on his iourney vntill he came to the riuer of CEPHISVS, where certaine perſons of the houſe of the *Phytalides* were the firſt which went to meete him, to honour him, and at his requeſt they purified him according to the ceremonies vſed at that time: and afterwardes hauing made a ſacrifice of propitiation vnto their goddes, they made him great cheare in their houſes: and this was the firſt notable entertainement he found in all his iourney. It is ſuppoſed he arriued in the citie of ATHENS, the eight day of the moneth of Iune, which then they called *Cronius*. Hee found the common wealth turmoyled with ſeditions, factions, and diuiſions, and particularly the houſe of *AEgeus* in very ill termes alſo, becauſe that *Medea* (being baniſhed out of the citie of CORINTHE) was come to dwell in ATHENS, and remayned with *AEgeus*, whom ſhe had promiſed by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children. But when ſhe heard tell that *Theſeus* was come, before that the good king *AEgeus* (who was now become old, ſuſpitious, and affrayde of ſedition, by reaſon of the great factions within the citie at that time) knewe what he was, ſhe perſwaded him to poyſon him at a feaſt which they would make him as a ſtraunger that paſſed by. *Theſeus* fayled not to goe to this prepared feaſt whereunto hee was bidden, but yet thought it not good to diſcloſe him ſelfe. And the rather to giue *AEgeus* occaſion and meane to know him: when they brought the meate to the borde, he drewe out his ſworde, as though he would haue cut with all, and ſhewed it vnto him. *AEgeus* ſeeing it, knewe it ſtraight, and foorthwith ouerthrewe the cuppe with poyſon which was prepared for him: and after he had enquired of him, and asked things, he embraced him as his ſonne. Afterwardes in the common aſſembly of the inhabitants of the citie, he declared, how he auowed him for his ſonne. Then all the people receiued him with exceeding ioy, for the renowne of his valiantneſſe and manhoode. And ſome ſay, that when *AEgeus* ouerthrew the cuppe, the poyſon which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this preſent a certaine compaſſe incloſed all about within the temple, which is called *Delphinium*. For euen there in that place, in the olde time, ſtoode the houſe of *AEgeus*: in witneſſe whereof, they call yet at this preſent time the image of *Mercurie* (which is on the ſide of the temple looking towardes the riſing of the ſunne) the *Mercury* gate of *AEgeus*. But the PALLANTIDES, which before ſtoode alwaies in hope to recouer the Realme of ATHENS, at the leaſt after *AEgeus* death, becauſe he had no children: when they ſaw that *Theſeus* was knowen, and openly declared for his ſonne and heire, and ſucceſſour to the Realme, they were not able any longer to beare it, ſeeing

Cercyon the Arcadian ſlaine of Theſeus by wreſtling.

Damaſtes Procruſtes a cruel murtherer, ſlaine of Theſeus.

Hercules doings.

Termerus euill.

Cephiſus, a riuer of Bœotia.

The Phytalides the firſt me that feaſted Theſeus in their houſes.

This ſacrifice Plutarch called Milichia.

Medea perſwaded AEgeus to poyſon Theſeus.

AEgeus acknowledgeth Theſeus for his ſonne.

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ing that not onely *AEgeus* (who was but the adopted ſonne of *Pandion*, and nothing at all of the bloud royall of the *Erictheides*) had vſurped the kingdome ouer them, but that *Theſeus* alſo ſhould enioy it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, and deuiding them ſelues into two partes, the one came openly in armes with their father, marching directly towardes the citie: the other lay cloſe in ambuſhe in the village GARGETTVS, meaning to giue charge vppon them in two places at one inſtant. Now they brought with them an Herauld borne in the towne of AGNVS, called *Leos*, who bewrayed vnto *Theſeus* the ſecrete and deuiſe of all their enterpriſe. *Theſeus* vppon this intelligence went forth, and did ſet on thoſe that lay in ambuſhe, and put them all to the ſword. The other which were in *Pallas* company vnderſtanding thereof, did breake and diſperſe them ſelues incontinently. And this is the cauſe (as ſome ſay) why thoſe of *Pallena* doe neuer make affinity nor marriage with thoſe of AGNVS at this day. And that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they neuer ſpeake theſe wordes which are cried euery where elſe through out the whole countrey of ATTICA, *Acouete Leos*, (which is as much to ſay, as Hearken, O people) they doe ſo extreamely hate this word *Leos*, for that it was the Heraulds name which wrought them that treaſon. This done, *Theſeus* who would not liue idlely at home and doe nothing, but deſirous therewithall to gratifie the people, went his way to fight with the bull of *Marathon*, the which did great miſchiefes to the inhabitants of the countrey of TETRAPOLIS. And hauing taken him aliue, brought him through the city of ATHENS to be ſeene of all the inhabitants. Afterwardes he did ſacrifice him vnto *Apollo Delphias*. Now concerning *Hecale*, who was reported to haue lodged him, and to haue giuen him good entertainement, it is not altogether vntrue. For in the old time, thoſe townes and villages there aboutes did aſſemble together, and made a common ſacrifice which they called *Hecaleſion*, in the honour of *Iupiter Hecalian*, where they honoured this old woman, calling her by a diminutiue name, *Hecalena*: becauſe that when ſhee receiued *Theſeus* into her houſe, being then but very yong, ſhee made much of him, and called him by many prety made names, as old folkes are wont to call young children. And foraſmuch as ſhee had made a vow to *Iupiter* to make him a ſolemne ſacrifice, if *Theſeus* returned ſafe from the enterpriſe he went about, and that ſhe died before his returne: in recompence of the good cheare ſhe had made him, ſhee had that honour done vnto her by *Theſeus* commaundement, as *Philochorus* hath written of it. Shortly after this exploite, there came certaine of King *Minos* ambaſſadours out of CRETA, to aske tribute, being now the third time it was demaunded, which the ATHENIANS payed for this cauſe. *Androgeus*, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Minos*, was ſlaine by treaſon within the countrey of ATTICA: for which cauſe *Minos* purſuing the reuenge of his death, made very hot and ſharpe warres vppon the ATHENIANS, and did them great hurt. But beſides all this, the goddes did ſharpely puniſh and ſcourge all the countrey, aſwell with barrenneſſe and famine, as alſo with plague and other miſchieues, euen to the drying vp of their riuers. The ATHENIANS perceyuing theſe ſore troubles and plagues, ranne to the oracle of *Apollo*, who aunſwered them that they ſhould appeaſe *Minos*, and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrath of the goddes would ceaſe againſt them, and their troubles ſhould haue an end. Whereuppon the ATHENIANS ſent immediatly vnto him, and intreated him for peace: which he graunted them, with condition that they ſhould be bound to ſend him yearely into CRETA, ſeuen young boyes, and as many young girles. Now thus farre, all the Hiſtoriographers doe very well agree: but in the reſt not. And they which ſeeme furtheſt off from the troth, doe declare, that when theſe young boyes were deliuered in CRETA, they cauſed them to be deuoured by the *Minotaure* within the *Laberinth*: or elſe that they were ſhut within this *Laberinth*, wandring vp and downe, and could finde no place to get out, vntill ſuch time as they dyed, euen famiſhed for hunger. And this *Minotaure*, as *Euripides* the Poet ſayeth, was

The Pallantides take armes againſt AEgeus and Theſeus

Leos an Herald bewrayeth their treaſon to Theſeus, Theſeus killeth the Pallantides.

The bull of Marathon taken aliue by Theſeus.

Apollo Delphias.

Iupiter Hecalian.

The Athenians payed tribute to Minos king of Creta, for the death of Androgeus his ſonne.

The manner of the tribute conditioned.

The Minotaure what it was.

A corps combynd, which monſtrous might be deemd:
A Boy, a Bull, both man and beaſt it ſeemd.

The Laberinth a prison in Creta.

But *Philochorus* writeth, that the CRETANS doe not confesse that, but say that this *Laberinth* was a gayle or prison, in the which they had no other hurt, saving that they which were kept there vnder locke and key, could not flie nor start away: and that *Minos* had, in the memory of his sonne *Androgeus*, instituted games and playes of prise, where he gaue vnto them that wanne the victorie, those young children of ATHENS, the which in the meane time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the prison of the *Laberinth*: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines called *Taurus*, who was in best credite with his maister, wanne the prise. This *Taurus* was a churlishe, and naughty natured man of condition, and very hard and cruell to these children of ATHENS. And to verifie the same, the Philosopher *Aristotle* him selfe, speaking of the common wealth of the BOTTIEIANS, declareth verie well, that he neuer thought that *Minos* did at any time cause the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but sayeth, that they poorely toyled in CRETA, euen to crooked age, earning their liuing by true and painefull seruice. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to satisfie an old vow of theirs which they had made of auncient time) sent sometimes the first borne of their children vnto *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES: and that amongest them they also mingled those which were descended of the auncient prisoners of ATHENS, and they went with them. But because they could not liue there, they directed their iourney first into ITALIE, where for a time they remained in the realme of PVGLIA, and afterwardes from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of BOTTIEIANS. In memory whereof, the daughters of the BOTTIEIANS in a solemne sacrifice they make, doe vse to sing the foote of this song: Let vs to ATHENS goe. But thereby we may see how perillous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmity with a city, which can speake well, and where learning and eloquence doth florish. For euer since that time, *Minos* was alwayes blased and disgraced throughout all the Theaters of ATHENS. The testimony of *Hesiodus*, who calleth him the most worthy King, doth nothing helpe him at all, nor the praise of *Homer*, who nameth him *Iupiters* familiar friend: because the tragicall Poets got the vpper hand in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these. And vppon their stages where all the tragedies were played, they still gaue forth many ill fauored words, and fowle speaches of him: as against a man that had beene most cruell and vnnaturall. Yet most men thinke, that *Minos* was the King which established the lawes: and *Rudamanthus* the iudge and preseruer of them, who caused the same also to be kept and obserued. The time now being come about for payment of the third tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet married, to giue them to be put forth to take their chaunce and lot: the citizens of ATHENS beganne to murmur against *AEgeus*, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cause of all this euill, was onely alone exempted from this griefe. And that to bring the gouernment of the Realme, to fall into the hands of a straunger his bastard: he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vnnaturally compelled to leaue and forsake them. These iust sorrowes and complaintes of the fathers, whose children were taken from them, did pearce the heart of *Theseus*, who willing to yeelde to reason, and to runne the selfe same fortune as the citizens did: willingly offered himselfe to be sent thither, without regard taking to his happe or aduenture. For which, the citizens greatly esteemed of his courage and honourable disposition, and dearely loued him for the good affection he seemed to beare vnto the communalty. But *AEgeus* hauing vsed many reasons and perswasions to cause him to turne, and stay from his purpose, and perceiuing in the end there was no remedy but he would go: he then drue lots for the children which should goe with him. *Hellanicus* notwithstanding doth write, that they were not those of the city which drew lots for the children they should send, but that *Minos* him selfe went thither in person and did choose them, as he chose *Theseus* the first, vpon conditions agreed betweene them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS should furnish them with a shippe, and that the children should shippe and imbarke with him, carrying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the *Minotaure*, this tribute should cease. Now before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of safety of their children, therefore the ATHENIANS al-

Taurus one of Minos captaines.

Of the Bottieians. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 2.

King Minos defaced by the Poets in the theaters at Athens.

Radamanthus.

The thirde time of paymẽt of the tribute.

The Athenians are grieued to depart with their children.

Theseus offereth to goe with the children into Creta.

Lottes drawne for the childrẽ that should goe.

wayes

wayes sent a shippe to conuay their children with a blacke sayle, in token of assured losse. Neuertheless *Theseus* putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good courage, and promising boldly that he would set vppon this *Minotaure*: *AEgeus* gaue vnto the maister of the shippe a white sayle, commaunding him that at his returne he should put out the white sayle if his sonne had escaped, if not, that then he should set vp the blacke sayle, to shew him a farre off his vnlucky and vnfortunate chaunce. *Simonides* notwithstanding doeth say, that this sayle which *AEgeus* gaue to the maister, was not white, but redd, pyed in graine, and of the colour of Scarlet: and that he gaue it him to signifie a farre off, their deliuerie and safety. This maister was called *Phereclus Amarsiadas*; as *Simonides* sayeth. But *Philochorus* writeth, that *Scirus* the SALAMANIAN gaue to *Theseus* a maister called *Nausitheus*, and another marriner to tackle the sayles, who was called *Phæas*: because the ATHENIANS at that time were not greatly practised to the sea, And this did *Scirus*, for that one of the children on whom the lot fell was his nephew: and thus much the chappels doe testifie, which *Theseus* built afterwardes in honour of *Nausitheus*, and of *Phæas*, in the village of *Phalerus*, ioyning to the temple of *Scirus*. And it is sayd moreouer, that the feast which they call *Cybernesia*, that is to say, the feast of Patrons of the shippes, is celebrated in honour of them. Now after the lots were drawen, *Theseus* taking with him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called *Delphinion*, to offer vp to *Apollo* for him and for them, an offering of supplication which they call *Hiceteria*: which was an oliue bough hallowed, wreathed about with white wolle. After he had made his prayer, he went downe to the sea side to imbarke, the sixt day of the moneth of March: on which day at this present time they doe send their young girles to the same temple of *Delphinion*, there to make their prayers and petitions to the goddes. But some say, that the oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES had aunswered him, that he should take *Venus* for his guide, and that he should call vppon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he did sacrifice a goat vnto her vppon the sea side, which was found sodainely turned into a ramme, and that herefore they surnamed this goddesse *Epitragia*, as one would say, the goddesse of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arriued in CRETA, he slew there the *Minotaure* (as the most part of auncient authors doe write) by the meanes and helpe of *Ariadne*: who being fallen in fansie with him, did giue him a clue of threede, by the helpe whereof she taught him, how he might easely winde out of the turnings and cranckes of the *Labyrinth*. And they say, that hauing killed this *Minotaure*, he returned backe againe the same way he went, bringing with him those other young children of ATHENS, whom with *Ariadne* also he carried afterwardes away. *Pherecides* sayth moreouer, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the shippes of CRETA, because they should not sodainely set out after them. And *Demon* writeth, that *Taurus* (the captaine of *Minos*) was killed in a fight by *Theseus*, euen in the very hauen mouth as they were ready to shippe away, and hoise vp saile. Yet *Philoehorus* reporteth, that king *Minos* hauing set vp the games, as he was wont to doe yearely in the honour and memory of his sonne, euery one began to enuy captaine *Taurus*, because they euer looked that he should carry away the game and victory, as he had done other yeares before: ouer and about that, his authority got him much ill will and enuy, because he was proud and stately, and had in suspicion that he was great with Queene *Pasiphaë*. Wherefore when *Theseus* required he might encounter with *Taurus*, *Minos* easily graunted it. And being a solemne custome in CRETA that the women should be present, to see these open sports and fights, *Ariadne* being at these games amongest the rest, fell further in loue with *Theseus*, seeing him so goodly a person, so strong, and inuincible in wrestling, that he farre exceeded all that wrestled there that day. King *Minos* was so glad that he had taken away the honour from captaine *Taurus*, that he sent him home francke and free into his countrey, rendring to him all the other prisoners of ATHENS: and for his sake, clearely released and forgaue the city of ATHENS the tribute, which they should haue payed him yearely. Howbeit *Clidemus* searching out the beginning of these things to the vtmost, reciteth them very particularly and after another sort. For he sayeth, about that time there was a generall restraint through out all

The Athenians sent their children into Creta in a ship with a blacke sayle.

AEgeus giueth the maister of the shippe a white sayle, to signifie the safe returne of Theseus.

Cybernesia games.

Hiceteria offering.

Theseus taketh shippe with the tribute childrē, the sixt of March, and sayleth into Creta.

Venus Epitragia.

Theseus slewe the Minotaure by meanes of Ariadne, king Minos daughter.

Theseus return out of Creta.

Taurus ouercome of Theseus, was a man

Taurus suspected with Pasiphaë, king Minoes wife.

How Ariadne fell in loue with Theseus.

Minos sendeth Theseus home with his prisoners, & releaseth the Athenians of their tribute.

A marine law. GRECE, restrayning all manner of people to beare sayle in any vessell or bottome, wherein there were aboue fiue persons, except onely *Iason*, who was chosen captaine of the great shippe *Argus*, and had commission to saile euery where, to chase and driue away rouers and pyrates, and to scoure the seas throughout. About this time, *Dædalus* being fled from CRETA to ATHENS in a little Barke: *Minos* contrarie to this restraint, would needes follow him with a fleete of diuers vessels with owers, who being by force of weather driuen with the coast of SICILE, fortuned to die there. Afterwards his sonne *Deucalion*, being marmeilously offended with the ATHENIANS, sent to summon them to deliuer *Dædalus* vnto him, or else he would put the children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hostages. But *Theseus* excused himselfe, and sayd he could not forsake *Dædalus*, considering he was his neare kinseman, being his cosin germaine, for he was the sonne of *Merope*, the daughter of *Erichtheus*. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, part of them within ATTICA selfe in the village of *Thymetades*, farre from any high wayes: and part of them in the cittie of TROEZEN, by the sufferance of *Pitheus* his grandfather, to the end his purpose should be kept the secretlyer. Afterwards when all his shippes were ready, and rigged out, he tooke sea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they saw them a farre off, they did take them for the barkes of their friends. *Theseus* landed without resistaunce, and tooke the hauen. Then hauing *Dædalus*, and other banished CRETANS for guydes, he entred the cittie selfe of GNOSVS, where he slew *Deucalion* in a fight before the gates of the *Labyrinthe*, with all his guard and officers about him. By this meanes the kingdome of CRETA fell by inheritance into the hands of his sister *Ariadne*. *Theseus* made league with her, and carried away the young children of ATHENS, which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amity betweene the ATHENIANS and the CRETANS: who promised, and sware, they would neuer make warres against them. They report many other things also touching this matter, and specially of *Ariadne*: but there is no troth not certaintie in it. For some say, that *Ariadne* hung her selfe for sorrow, when she saw that *Theseus* had cast her off. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the Ile of NAXOS, where she was married vnto *OEnarus*, the priest of *Bacchus*: and they thinke that *Theseus* left her, because he was in loue with another, as by these verses should appeare.

Dædalus flight.

King Minos dyed in Sicile. Deucalion king Minoes sonne sent to Athens to demaunde Dedalus.

Theseus sayled into Creta, and won the cittie of Gnosus, and slew Deucalion.

Diuers opinions of Ariadne.

Ægles the Nymphe, was loued of Theseus,
who was the daughter of Panopeus.

Hereas the *Megarian* sayth, that these two verses in old time were among the verses of the Poet *Hesiodus*, howbeit *Pisistratus* tooke them away: as he did in like manner adde these other here in the description of the helles in *Homer*, to gratifie the ATHENIANS.

Bold Theseus, and Pirithous stowte,
descended both, from gods immortall race,
Triumphing still, this wearie world about
in feats of armes, and many a comely grace.

Other hold opinion, that *Ariadne* had two children by *Theseus*: the one of them was named *OEnopion*, and the other *Staphylus*. Thus amongst others the Poet *Ion* writeth it, who was borne in the Ile of CHIO, and speaking of his cittie, he sayth thus:

OEnopion, & Staphylus Theseus sonnes.

OEnopion which was the sonne of worthy Theseus,
did cause men build this statelie towne, which now triumpheth thus.

Now what things are found seemely in Poets fables, there is none but doth in manner sing them. But one *Paenon* borne in the cittie of AMATHVNTA, reciteth this cleane after another sort, and contrarie to all other: saying, that *Theseus* by tempest was driuen with the Ile of CYPRVS, hauing with him *Ariadne*, which was great with childe, and so sore sea sicke, that she was not able to abide it. In so much as he was forced to put her a land, and himselfe afterwards returning abourd hoping to saue his shippe against the storme, was forthwith compelled to loose into the sea. The women of the countrey did curteously receiue and intreat *Ariadne*: and to comfort her againe, (for she was marueilously out of heart, to

Theseus leaueth Ariadne in Cyprus.

see

ſee ſhee was thus forſaken) they counterfaited letters, as if *Theſeus* had written them to her. And when her groning time was come, and ſhee to be layed, they did their beſt by all poſſible meanes to ſaue her: but ſhe dyed notwithſtanding in labour, and could neuer be deliuered. So ſhe was honorably buried by the Ladyes of CYPRVS. *Theſeus* not long after returned thither againe, who tooke her death marueilous heauily, and left money with the inhabitants of the Countrie, to ſacrifice vnto her yearely: and for memory of her, he cauſed two litle images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of ſiluer, which he dedicated vnto her. This ſacrifice is done the ſecond day of September, on which they doe yet obſerue this ceremonie: they doe laye a young childe vpon a bed, which pittifully cryeth and lamenteth, as women trauelling with childe. They ſay alſo, that the AMATHVSIANS doe yet call the groue where her Tombe is ſet vp, the woode of *Venus Ariadne*. And yet there are of the NAXIANS, that report this otherwiſe: ſaying, there were two *Minoes*, and two *Ariadnees*, whereof the one was married to *Bacchus* in the Ile of NAXOS, of whom *Staphylus* was borne: and the other the youngeſt, was rauiſhed and caryed away by *Theſeus*, who afterwardes forſooke her, and ſhe came into the Ile of NAXOS with her nurce, called *Corcyna*, whoſe graue they doe ſhewe yet to this day. The ſecond *Ariadne* dyed there alſo, but ſhe had no ſuch honour done to her after her death, as to the firſt was giuen. For they celebrate the feaſt of the firſt with all ioy and myrth: where the ſacrifices done in memorie of the ſeconde, be mingled with mourning and ſorrow. *Theſeus* then departing from the Ile of CRETA, arriued in the Ile of DELOS, where he did ſacrifice in the temple of *Apollo*, and gaue there a litle image of *Venus*, the which he had gotten of *Ariadne*. Then with the other young boyes that he had deliuered, hee daunced a kinde of daunce, which the DELIANS keepe to this day, as they ſay: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turnings of the *Labyrinth*. And the DELIANS call this manner of daunce, the crane, as *Dicæarcus* ſaith. And *Theſeus* daunced it firſt about the altar, which is called *Ceraton*, that is to ſay, horne-ſtaffe: becauſe it is made and builded of hornes onely, all on the left hande well and curiouſly ſet together without any other binding. It is ſaide alſo that hee made a game in this Ile of DELOS, in which at the firſt was giuen to him that ouercame, a braunch of palme for rewarde of victorie. But when they drue neere the coaſt of ATTICA, they were ſo ioyfull, he and his maſter, that they forgate to ſet vp their white ſayle, by which they ſhoulde haue giuen knowledge of their health and ſafety vnto *AEgeus*. Who ſeeing the blacke ſayle a farre off, being out of all hope euer more to ſee his ſonne againe, tooke ſuch a griefe at his heart, that he threw him ſelfe headlong from the toppe of a clyffe, and killed himſelfe. So ſoone as *Theſeus* was arriued at the port named *Phalerus*, he performed the ſacrifices which he had vowed to the goddes at his departure: and ſent an Heraulde of his before vnto the citie, to carie newes of his ſafe arriuall. The Herauld found manie of the citie mourning the death of King *AEgeus*. Many other receiued him with great ioy, as may be ſuppoſed. They would haue crowned him alſo with a garlande of flowers, for that he had brought ſo good tidings, that the children of the citie were returned in ſafetie. The Herauld was content to take the garland, yet would he not in any wiſe put it on his head, but did wind it about his Heraulds rodde he bare in his hand, and ſo returneth forthwith to the ſea, where *Theſeus* made his ſacrifices. Who perceiuing they were not yet done, did refuſe to enter into the temple, and ſtayed without for troubling of the ſacrifices. Afterwardes all ceremonies finiſhed, he went in and tolde him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for ſorrow, haſted with ſpeede towards the citie. And this is the cauſe, why to this day, at the feaſt called *Oſcophoria* (as who would ſay the feaſt of boughes) the Herauld hath not his head but his rod onely crowned with flowers, and why the aſſiſtants alſo after the ſacrifice done, doe make ſuch cryes and exclamations: *Ele, leuſ, iou, iou:* whereof the firſt, is the cry and voyce they commonly vſe one to another to make haſte, or elſe it is the foote of ſome ſong of triumph: and the other is the cry and voyce of men as it were in feare and trouble. After he had ended the obſequies aud funeralles for his father, he performed alſo his ſacrifices vnto *Apollo*, which he had vowed the ſeuenth day of the moneth of October, on which they arriued at their returne into the citie of ATHENS. Euen ſo the cuſtome which

Ariadne dyeth with child in Cyprus.

The ceremonie of the ſacrifice done to Ariadne in Cyprus.

Venus Ariadne.

Two Minoes and two Ariadnees.

Corcyna Ariadnes nurce.

Theſeus returneth out of Creta into the Ile of Delos.

Theſeus daunce called the Crane.

Palme a token of victorie.

Theſeus maſter of his ſhippe forgat to ſet out the white ſaile.

AEgeus death.

Theſeus arriueth ſafe with the tribute children in the hauen of Phalerus.

The Herauld bare a rodde in his hand.

The feaſt Oſcopheria.

October called Pyanepſion, in the Attican tongue.

they vse at this day to seeth all manner of pulse, commeth of this: that those which then retur-
ned with *Theseus*, did seeth in a great brasse pot all the remaine of their prouision, and there
with made good chere together. Euen in such sort as this, came vp the custome to carie
Herod of Iresione in the life of Homer, and Suidas. branch of oliue, wreathed about with wooll, which they call *Iresione*: because at that time
they caried boughs of supplication, as we haue told ye before. About which they hang all sort
of fruites: for then barrennesse did ceasse, as the verses they sang afterwards did witnesse.

Bring him good bread, that is of savry taste,
with pleasant figgs, and droppes of dulcet mell,
Then sowple oyle, his bodie for to baste,
and pure good wine, to make him sleepe full well.

Howbeit there are some which wil say, that these verses were made for the *Heraclides*, that
is to say, those that descended from *Hercules*: which flying for their safetie and succour vnto the
ATHENIANS, were entertained & much made of by them for a time. But the most part hold
Theseus went into Creta with the tribute children, in the galliot of 30. owers. opinion, they were made vpon the occasion aforesaid. The vessel in which *Theseus* went and
returned, was a galliot of thirtie owers, which the ATHENIANS kept vntill the time of *De-
metrius* the *Phalerian*, alwayes taking away the old peeces of wood that were rotten, and euer
renewing them with new in their places. So that euer since, in the disputations of the Philoso-
phers, touching things that increase, to wit, whether they remaine alwayes one, or else they be
made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for example of doubt. For some mainteined
Disputation about increase. The galliot alledged for a doubt. that it was still one vessell: others to the contrarie defended it was not so. And they hold opi-
nion also, that the feast of boughes which is celebrated at *Athens* at this time, was then first
of all instituted by *Theseus*. It is sayd moreouer, that he did not carie all the wenches vpon
whom the lots did fall, but chose two faire yong boyes, whose faces were sweete and delicate
as maydens be, that otherwise were hardie, and quicke spirited. But he made them so oft bath
them selues in hote bathes, and keepe them in from the heate of the sunne, and so manie time
to wash, annoint, and rubbe them selues with oyles which serue to supple and smooth their
skinnes, to keepe fresh and faire their culler, to make yellow and bright their haires: and with
all did teach them so to counterfet the speech, countenance and fashion of yong maides, that
they seemed to be like them, rather then yong boyes. For there was no manner of difference to
be perceiued outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, without the knowledge of any
man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a procession, in which both he & the other
yong boyes were apparelled then, as they be now, which carie boughes on the day of the feast
in their hands. They carie them in the honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, following the fable that
is told of them: or rather because they returned home iust at the time and season, when they
gather the fruite of those trees. There are women which they call *Deipnophores*, that is to say,
supper cariers, which are assistants to the sacrifice done that day, in representing the mothers
of those, vpon whom the lots did fall, because they in like sort brought them both meate and
drinke. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children, to comfort and
encourage them. All these particularities were written by *Demon* the historiographer. There
was moreouer a place chosen out, to build him a temple in, & he himselfe ordained, that those
houses which had payed tribute before vnto the king of CRETA, should now yerely thence
forth become contributories towards the charges of a solemne sacrifice, which should be done
Theseus thankfulnes to the Phytalides who were the first that feasted him in their houses. in the honour of him: and he did assigne the order and administration of the same, vnto the
house of the *Phytalides*, in recompence of the curtesie which they shewed him when he arri-
ued. Furthermore, after the death of his father *AEgeus*, he vndertooke a marueilous great en-
Theseus brought the inhabitants of the countrie of Attica into one cittie. terprise. For he brought all the inhabitants of the whole prouince of ATTICA, to be within
the cittie of ATHENS, and made them all one corporation, which were before disparsed into
diuers villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion
was offered to establish anie order concerning the common state. Many times also they were
at variance together, and by the eares, making warres one vpon another. But *Theseus* took
the paines to go from village to village, and from familie to familie, to let them vnderstand the
reasons why they should consent vnto it. So he found the poore people and priuate men, readie
to obey and follow his will, but the rich, and such as had authoritie in euerie village, all against

it.

it. Neuertheles he wanne them, promising that it should be a common wealth, and not subiect to the power of any sole prince, but rather a popular state. In which he would only reserue to himselfe the charge of the warres, and the preseruation of the lawes: for the rest, he was content that euery citizen in all and for all should beare a like sway and authority. So there were some that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yeelded notwithstanding for feare of his displeasure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to consent with good will, vnto that he required: then to tarry his forcible compulsion. Then he caused all the places where iustice was ministred, and all their halles of assembly to be ouerthrowne and pulled downe. He remoued straight all iudges and officers, and built a towne house, & a counsaile hall, in the place where the citie now standeth, which the ATHENIANS call ASTY, but he called the whole corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwardes he instituted the great feast and common sacrifice for all of the countrie of ATTICA, which they call *Panathenæa*. Then he ordeined another feast also vpon the sixteenth day of the moneth of Iune, for all strangers which should come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called *Metœcia*, and is kept euen to this day. That done, he gaue ouer his regall power according to his promise, and beganne to set vp an estate or pollicie of a common wealth, beginning first with the seruice of the goddes. To know the good successe of his enterprise, he sent at the very beginning to the oracle of *Apollo* in DELPHES, to enquire of the fortune of this citie: from whence this answere was brought vnto him.

Asty, the towne house of the Athenians.

The feastes Panathenæa, and metœcia.

Theseus resigneth his kingdome, & maketh Athens a common wealth.

The oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

O thou which art, the sonne of ÆGeus,
begot by him, on Pitheus daughter deare.
The mightie Ioue, my father glorious,
by his decree, hath said there shall appeare
a fatall end, of euery citie here.
VVhich end he will, shall also come adowne,
VVithin the walles, of this thy stately towne.
Therefore shew thou, a valiant constant mind,
and let no care, nor carke thy heart displease.
For like vnto a bladder blowne with wind
thou shalt be tost, vpon the surging seas.
Yet let no dynt, of dolours thee disease.
For why? thou shalt, nor perish nor decay,
nor be orecome, nor yet be cast away.

It is found written also that *Sibylla* afterwardes gaue out such a like oracle ouer the citie of ATHENS.

The bladder blowne may fleete vpon the fludde,
but cannot sinke, nor sticke in filthy mudde.

Moreouer, because he would further yet augment his people, and enlarge his citie, he entised many to come and dwell there, by offering them the selfe same freedome and priuiledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many iudge, that these words which are in vse at this day in ATHENS, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Come ye hither: be the selfe same which *Theseus* then caused to be proclaimed, when he in that sort did gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he suffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without distinction of degrees & orders. For he first diuided the noble men, from husbandmen & artificers, appointing the noble men as iudges & magistrates to iudge vpon matters of Religion, and touching the seruice of the goddes: and of them also he did chuse rulers, to beare ciuill office in the common weale, to determine the law, and to tell all holy and diuine things. By this meanes he made the noble men and the two other estates equall in voyce. And as the noblemen did passe the other in honour: euen so the artificers exceeded them in number, and the husbandmen them in profit. Now that *Theseus* was the first who of all others yeelded to haue a common weale or popular estate (as *Aristotle* sayth) & did giue ouer his regall power: *Homer* selfe seemeth to testifie it, in numbring the shippes which were in the Græcians armie before the citie of TROIA. For amongest all the GRÆCIANS, he onely calleth the ATHENIANS people. Moreouer *Theseus* coyned money, which he marked with the stampe of an oxe, in memorie of the bull of *Marathon*, or of *Taurus* the captaine of *Minos*, or else to prouoke his citizens to giue themselues to labour. They say also that of this money they were since called *Hecatombœon*, and *Decabœon*, which signifieth woorth a hundred oxen, and worth tenne oxen. Furthermore hauing ioyned all the territorie of the citie of MEGARA, vnto the countrie of ATTICA, he caused that notable foure square piller to be set vp for their confines within the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and engraued there-

Theseus maketh difference of states and degrees in his common weale.

Theseus the first that gaue ouer regall power, & framed a popular state.

An oxe stamped in Theseus coyne.

Hecatombœon, Decabœon.

vpon this superscription, that declareth the separation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this.

VVhere Titan doth beginne, his beames for to display,
euen that way stands Ionia, in fertile wise alway:
And where againe he goeth, adowne to take his rest,
there standes Peloponnesus land, for there I compt it west.

Olympia. It was he also which made the games called *Isthmia*, after the imitation of *Hercules*, to the ende that as the GRECIANS did celebrate the feast of games called *Olympia*, in the honour of *Iupiter*, by *Hercules* ordinance: so, that they should also celebrate the games called *Isthmia*, by his order and institution, in the honor of *Neptune*. For those that were done in the straights in the honour of *Melicerta*, were done in the night, & had rather forme of sacrifice or of a mysterie, then of games & open feast. Yet some will say, that these games of *Isthmia* were instituted in the honour & memorie of *Sciron*, & that *Theseus* ordained them in satisfaction of his death: because he was his cosin germaine, being the sonne of *Canethus*, and of *Heniocha* the daughter of *Pitheus*. Other say that it was *Sinnis* and not *Sciron*, and that for him *Theseus* made these games, & not for the memory of the other. How soeuer it was, he specially willed the CORINTHIANS, that they should giue vnto those that came from ATHENS to see their games of *Isthmia*, so much place to sit downe before them (in the most honorable part of the feast place) as the saile of their ship should couer, in the which they came from ATHENS: thus do *Hellanicus* and *Andron Halicarnasseus* write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the sea Maior, *Philochorus*, and some other holde opinion, that he went thither with *Hercules* against the AMAZONES: and that to honor his valiantnes, *Hercules* gaue him ANTIOPA the AMAZONE. But the more part of the other Historiographers, namely *Hellanicus*, *Pherecides*, & *Herodotus*, doe write, that *Theseus* went thither alone, after *Hercules* voyage, & that he tooke this AMAZONE prisoner, which is likeliest to be true: For we do not find that any other who went this iorney with him, had taken any AMAZONE prisoner besides him selfe. *Bion* also the Historiographer, this notwithstanding sayth, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the AMAZONES (sayth he) naturally louing men, did not flie at all when they saw them land in their countrie, but sent them presents, & that *Theseus* entised her to come into his ship, who brought him a present: and so soone as she was abord, he hoysed his sayle, and so caried her away. Another Historiographer *Menecrates*, who wrote the historie of the citie of NICEA, in the countrie of BYTHINIA, sayth: that *Theseus* hauing this AMAZONE ANTIOPA with him, remained a certain time vpon those coasts, & that amongst other he had in his company three yonger brethren of ATHENS, *Euneus*, *Thoas*, & *Solois*. This last, *Solois*, was marueilously in loue with ANTIOPA, and neuer bewrayed it to any of his other companions, sauing vnto one with whom he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter vnto ANTIOPA. But she vtterly reiected his suite, though otherwise she handled it wisely and courteously, and did not complaine to *Theseus* of him. Howbeit the young man despairing to enioy his loue, tooke it so inwardly, that desperately he leapt into the riuer, and drowned him selfe. Which when *Theseus* vnderstoode, and the cause also that brought him to this desperation and end: he was very sory, and angry also. Whereupon he remembred a certaine oracle of *Pythia*, by whom he was commaunded to build a citie in that place in a straunge countrie, where he should be most sorie, and that he should leaue some that were about him at that time, to gouerne the same. For this cause therefore he built a citie in that place, which he named PYTHOPOLIS, because he had built it onely by the commandement of the *Nunne Pythia*. He called the riuer in the which the young man was drowned, *Solois*, in memorie of him: and left his two brethren for his deputies and as gouernours of this new citie, with another gentleman of ATHENS, called *Hermus*. Hereof it commeth, that at this day the PYTHOPOLITANS call a certaine place of their citie, *Hermus* house. But they fayle in the accent, by putting it vpon the last syllabe: for in pronouncing it so, *Hermus* signifieth *Mercury*. By this meanes they doe transferre the honour due to the memorie of *Hermus*, vnto the god *Mercury*. Now heare what was the occasion of the warres of the AMAZONES, which me thinkes was not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprise of a woman. For they had not placed their campe

Theseus erected the games Isthmia, in the honour of Neptune.

Theseus iorney into mare maior.

Antiopa the Amazone rauished by Theseus

Solois fell in loue with Antiopa.

Solois drowned himselfe for loue.

Pythopolis built by Theseus. Solois.

The cause of the warres of the Amazones against the Athenians

campe within the very citie of ATHENS, nor had not fought in the very place it selfe (called PNYCE) adioyning to the tẽple of the *Muses*, if they had not first conquered or subdued all the countrie thereabouts: neither had they all come at the first, so valiantly to assayle the citie of ATHENS. Now, whether they came by land from so farre a countrie, or that they passed ouer an arme of the sea, which is called *Bosphorus Cimmericus*, being frosen as *Hellanicus* sayth: it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very citie it selfe, the names of the places which continue yet to this present day doe witnesse it, and the graues also of the women which died there. But so it is, that both armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length *Theseus* hauing first made sacrifice vnto *Feare* the goddesse, according to the counsaile of a prophecy he had receiued, he gaue them battell in the moneth of August, on the same day, in the which the ATHENIANS doe euen at this present solemnise the feast, which they call *Boedromia*. But *Clidemus* the Historiographer, desirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encounter, sayeth that the left point of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the right point marched by the side of CHRYSA, euen to the place which is called PNYCE, vpon which, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the temple of the *Muses*, did first giue their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graues of the women which died in the first encounter, are found yet in the great streete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neere vnto the chappell of the little god *Chalcodus*. And the ATHENIANS (sayth he) were in this place repulsed by the AMAZONES, euen to the place where the images of *Eumenides* are, that is to say of the furies. But on thother side also, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the quarters of *Palladiũ*, *Ardettus*, & *Lucium*, draue backe their right point euen to within their campe, and slew a great number of them. Afterwards, at the end of foure moneths, peace was taken betweene them by meanes of one of the women called *Hyppolita*. For this Historiographer calleth the AMAZONE which *Theseus* maried, *Hyppolita*, and not *Antiopa*. Neuertheles, some say that she was slaine (fighting on *Theseus* side) with a dart, by another called *Molpadia*. In memory wherof, the pillet which is ioyning to the temple of the *Olympian* ground, was set vp in her honour. We are not to maruaile, if the history of things so auncient, be found so diuersely written. For there are also that write, that Queene *Antiopa* sent those secretly which were hurt then into the citie of CALCIDE, where some of them recouered, & were healed: & others also dyed, which were buried neere to the place called AMAZONION. Howsoeuer it was, it is most certain that this war was ended by agreement. For a place adioyning to the temple of *Theseus*, doth beare recorde of it, being called *Orcomosium*: because the peace was there by solemne oath concluded. And the sacrifice also doth truely verifie it, which they haue made to the AMAZONES, before the feast of *Theseus*, long time out of minde. They of MEGARA also do shew a tumbe of the AMAZONES in their citie, which is as they go frõ the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they finde an auncient tumbe, cut in fashion & forme of a losenge. They say that there dyed other of the AMAZONES also, neere vnto the citie of CHÆRONEA, which were buried all along st the litle broke passing by the same, which in the old time, (in mine opiniõ) was called *Thermodon*, and is now named *Hæmon*, as we haue other places written in the life of *Demosthenes*. And it seemeth also, that they did not passe through THESSALY, without fighting: for there are seene yet of their tombs all about the citie of SCOTVSA, hard by the rocks, which be called the dogs head. And this is that which is worthy memorie (in mine opinion) touching the wars of these AMAZONES. How the Poet telleth that the AMAZONES made wars with *Theseus* to reuẽge the iniurie he did to their Queene *Antiopa*, refusing her, to marrie with *Phædra*: & for the murder which he telleth that *Hercules* did, that me thinkes is altogether but deuise of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of *Antiopa*, *Theseus* maried *Phædra*, hauing had before of *Antiopa* a sonne called *Hippolytus*, or as the Poet *Pindarus* writeth, *Demophon*. And for that the Historiographers do not in any thing speake against the tragicall Poets: in that which concerneth the ill happe that chaunced to him, in the persons of this his wife and of his sonne: we must needes take it to be so, as we find it written in the tragedies. And yet we finde manie other reportes touching the mariages of *Theseus*, whose beginnings had no great good honest grosid, neither fell out their endes verie fortunate: & yet for all that they haue made no tragedies of them, nei-

Bosphorus Cimmericus, an arme of the sea.

Theseus fighteth a battell with the Amazones.

The order of the Amazones battell.

Peace cõcluded at foure Monethes ende by meanes of Hyppolita.

Orcomosion the name of a place

Auncient tõbes of losenge fashion.

Thermodon, now called Hæmon.

Hippolytus Theseus sonne by Antiopa.

Phædra Theseus wife & Minos daughter king of Creta.

Theseus mariages.

ther haue they bene played in the Theaters. For we read that he tooke away *Anaxo* the TROEZENIAN, & that after he had killed *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he tooke their daughters perforce: and that he did also marie *Peribæa*, the mother of *Aiax*, & afterwards *Pherebæa*, & *Ioppa* the daughter of *Iphicles*. And they blame him much also, for that he so lightly forsooke his wife *Ariadne*, for the loue of *AEgles* the daughter of *Panopæus*, as we haue recited before. Lastly, he tooke away *Hellen*: which rauishment filled all the Realme of ATTICA with warres, & finally was the very occasion that forced him to forsake his countrie, & brought him at the length to his end, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of GREECE had done many goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet *Herodotus* is of opinion, that *Theseus* was neuer in any one of them: sauing that he was at the battell of the *Lapithæ* against the *Centauri*. Others say to the contrary, that he was at the iorney of *Cholchide* with *Iason*, & that he did helpe *Meleager* to kill the wild Bore of *Calydonia*: from whence (as they say) this prouerbe came: *Not without Theseus*. Meaning that such a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certaine that *Theseus* selfe did many famous acts, without aide of any man, and that for his valiantnes this prouerbe came in vse, which is spoken: *This is another Theseus*. Also he did helpe *Adrastus* king of the ARGIVES, to recouer the bodies of those that were slaine in the battell, before the citie of THEBES. Howbeit it was not, as the Poet *Euripides* sayth, by force of armes, after he had ouercome the THEBANS in battell: but it was by cõposition. And thus the greatest number of the most auncient writers do declare it. Furthermore, *Philochorus* writeth, that this was the first treatie that euer was made to recouer the dead bodies slayne in battell: neuertheles we doe read in the histories and gestes of *Hercules*, that he was the first that euer suffered his enemies to carrie away their dead bodies, after they had beene put to the sword. But whosoeuer he was, at this day in the village of ELEVTHERES, they doe show the place where the people were buried, and where princes tombes are seene about the citie of ELEVSIN, which he made at the request of *Adrastus*. And for testimonie hereof, the tragedie *AEschilus* made of the ELEVSINIANS, where he causeth it to be spoken euen thus to *Theseus* himselfe, doth clearely ouerthrow the petitioners in *Euripides*. Touching the friendshippe betwixt *Pirithous* and him, it is sayd it beganne thus. The renowne of his valiancy was marueilously blowen abroad through all GREECE, & *Pirithous* desirous to knowe it by experience, went euen of purpose to inuade his countrie, and brought away a certaine bootie of oxen of his taken out of the countrie of MARATHON. *Theseus* being aduertised therof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. *Pirithous* hearing of his comming, fled not at all, but returned backe sodainly to meete him. And so soone as they came to see one another, they both wondred at ech others beawtie and courage, and so had they no desire to fight. But *Pirithous* reaching out his hand first to *Theseus*, said vnto him; I make your selfe iudge of the damage you haue susteined by my inuasion, and with all my hearte I will make such satisfaction, as it shall please you to assesse it at. *Theseus* then did not only release him, of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were presently sworne brethren in the field: after which othe betwixt them, *Pirithous* maried *Deidamia*, & sent to pray *Theseus* to come to his mariage, to visite his countrie, and to make mery with the *Lapithæ*. He had bidden also the *Centauri* to the feast: who being druncke, committed many lewde parts, euen to the forcing of women. Howbeit the *Lapithæ* chasticed them so well, that they slew some of them presently in the place, & draue the rest afterwards out of all the countrie by the helpe of *Theseus*, who armed himselfe, and fought on their side. Yet *Herodotus* writeth the matter somewhat contrarie, saying that *Theseus* went not at all vntill the warre was well begun: and that it was the first time that he saw *Hercules*, and spake with him neere vnto the citie of TRACHINA, when he was then quiet, hauing ended all his farre voyages, and greatest troubles. They reporte that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnes, and honourable entertainement betweene them, and great courtesie was offred to eache other. Neuertheless me thinkes we should giue better credit to those writers that say they met many times together, and that *Hercules* was accepted and receiued into the brotherhood of the mysteries of ELEVSIN, by the meanes of the countenaunce and fauour which *Theseus* showed vnto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged

Theseus battels

Prouerbe. Not without Theseus.

Prouerbe. This is another Theseus.

Theseus valiantnes the cause of Pirithous frendship with him.

Pirithous and Theseus sworne bretheren in the fielde.

Pirithous maried Deidamie.

The Lapithæ ouercome the Centauri.

Theseus and Hercules met at Trachina.

ged of neceſſitie of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the company of thoſe holy myſteries. Furthermore, *Theſeus* was fifty yeares old when he tooke away *Helen* and rauiſhed her, which was very young, and not of age to be maried, as *Hellanicus* ſayth. By reaſon whereof, ſome ſeeking to hide the rauiſhment of her as a haynous fact, doe report it was not he, but one *Idas* and *Lynceus* that carried her away, who left her in his cuſtodie and keeping: and that *Theſeus* would haue kept her from them, and would not haue deliuered her to her brethren *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which afterwardes did demaund her againe of him. Others againe ſay it was her owne father *Tyndarus*, who gaue her him to keepe, for that he was afrayde of *Enarſphorus* the ſonne of *Hippocoon*, who would haue had her away by force. But that which commeth neareſt to the troth in this caſe, and which in deede by many authors is teſtified, was in this ſort. *Theſeus* & *Pirithous* went together to the citie of LACEDÆMON, where they tooke away *Hellen* (being yet very young) euen as ſhe was dauncing in the tẽple of *Diana* ſurnamed *Orthia*: & they fled for life. They of LACEDÆMON ſent after her, but thoſe that followed went no further thẽ the citie of TEGEA. Now when they were eſcaped out of the coũtrie of PELOPONNESVS, they agreed to draw lots together, which of them two ſhould haue her, with condition that whoſe lot it were to haue her, he ſhould take her to his wife, & ſhould be bound alſo to helpe his companion to get him another It was *Theſeus* happe to light vpon her, who caried her to the citie of APHIDNES, becauſe ſhe was yet too young to be maried. Whither he cauſed his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called *Aphidnus* the charge of them both, recõmending her to his good care, & to keepe it ſo ſecretly, that no body ſhould know what was become of her. Becauſe he would do the like for *Pirithous* (according to th'agremẽt made betwixt thẽ) he went into EPIRVS with him to ſteale the daughter of *Aidoneus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, who had ſurnamed his wife *Proſerpina*, his daughter *Proſerpina*, & his dogge *Cerberus*: with whõ he made thẽ fight which came to aske his daughther in mariage, promiſing to giue her to him that ſhould ouercome his *Cerberus*. But the king vnderſtãding that *Pirithous* was come, not to requeſt his daughter in mariage, but to ſteale her away, he tooke him priſoner with *Theſeus*: & as for *Pirithous*, he cauſed him preſẽtly to be torn in peeces with his dogge, & ſhut *Theſeus* vp in cloſe priſon. In this meane time there was one at ATHENS called *Meneſtheus*, the ſonne of *Peteus*: which *Peteus* was the ſonne of *Orneus*, and *Orneus* was the ſonne of *Erichtheus*. This *Meneſtheus* was the firſt that began to flatter the people, and did ſeeke to winne the fauour of the communaltie, by ſweete entiſing wordes: by which deuiſe he ſtirred vp the chiefeſt of the citie againſt *Theſeus* (who indeede long before began to be wearie of him) by declaring vnto them how *Theſeus* had taken from them their royalties and ſignories, & had ſhut them vp in ſuch ſort within the walles of a citie, that he might the better keepe them in ſubiection & obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour ſort of people, he did ſtirre vp alſo to rebellion, perſwading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promiſed them: and how contrariwiſe they were clearely diſpoſſeſt & throwen out of their own houſes, of their tẽples, & from their natural places where they were borne, to thend only, that in liew of many good & louing lordes which they were wont to haue before, they ſhould now be compelled to ſerue one only head, & a ſtrange lord. Euen as *Meneſtheus* was very hot about this practiſe, the war of the *Tyndarides* fell out at that inſtant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For theſe *Tyndarides* (to wit the children of *Tyndarus*) *Caſtor* & *Pollux*, came downe with a great armie, againſt the citie of ATHENS: & ſome ſuſpect ſore that *Meneſtheus* was cauſe of their comming thither. Howbeit at the firſt entrie they did no hurt at all in the country, but only demaunded reſtitution of their ſiſter. To whom the citizens made aunſwer, that they knew not where ſhe was left: & then the brethren began to make ſpoile, & offer warre in deed. Howbeit there was one called *Academus*, who hauing knowledge (I cannot tell by what meane) that ſhe was ſecretly hidden in the citie of APHIDNES, reuealed it vnto them. By reaſon whereof the *Tyndarides* did alwaies honour him very much, ſo long as he liued, & afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS, hauing oft burnt & deſtroyed the whole countrie of ATTICA throughout, they would yet neuer touch the Academy of ATHENS for *Academus* ſake. Yet *Dicearchus* ſayth, that in the armie of the *Tyndarides* there were two *Arcadians*, *Echedemus*, and *Marathus*, and how of the name of one of them, it was

Theſeus fifty yeares old when he rauiſhed Hellen.

The maner of Hellens rauiſhment.

Diana Orthia.

Theſeus left Hellen in the citie of Aphidnes.

Theſeus went with Pirithous into Epirus, to ſteale Proſerpina Aidoneus daughter.

Pirithous torne in peeces with Cerberus.

Theſeus cloſe priſoner.

The warre of the Tyndarides with the Athenians.

Academus why ſo called.

then called the place of Echedemie, which ſithence hath beene called Academia: and after the name of the other, there was a village called MARATHON, becauſe he willingly offered him ſelfe to be ſacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order & commaundement of a prophecie. So they went and pitched their campe before the citie of APHIDNES, and hauing wonne the battell, and taken the citie by aſſault, they raced the place. They ſay that *Alycus*, the ſonne of *Sciron* was ſlaine at this field, who was in the hoaſt of the *Tyndarides*, & that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of MEGARA was called *Alycus*, in the which his bodie was buried. Howbeit *Hereas* writeth that *Theſeus* ſelfe did kill him before APHIDNES: In witneſſe whereof he alledgeth certaine verſes which ſpeake of *Alycus*.

Marathon.

Aphidnes wonne & raced by the Tyndarides.

Alycus Scirons ſonne ſlaine at the battell of Aphidnes.

While as he ſought with all his might and mayne
(in thy defence, faire Hellen for to fight)
In Aphidnes vpon the pleaſant playne,
bold Theſeus to cruell death him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that *Theſeus* being there, the citie of APHIDNES, & his mother alſo were taken. But when it was wonne they of ATHENS began to quake for feare, & *Meneſtheus* counſelled them to receiue the *Tyndarides* into the citie, and to make them good chere, ſo they would make no wars but vpon *Theſeus*, which was the firſt that had done them the wrong & iniury: & that to all other els they ſhould ſhew fauour & good will. And ſo it fell out. For when the *Tyndarides* had all in their power to do as they liſted, they demaunded nothing els but that they might be receiued into their corporatiõ, & not to be reckoned for ſtrangers, no more thẽ *Hercules* was: the which was granted the *Tyndarides*, & *Aphidnus* did adopt them for his children, as *Pylius* had adopted *Hercules*. Moreouer they did honour thẽ as if they had bene goddes, calling them *Anaces*. Either becauſe they ceaſed the wars, or for that they ordered themſelues ſo well, that their whole armie being lodged within the citie, there was not any hurt or diſpleaſure done to any perſon: but as it became thoſe that haue the charge of any thing, they did carefully watch to preſerue the good quiet thereof. All which this Greke word *Anacos* doth ſignifie, whereof perchance it comes that they call the kings *Anactes*. There are others alſo who hold opinion that they were called *Anaces*, becauſe of their ſtarres which appeared in the aire. For the *Attican* tongue ſaith, *Anacas*, & *Anecathen*: where the cõmon people ſay *Ano*, and *Anothen*, that is to ſay, aboue. Neuertheles *Æthra*, *Theſeus* mother, was caried priſoner to LACEDÆMON, and from thence to TROIA with *Hellen*, as ſome ſay: & as *Homer* himſelfe doth witneſſe in his verſes, where he ſpeaketh of the women that followed *Hellen*.

The Tyndarides honoured as godds, and called Anaces.

Cicer. de Nat. deor lib. 3.

Kinges called Anactes.

Anaces why ſo called.

AEthra taken priſoner, and caried to Lacedæmon.

AEthra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Syre,
and with her fayre Clymene she, whoſe eyes moſt men deſire.

Yet there are other who aſwel reiect theſe two verſes, & maintaine they are not *Homers*: as alſo they reproue all that is reported of *Munychus*. To wit, that *Laocide* being priuily cõceiued of him by *Demophõ*, he was brought vp ſecretly by *Æthra* within TROIA. But *Heſter* the hiſtorien in his thirteenth of his hiſtories of ATTICA, maketh a recitall far cõtrary to other, ſaying: that ſome hold opiniõ, that *Paris Alexander* was ſlaine in battel by *Achilles*, & *Patroclus* in the coũtrie of THESSALY, neere to the riuer of *Sperchius*, & that his brother *Hector* tooke the citie of TROEZEN, from whence he brought away *AEthra*: in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihood. But *AEdoneus* king of the MOLOSSIANS, feaſting *Hercules* one day as he paſſed through his realme, deſcended by chaunce into talke of *Theſeus* & of *Pirithous*, how they came to ſteale away his daughter ſecretly: & after told how they were alſo puniſhed. *Hercules* was maruelous ſory to vnderſtand that one of them was now dead, & the other in daunger to die; & thought with himſelf that to make his mone to *AEdoneus*, it would not helpe the matter: he beſought him only that he would deliuer *Theſeus* for his ſake. And he granted him. Thus *Theſeus* being deliuered of his captiuitie, returned to ATHENS, where his friends were not altogether kept vnder by his enemies: and at his returne he did dedicate to *Hercules* all the temples, which the citie had before cauſed to be built in his owne honour. And where firſt of all they were called *Theſea*, he did now ſurname thẽ all *Herculea*, excepting foure, as *Philochorus* writeth. Now when he was arriued at ATHENS, he would immediately haue cõmanded and ordered things as he was wont to do: but he found him ſelfe troubled much with ſedition, be-

Diuers opinions of Homers verſes.

Sperchius fl.

Theſeus deliuered out of priſon by Hercules meanes.

cauſe

cauſe thoſe who had hated him of a long time, had added alſo to their old canckred hate, a diſdain & contẽpt to fear him any more. And the cõmõ people now were become ſo ſtubborn, that where before they would haue done all that they were cõmanded, & haue ſpokẽ nothing to the contrary: now they looked to be borne with, & flattered. Whereupon *Theſeus* thought at the firſt to haue vſed force, but he was forced by the faction & contẽtion of his enemies to let all alone, & in the end, deſpairing he ſhould euer bring his matters to paſſe to his deſire, he ſecretly ſent away his children vnto the Ile of EVBOEA, to *Elphenor* the ſonne of *Chalcodus*. And himſelf, after he had made many wiſhes & curſes againſt the Athenians, in the village of GARGETTVS, in a place which for that cauſe to this day is called *Arateriod*: (that is to ſay, the place of curſings) he did take the ſeas, & wẽt into the Ile of SCIROS, where he had goods, & thought alſo to haue found friends. *Lycomedes* raigned at that time, and was king of the Ile, vnto whom *Theſeus* made requeſt for ſome land, as intending to dwell there: albeit ſome ſay that he required him to giue him aide againſt the Athenias. *Lycomedes*, were it that he doubted to entertain ſo great a perſonage, or that he did it to gratifie *Mepeſtheus*: caried him vp to the high rockes, fayning as though he would from thence haue ſhewed him all his countrey round about. But when he had him there, he threw him downe headlong from the top of the rocks to the bottome, & put him thus vnfortunatly to death. Yet other write, that he fell downe of himſelf by an vnfortunate chaunce, walking one day after ſupper as he was wont to doe. There was no man at that time that did follow or purſue his death, but *Meneſtheus* quietly remained king of ATHENS: and the children of *Theſeus*, as priuate ſouldiers followed *Elphinor* in the warres of TROIA. But after the death of *Meneſtheus*, who died in the iourney to TROY, *Theſeus* ſonnes returned vnto ATHENS, where they recouered their ſtate. Sithence there were many occaſiõs which moued the Athenians to reuerence & honor him as a demy God. For in the battell of *Marathon*, many thought they ſaw his ſhadow and image in armes, fighting againſt the barbarous people. And after the warres of the *Medes* (the yeare wherein *Phedon* was gouernor of ATHENS) the Nun *Pithia* anſwered the Athenias, who had ſent to the oracle of *Apollo*: that they ſhould bring backe the bones of *Theſeus*, & putting thẽ in ſome honorable place, they ſhould preſerue and honor them deuoutly. But it was a hard matter to find his graue: and if they had found it, yet had it beene a harder thing to haue brought his bones away, for the malice of thoſe barbarous people which inhabited that Ile: which were ſo wild and fierce, that none could trade or liue with thẽ. Notwithſtãding *Cimon* hauing taken the Iland (as we haue written in his life) & ſeeking his graue: perceiuing by good hap an eagle pecking with her beake, & ſcraping with her clawes in a place of ſome prety height. Straight it came into his mind (as by diuine inſpiration) to ſearch and digge the place: where was found the tombe of a great body, with the head of a ſpear which was of braſſe, & a ſword with it. Al which things were brought to ATHENS by *Cimon* in the admirall gally. The Athenias receiued them with great ioy, with proceſſions & goodly ſacrifices, as if *Theſeus* him ſelfe had bene a liue, & had returned into the city againe. At this day all theſe relicks lye yet in the middeſt of the city, neare to the place where the young men doe vſe all their exerciſes of body. There is free liberty of acceſſe for all ſlaues & poore men, (that are afflicted & purſued, by any mightier then themſelues) to pray & ſacrifice in remembrance of *Theſeus*: who while he liued was protectour of the oppreſſed, & did curteouſly receiue their requeſts & petitions that prayed to haue aide of him. The greateſt and moſt ſolemne ſacrifice they doe vnto him, is on the eight day of October, in which he returned from CRETA, with the other young children of ATHENS. Howbeit they do not leaue to honor him euery eight day of all other moneths, either becauſe he arriued frõ TROEZEN at ATHENS the eight day of Iune, as *Diodorus* the Coſmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meeteſt for him, becauſe the bruite ranne he was begotten of *Neptune*. They do ſacrifice alſo to *Neptune*, the eight day of euery moneth, becauſe the number of eight is the firſt cube made of euen number, & the double of the firſt ſquare: which doth repreſent a ſtedfaſtnes immoueable, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*, whom for this cauſe we ſurname *Aſphalius*, and *Gaiochus*, which by interpretation doth ſignifie: the ſafe keeper, and the ſtayer of the earth.

The Athenias diſdaine to obey Theſeus.

Theſeus fled from Athens, into the Ile of Sciros.

Theſeus cruelly ſlaine by Lycomedes.

Meneſtheus king of Athens.

Theſeus ſons.

Cimon taketh the Ile of Sciros and bringeth Theſeus bones to Athens.

Theſeus tumbe.

Neptune why called Aſphalius and Gaiochus.

The end of Theſeus life.

THE LIFE OF *Romulus.*

Diuers opinions about the name of Rome.

THE Hiſtoriographers doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cauſe the great name of the citie of ROME (the glory whereof is blowen abroad through all the world) was firſt giuen vnto it. For ſome thinke that the Pelaſgians, after they had ouercome the greateſt part of the world, and had inhabited and ſubdued many nations, in the end did ſtay themſelues in that place where it was new builded: and for their great ſtrength and power in armes, they gaue the name of ROME vnto the city, as ſignifying power in the Greeke tong. Other ſay, that after the taking and deſtruction of TROIA, there were certaine TROIANS which ſauing themſelues from the ſword, tooke ſuch veſſels as they found at aduenture in the hauen, and were by windes put to the THVSCANE ſhore, where they anckred neare vnto the riuer of Tyber. There their wiues being ſo ſore ſea-ſicke, that poſſibly they could not any more endure the boiſtrous ſurges of the ſeas: it happened one of them among the reſt (the nobleſt and wiſeſt of the company) called ROMA, to counſaile the other women of her companions to ſet their ſhips a fire, which they did accordingly. Wherewith their husbands at the firſt were marueilouſly offended. But afterwards, being compelled of neceſſity to plant them ſelues neare vnto the city of PALLANTIVM, they were appeaſed when they ſaw things proſper better then they hoped for, finding the ſoyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours ciuill and gentle in entertayning them. Wherefore amongeſt other honours they did to requite this lady *Roma*, they called their city after her name, as from whom came the originall cauſe of the building and foundation thereof. They ſay that from thence came this cuſtome continuing yet to this day at ROME, that the women ſaluting their kinſefolkes and husbands doe kiſſe them in the mouth, for ſo did theſe TROIAN Ladyes to pleaſe their husbands, and to winne them againe, after they had loſt their fauours, and procured their diſpleaſures with burning of their ſhippes. Other ſay that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus*, and of *Lucaria*, or elſe of *Telephus* the ſonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *AEneas*: other ſay of *Aſcanius*, the ſonne of *AEneas*, who named the city after her name. Other hold opinion, that it was *Romanus* (the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* and of *Circe*) that firſt founded ROME: other wil ſay that it was *Romus* the ſonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither frō TROIA. Other write that it was one *Romis* a tyranne of the LATINES, who draue the THVSCANS out of thoſe parts

Tiberis fl.

The beginning of kiſſing their kinſfolkes in the mouth, came from the Troian women.

parts: which departing out of THESSALY went firſt of all into LYDIA, and afterwards from LYDIA into ITALIE. And furthermore, they who thinke that *Romulus* (as in deede it carieth beſt likelyhood) was he that gaue the name to the city, doe not agree about his auncеſters. For ſome of them write, that he was the ſonne of *AEneas* and of *Dexithea* the daughter of *Phorbus*, and that he was brought into ITALIE of a litle childe with his brother *Remus*: and that at that time the riuer of Tyber being ouerflowne, all other ſhippes were caſt away, ſauing the ſhippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to a ſtay vppon a very plaine euen ground on the bancke, and becauſe the children beyond all hope were ſaued by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwards called ROMA. Other ſay that *Roma* the daughter of the firſt Troian lady was maried vnto *Latinus* the ſonne of *Telemachus*, by whom ſhe had *Romulus*. Other write, that it was *AEmilia*, the daughter of *AEneas* and of *Lauinia*, which was gotten with childe by the god *Mars*. Other tell a tale of *Romulus* birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is ſaide that there was ſometime a king of ALBA named *Tarchetius*, a very wicked and cruell man, in whoſe houſe through the permiſſion of the goddes, appeared ſuch a like viſion: that there roſe vp in the harth of his chimney the forme and faſhion of a mans priuy member, which continued there many dayes. And they ſay, that at that time there was in THVSCANE an oracle of *Thetis*, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king *Tarchetius* ſuch an aunſwer: that he ſhould cauſe his daughter yet vnmaried to haue carnall company with the ſtraunge thing, for ſhe ſhould beare a ſonne, that ſhould be famous for his valiancie, for ſtrength of body, and his happie ſucceſſe, wherein he ſhould exceede all men of his time. *Tarchetius* told this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this ſtraunge thing: but ſhe diſdaining to doe it, ſent one of her waiting women to vndertake the entertainement. But *Tarchetius* was ſo mad at this, that he cauſed them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddeſſe *Veſta* appeared to him in his ſleepe in the night, and charged him he ſhould not doe it. Whereupon he did commaund them to make him a peece of cloth in the priſon, with promiſe that they ſhould be maried when they had finiſhed it. Theſe poore maides toyled at it all the liue long day, but in the night there came other (by *Tarchetius* commaundement) that did vndoe all they had done the day before. In the meane time, this wayting woman that was got with childe by this ſtrange thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twins: whom *Tarchetius* gaue vnto one *Teratius*, with expreſſe commaundement he ſhould caſt them away. This *Teratius* caried them vnto the bancke of the riuer: thither came a ſhee Wolfe and gaue them ſucke, and certaine birdes that brought litle crummes and put them in their mouthes, vntill a ſwine-heard perceyuing them, and wondring at the ſight, did boldly goe to the children, and tooke them away with him. Theſe infants being thus preſerued after they were come to mans ſtate, did ſet vppon *Tarchetius* and ſlew him. One *Promathion* an Italian writer, deliuereth this ſtorie thus. But the report that carrieth beſt credite of all, and is allowed of by many writers: commeth from *Diocles Peparethian*, (whom *Fabius Pictor* followeth (in many thinges) who was the firſt that put forth this ſtorie among the GRECIANS, and ſpecially the chiefeſt pointes of it. Though this matter be ſomewhat diuerſely taken, yet in effect the ſtorie is thus. The right line and bloud of the kings of ALBA deſcended from *AEneas*, by the ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, and the Kingdome fell in the ende betweene two brethren, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. They agreed by lotte to make diuiſion betweene them, whereof the one to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the golde, ſyluer, readie money, goods, and iewels brought from TROIA. *Numitor* by his lotte choſe the Realme for his portion: *Amulius* hauing all the golde and treaſure in his hands, did finde him ſelfe thereby the ſtronger, and ſo did eaſely take his Realme from him. And fearing leaſt his brothers daughter might haue children which one day might thruſt him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddeſſe *Veſta*, there to paſſe her dayes in virginitie, and neuer to be maried: (ſome call her *Rhea*, other *Syluia*, and other *Ilia*) neuertheleſſe not long after ſhe was found with childe, againſt the rule and profeſſion of the *Veſtall Nunnes*. So nothing had ſaued her from preſent death, but the petition of *Antho* the daughter of king *Amulius*, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithſtãding ſhe was ſtraightly locked vp, that no body could ſee her, nor ſpeake with her, leaſt

Fables of Romulus birth.

An oracle of Thetis in Thuſcane.

See the fragmentes of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato. See alſo Halicarnaſſeus, & T. Liuius.

Romulus kinred.

Romulus mother.

ſhe ſhould be brought to bedde without *Amulius* knowledge. In the end ſhe was deliuered of two faire boyes and marueilous great twinnes: which made *Amulius* more affraid then before. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throw them away, and deſtroy them. Some ſay that this ſeruants name was *Fauſtulus*: other thinke it was he that brought them vp. But whoſoeuer he was, he that had the charge to throw them away put them in a trough, and went towards the riuer with intention to throw them in. Howbeit he found it riſen ſo high, and running ſo ſwiftly, that he durſt not come neare the waters ſide, and ſo they being in the trough, he laid them on the banke. In the meane time the riuer ſwelling ſtill, and ouerflowing the banke, in ſuch ſort that it came vnder the trough: did gently lift vp the trough, and caried it vnto a great plaine, called at this preſent *Cermanum*, and in the old time *Germanum* (as I take it) becauſe the Romaines called the brothers of father & mother, *Germani*. Now there was neare vnto this place a wilde figge tree which they called *Ruminalis*, of the name of *Romulus* as the moſt part thought: or elſe becauſe the beaſts feeding there, were wont to come vnder the ſame in the extreame heate of the day, and there did Ruminate, that is, chew their cudde in the ſhadow: or perhappes becauſe that the two children did ſucke the teate of the Wolfe, which the auncient LATINES call RVMA, and they at this day doe yet call the goddeſſe on whom they cry out to giue their children ſucke, RVMILIA. And in their ſacrifices to her they vſe no wine, but offer vp milke and water mingled with hony. To theſe two children lying there in this ſort, they write, there came a ſhe Wolfe & gaue them ſucke, and a hitwaw alſo which did helpe to nouriſh and keepe them. Theſe two beaſts are thought to be conſecrated to the god *Mars*, and the LATINES do ſingularly honour and reuerence the hitwaw. This did much helpe to giue credit to the words of the mother, who affirmed ſhe was conceiued of thoſe two children, by the god *Mars*. Howbeit ſome thinke ſhe was deceyued in her opinion: for *Amulius* that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce did rauiſhe her. Other hold opinion that the name of the nurſe which gaue the two children ſucke with her breaſts, gaue occaſion to common report to erre much in this tale, by reaſon of the double ſignification thereof. For the LATINES do call with one ſelfe name ſhee Wolfes *Lupas*, & women that giue their bodies to all cõmers: as this nurſe the wife of *Fauſtulus* (that brought theſe children home to her houſe) did vſe to doe. By her right name ſhe was called *Acca Laurentia*, vnto whom the ROMAINES do ſacrifice yet vnto this day: and the prieſt of *Mars* doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the ſhedding of wine and milke accuſtomed at burials, and the feaſt it ſelfe is called *Laurentia*. It is true that they honour alſo another *Larentia*, for like occaſion. The clerke or ſexten of *Hercules* temple, not knowing one day how to driue away the time as it ſhould ſeeme: of a certaine liuelines and boldneſſe, did deſire the god *Hercules* to play at dice with him, with condition that if he did winne, *Hercules* ſhould be bound to ſend him ſome good fortune: and if it were his lucke to loſe, then he promiſed *Hercules* he would prouide him a very good ſupper, and would beſides bring him a faire gentlewoman to lie withall. The conditions of the play thus rehearſed, the ſexten firſt caſt the dice for *Hercules*, and afterwards for him ſelfe. It fell out that *Hercules* wanne, and the ſexten meaning good faith, and thinking it very meete to performe the bargaine that him ſelfe had made, prepared a good ſupper, and hyred this *Laurentia* the courtiſan, which was very faire, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus hauing feaſted her within the temple, and prepared a bed readie there, after ſupper he locked her into the temple, as if *Hercules* ſhould haue come in deed and layen with her. And it is ſayd for troth, that *Hercules* came thither: and commanded her in the morning ſhe ſhould go into the market place, & ſalute the firſt man ſhe met, & keepe him euer for her friend. Which thing ſhe performed, & the firſt man ſhe met was called *Tarrutius*, a man of great yeares, & one that had gathered together marueilous wealth & riches. He had no children at all, neither was he euer maried. He fel acquainted with this *Laurentia*, & loued her ſo dearely, that ſhortly after chauncing to die, he made her heire of all he had: wherof ſhe diſpoſed afterwards by her laſt will and teſtament, the beſt and greateſt part vnto the people of Rome. Moreouer it is reported alſo, that ſhe now being growen to be famous and of great honor (as thought to be the lemman of a god) did vaniſh away ſodainly in the ſelf ſame place, where the firſt *Laurentia* was buried. The place at this day is called Velabrũ: becauſe

Faustulus.

Cermanum.

Ruminalis.

The goddeſſe Rumilia.

Acca Laurentia Fauſtulus wife, that nurced the twinnes.

The Greeke fayeth Laurentia.

Laurẽtia feaſt. Laurentia a curtiſan.

Tarrutius.

Velabrum whereof Liuie Decad. 3 lib. 7.

becauſe the riuer being ouerflowen, they were oftentimes compelled to paſſe by bote to go to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying ouer, Velatura. Other ſay, that thoſe tomblers and common players, which ſhewed ſundry games and paſtimes to winne the fauor of the people, were wont to couer that paſſage ouer with canuas clothes and veyles, by which they goe from the market place to the liſtes or ſhew place where they runne their horſes, beginning their race euen at the place: and they call a veyle in their tongue, Velum. This is the cauſe why the ſecond *Laurentia* is honoured at Rome. *Fauſtulus* chiefe neat-heard to *Amulius*, tooke vp the two children and no body knew it, as ſome ſay: or as other report, (and likeſt to be true) with the priuity and knowledge of *Numitor*, *Amulius* brother, who ſecretly furniſhed them with money that brought vp the two young children. It is ſaid alſo they were both conueyed vnto the city of the GABIANS, where they were brought vp at ſchoole, and taught all other honeſt things, which they vſe to teach the ſonnes and children of good and noble men. Further they ſay they were named *Remus* and *Romulus*, becauſe they were foũd ſucking on the teates of a Wolfe. Now the beauty of their bodies did preſently ſhew, beholding onely but their ſtature and manner of their countenaunces, of what nature and linage they were: and as they grew in yeares, their manly courage increaſed marueilouſly, ſo as they became ſtout and hardy men, in ſo much as they were neuer troubled or aſtonied at any danger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that *Romulus* had more wit & vnderſtanding then his brother *Remus*. For in all things wherein they were to deale with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the bounds and limites of their paſtures: it was eaſily diſcerned in him, that he was borne to command, and not to obey. For this cauſe they were both exceedingly beloued of their companions, and of thoſe which were their inferiors. As for the kings heardmen, they paſſed not much for them, ſaying that they were euen like them ſelues, and ſo ſeemed not to care a Pinne for their anger or diſpleaſure, but wholly gaue them ſelues to all gentlemanly exerciſes and trades, thinking to liue idlely and at eaſe without trauell, was neither comely nor cõuenient: but to exerciſe, and harden their bodies with hunting, running, purſuing murderers and theeues, and to helpe thoſe which were oppreſſed with wrong and violence, ſhould be credite and commendation to them. By reaſon whereof, in very ſhort time they grew to great fame and renowne. And it fell out by chaunce there roſe ſome ſtrife and variance between the heardmen of *Amulius*, and the heardmen of *Numitor*: in ſo much as thoſe that were *Numitors*, carried away by force ſome cattell of the others. Thother ſide would not beare that, but purſued faſt after, and beating them well fauoredly, they made them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greateſt part of the cattell they had caried away with them. Wherat *Numitor* ſtormed marueilouſly, but yet his men ſeemed to make but little account of it, and purpoſing reuenge, they gathered about them a good company of vacabounds (that had neither home nor reſting place) and certaine fugitiue bond men which they intiſed ill fauoredly, incouraging them to ſteale away from their maſters. Thus one day whileſt *Romulus* was buſie about ſome ſacrifice, (being a deuout man and religious, and well giuen to ſerue the goddes, and to learne to diuine and tell before hand what things ſhould happen and come to paſſe) it happened the heard men of *Numitor* to meete *Remus* very ſlenderly accompanied: ſo they fell vpon him ſodainely, blowes were dealt roundly on both ſides, and men were hurt on either part. Howbeit *Numitors* men in the end proued the ſtronger part, and did take *Remus* by force, and carried him ſtraight before *Numitor*, alledging many complaintes and matters againſt him. *Numitor* durſt not puniſh him of his owne authority, becauſe he feared his brother *Amulius*, who was ſomewhat terrible: but went vnto him, and earneſtly beſought him to doe him iuſtice, and not to ſuffer him being his owne brother, to receiue ſuch iniury of his men. There was not a man in the city of ALBA, but did greatly miſlike the iniury done to *Numitor*: and ſpake it openly, that he was no perſon to be offered ſuch a wrong. In ſo much as *Amulius* moued herewith, did deliuer *Remus* into his handes, to puniſhe him as he thought good. Whereupon *Numitor* caried him home with him. But when he had him in his houſe, he began to conſider better of him, with admiration how goodly a young man he was, how in height and ſtrength of bodie he paſſed all the reſt of his people: and perceiuing in his face an aſſured conſtancy, and bold ſtedfaſt courage that yeelded not, nor was abaſhed for any

Romulus and Remus education.

Romulus a godly man.

Remus taken of Numitors heardmen.

daunger he ſaw toward him: and hearing alſo the report of his actes and manhood to be aunſwerable to that he ſaw: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion by ſome ſecret inſpiration of the goddes, which ordaine the depth of great matters) beganne partly by coniecture, and partly by chaunce to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, and who was his father and mother: ſpeaking to him in a more gentle wiſe, and with a friendlier countenance then before, to make him the bolder to aunſwer, and be of better hope. *Remus* boldly anſwered him; Truely I will not hide the troth from thee, for thou ſeemeſt to me more worthy to be King, then thy brother *Amulius*. For thou enquireſt, and heareſt firſt before thou condemneſt: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vntill now, we thought we had beene the children of two of the Kings ſeruants, to wit of *Fauſtulus* and of *Laurentia*: I ſay we, becauſe my brother and I are two twinnes. But ſeeing we are now falſely accuſed vnto thee, and by malicious ſurmiſed tales are wrongfully brought in daunger of our liues: we intend to diſcouer our ſelues, and to declare ſtraunge things vnto thee, whereof the preſent perill we ſtand now in, ſhall plainely prooue the troth. Men ſay that we haue beene begotten miraculouſly, foſtered and giuen ſucke more ſtraungely, and in our tender yeares were fed by birds and wild beaſts, to whom we were caſt out as a pray. For a Wolfe gaue vs ſucke with her teates, and an hitwaw (they ſay) brought vs little crummes, and put them in our mouthes, as we lay vppon the bancke by the riuer, where we were put in a trough that at this day remaineth whole, bound about with plates of copper, vppon the which are ſome letters engrauen halfe worne out, which peraduenture one day will ſerue for ſome tokens of knowledge (vnprofitable for our parents) when it ſhall be too late, and after we are dead and gone. *Numitor* then comparing theſe words, with the age the young man ſeemed to be of, and conſidering well his face: did not reiect the hope of his imagination that ſmiled on him, but handled the matter ſo, that he found means to ſpeake ſecretly with his daughter, notwithſtanding at that time ſhe was kept very ſtraightly. *Fauſtulus* in the meane time hearing that *Remus* was priſoner, and that the King had deliuered him already into the hands of his brother *Numitor* to do iuſtice, went to pray *Romulus* to helpe him, and told him then whoſe children they were for before he had neuer opened it to them but in darke ſpeeches, and glawncing wiſe, and ſo much as ſufficed to put them in ſome hope. So *Fauſtulus* taking the trough with him at that time, went vnto *Numitor* in great haſt, as marueilouſly affraide for the preſent daunger he thought *Remus* in. The Kings ſouldiers which warded at the gates of the city, beganne to gather ſome ſuſpition of *Fauſtulus* manner of comming: and he made him ſelfe to be the more ſuſpected, being queſtioned with about the cauſe of his repaire thither, that he faltred in his words: beſides, they eſpied his trough which he carried vnder his cloke. Now amongſt the warders, there was by chaunce one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be caſt away, and was preſent when they were left on the banke of the riuer to the mercy of fortune. This man knew the trough by and by, as well by the faſhion, as by the letters grauen vpon it: who miſtruſted ſtraight that which was true in deed. So he did not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led *Fauſtulus* with him to haue him confeſſe the troth. *Fauſtulus* being in this perplexity, could not keepe all cloſe vpon examination, but did vtter out ſomewhat of the matter, and yet he told not all. For he plainely iuſtified the children were aliue: yet he ſaid they were farre from the city of Alba, where they kept beaſtes in the fields. And as for the troughe, he was going to carry it to *Ilia*, becauſe ſhe had diuers times prayed him to let her ſee and feele it: to the end ſhe might be more aſſured of her hope, who promiſed her that one day ſhe ſhould ſee her children againe. So it chaunced vnto *Amulius* at that time, as it commonly doth vnto thoſe that are troubled, and doe any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to ſend one preſently (who in all other things was a very honeſt man, but a great friend of his brother *Numitors*) to aske him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were aliue. This perſon being come to *Numitor's* houſe, found him ready to embrace *Remus*, who fell to be witneſſe thereof, and of the good happe diſcouered vnto *Numitor*: whereupon he perſwaded him how to ſet vpon his brother, and to diſpatch the matter with ſpeede. So from that time forwards, he tooke their part. On the other ſide alſo the matter gaue them no leiſure to deferre their enterpriſe, although they had beene willing:

Gods prouidence.

Remus oratiõ, declaring the birth of himſelf & his brother Romulus.

Numitors wiſdome.

Fauſtulus care to ſaue Remus.

Amulius perplexed in his minde.

willing: for the whole caſe was ſomewhat blowne abroade. So *Romulus* then got ſtraight a power, and drew very neere the citie, & many of the citizens of ALBA went out to ioyne with him, who either feared or hated *Amulius*. Now *Romulus* power which he brought (ouer and beſides thoſe citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were diuided by hundreds, and euery hundred had his captaine who marched before his band, carying litle bundels of graſſe or of boughes tyed to the end of their poles. The LATINES call theſe bundels Manipulos, whereof it commeth that yet at this day in an armie of the *Romaines*, the ſouldiers which are all vnder one enſigne, are called Manipulares. So *Remus* ſturring vp thoſe that were within the citie, and *Romulus* bringing in men from without, the tyraunt *Amulius* fell in ſuch feare and agonie, that without prouiding any thing for his ſafetie, they came vpon him ſodainly in his palace, and ſlew him. Thus you heare how neere *Fabius Pictor* and *Diocles Peparethian* do agree in reciting the ſtorie, who was the firſt in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the citie of ROME: howbeit there are that thinke they are all but fables and tales deuiſed of pleaſure. But me thinkes for all that, they are not altogether to be reiected or diſcredited, if we will conſider fortunes ſtrange effects vpon times, and of the greatneſſe alſo of the Romaine empire: which had neuer atchieued to her preſent poſſeſſed power and authoritie, if the gods had not from the beginning bene workers of the ſame, and if there had not alſo bene ſome ſtrange cauſe, and wonderfull foundation. *Amulius* being now ſlaine as before, and after that all things were appeaſed, and reduced to good order againe: *Remus* and *Romulus* would not dwell in the citie of ALBA, being no lords thereof, nor alſo would be lords of it, ſo long as their grandfather by the mothers ſide was aliue. Wherefore after they had reſtored him to his eſtate, and had done the honour and dutie they ought vnto their mother: they purpoſed to go and build a citie in thoſe places where they had beene firſt brought vp, for this was the honeſteſt culler they could pretend for their departing from ALBA. Peraduenture they were enforced ſo to doe whether they would or not, for the great nnmber of baniſhed men, and fugitiue ſlaues which were gathered together by them for their ſtrength, who had bene vtterly loſt and caſt away, if they had bene once diſcharged by them. Therefore it was of neceſſity that they ſhould dwell by themſelues, ſeparated in ſome place, to keepe this number together and in ſome order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the citie of ALBA would not ſuffer ſuch baniſhed perſons and runnagates to be mingled amongeſt them, nor would receiue them into their citie to be free among them. All which appeareth ſufficiently: firſt, becauſe they tooke away women by force: and ſo not of inſolencie, but of neceſſitie, when they founde no man that would beſtow any of them. It is manifeſt alſo they did greatly honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their citie beganne a litle to be ſetled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitiues and afflicted perſons, which they called the temple of the god *Aſylæus*. Where there was ſanctuarie and ſafetie for all ſorts of people that repaired thither, and could get into the temple, for whom it was alledged they could not deliuer any bond mã to his maſter, nor detter to his creditor, nor murtherer to the iuſtice that was fled thither for ſuccour, becauſe the oracle of *Apollo* the *Delphian* had expreſſely enioyned them to graunt ſanctuarie to all thoſe that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in ſhort ſpace their citie flouriſhed, and was repleniſhed, where at the firſt foundation of it, they ſay there was not aboue one thouſande houſes, as more at large hereafter ſhall be declared. When they came now to the building of their citie, *Romulus* and *Remus* the two brethren fell ſodainely at a ſtrife together about the place where the citie ſhould be builded. For *Romulus* built ROME, which is called foure ſquare, and would needes it ſhould remaine in the place which he had choſen. *Remus* his brother choſe another place very ſtrong of ſituation, vpon mount *Auentine*, which was called after his name *Remonium*, and now is called *Rignarium*. Notwithſtanding, in the end they agreed betweene themſelues, this controuerſie ſhould be decided by the flying of birds, which do giue a happie diuination of things to come. So being ſet in diuers places by themſelues to make obſeruation, ſome ſay that there appeared vnto *Remus* ſixe, and to *Romulus* twelue vulters. Other ſay that *Remus* truely ſaw ſixe, and *Romulus* feigned from the beginning that he ſawe twiſe as many: but when *Remus* came to him, then there appeared twelue in deede vnto *Romulus*, and this is the cauſe why the Romaines at this

Manipulares whereof ſo called.

Amulius ſlaine.

The building of Rome.

Aſylæus temple a ſanctuarie for al baniſhed perſons and fugitiues.

Strife betwixt Romulus, and Remus.

Remonium. Rignarium.

The Romaines obserue the flying of vulters.

day in their diuinations and soothsayings of the flying of birds, doe maruellously obserue the flying of the vulters. It is true which the historiographer *Herodotus Ponticus* writeth; that *Hercules* reioyced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being readie to begin any enterprise. For it is the foule of the world that doth least hurt, and neuer marreth nor destroieth any thing that man doth sowe, plante, or set: considering that she feedeth on carion only, and doth neuer hurt nor kill any liuing thing. Also she doth not pray vpon dead fowle, for the likenesse that is betweene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the sakers, doe murther, kill, and eate those which are of their owne kinde. And yet as *AEschylus* sayeth,

Needes must that fowle accompted be most vile,
Most rauening, and full of filthie minde,
Which doth himselfe, continually defile,
by praying still vpon his proper kinde.

Moreouer, other birdes are alwaies (as a man would say) before our eyes, and do dayly shewe them selues vnto vs: where the vulter is a very rare birde, and hardly to be seene, and men doe not easely finde their ayries. Which hath giuen some occasion to holde a false opinion, that the vulters are passagers, and come into these partes out of straunge countryes. The prognosticators also thinke, that such things which are not ordinarie, and but seldome seene, be not naturall, but miraculously sent by the gods to prognosticate something. When *Remus* knew how his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when *Romulus* had cast a ditche, as it were for the wall about his citie, *Remus* did not onely scorne it, but hindered also his worke, and in the end for a mockerie lept ouer his wall. To conclude, he did so much, that at the last he was slaine there by *Romulus* owne handes as some saye: or as other holde opinion, by the hands of one of his men which was called *Celer*. In this fight they slew *Faustulus*, and *Plistinus* also his brother, who had holpen him to bring vp *Romulus*. Howsoeuer the matter fell out, this *Celer* absented him selfe from ROME, and went into the countrie of THVSCANE. And they say, that men which are quicke, and ready vpon a sodaine, tooke their names euer after vpon him, and were called *Celeres*. As amongest other, *Quintus Metellus*, after the death of his father, hauing in very fewe dayes made the people of ROME to see a combate of fensers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the sharpe, they surnamed him *Celer*, for that the ROMAINES maruelled how he could prepare his things in so shorte a time. Furthermore, *Romulus* hauing now buried his brother, and his other two bringers vp (called foster fathers) in the place they call *Remonia*: beganne then to builde and laye the foundation of his citie, sending for men out of THVSCANE, who did name and teache him particularly all the ceremonies he had to obserue there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy mysterie. And first of all they made a rounde ditche in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they did cast their chiefest and best things, which men vse lawfully for good, and naturally as most necessarie. After that they did throwe also into it, a litle of the earth, from whence euery man came, and mingled these all together. This ditche in their ceremonies is called the worlde, in Latine *Mundus*, euen the selfe same name the Latines call the *Vniuersall*. About this ditche they did trace the compasse of the citie they would builde, euen as one would draw a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the citie taketh a plough, to which he fastened a culter or ploughe share of brasse, and so yoaked in the ploughe an oxe and a cowe, he himselfe houlding the ploughe did make rounde about the compasse of the citie a deepe furrowe. Those which followed him, had the charge to throwe the turues of earth inwarde into the citie, which the plough share raised vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The furrowe thus cast vp was the whole compasse of their walle, which they call in Latine *Pomerium*, by shortning of the syllables, for *post murum*: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they did take off the ploughe share, and draw the ploughe, with leauing a certaine space of earthe vnbroken vp: whereupon the ROMAINES thinke all the compasse of their walles holy and sacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and sanctified, they would haue had a conscience through them to haue brought in, or caried out of the citie, any things necessarie for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Nowe they be-

Remus slaine by Romulus or Celer.

Celeres wherefore so called. Q. Metellus Celer.

Romulus layeth the foundation of Rome.

The world.

Pomerium why so called.

The walles holy.

leeue

leeue certainely, that this ceremonie of the foundation of their citie, was made the one and twentie of Aprill: becauſe the ROMAINES do yet keepe that day holy day, and call it the feaſt the natiuitie of their countrie. On which day they did not in olde time ſacrifice any thing that had life, as eſteeming that day (which was the natiuitie of their citie) to be moſt meete to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloud. Notwithſtanding before ROME was builded, they had another feaſt called the ſheapeheards or heardmens holy day, which they did celebrate vpon the ſame daye, and called it *Palilia*. Nowe at this day the beginnings of the moneths with the ROMAINES is cleane contrarie to the GRECIANS: yet for all this, they holde opinion for certaintie that the day on which *Romulus* founded his citie, was aſſuredly that which the GRECIANS call *Triacada*; that is to ſay, the thirtie day. On which there was ſeene an eclypſe of the moone, which they ſuppoſe was obſerued by the Poet *Antimachus* (borne in the citie of TEOS) in the thirteenth yeare of the ſixt *Olympiade*. Likewiſe in the time of *Marcus Varro* (as a man learned, and one that had redde as much of auncient ſtories as any ROMAINE) there was a friend of his called *Tarutius*, a great philoſopher and mathematician, who being giuen to the calculation of aſtronomie for the delight of ſpeculation only, wherein he was thought moſt excellent; it did fall out that *Varro* gaue him this queſtion, to ſearche out what hower and daye the natiuitie of *Romulus* was, who gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they doe in the reſolutions of certaine geometricall queſtions. For they ſay, that by the ſelfe ſame ſcience, one may tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainely the hower of his natiuitie: and how one may tell alſo the hower of his natiuitie, when by accidents they know what hath happened to him all his life. *Tarutius* did the queſtion that *Varro* gaue him. And hauing throughly conſidered the aduentures, deedes, and geſtes of *Romulus*, howe long he liued, and how he dyed: all which being gathered and conferred together, he did boldly iudge for a certaintie, that he was conceiued in his mothers wombe, in the firſt yeare of the ſecond *Olympiade*, the three and twentie day of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Choeac*, and now is called December, about three of the clocke in the morning, in which hower there was a whole eclypſe of the ſunne: And that he was borne into the world, the one and twentith of the moneth of *Thoth*, which is the moneth of September, about the riſing of the ſunne. And that ROME was begonne by him on the ninth day of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Pharmuthi*, and aunſwereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning. For they will ſay that a cittie hath his reuolution and his time of continuance appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knew by the ſituation of the ſtarres, the day of her beginning and foundation. Theſe things and ſuch other like, peradventure will pleaſe the readers better, for their ſtrangeneſſe and curioſitie, then offend or miſlike them for their falſehood. Now after that he had founded his citie, he firſt and formoſt did diuide in two companies, all thoſe that were of age to carie armour. In euery one of theſe companies there were three thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſemen: and they were called Legions, becauſe they were ſorted of the choſen men that were pyckt out amongeſt all the reſt for to fight. The remaine after theſe was called *Populus*, which ſignifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred counſellers of the beſt and honeſteſt men of the citie, which he called *Patricians*: and the whole company of them together he called *Senatus*, as one would ſay, the counſell of the auncients. So they were called *Patricians*, as ſome will ſaye, the counſaile of the fathers lawfull children, which few of the firſt inhabitants could ſhewe. It may be, ſome will ſay this name was giuen them of *Patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the ſanctuarie of their citie, which word they vſe at this day in the ſelfe ſame ſignification: as one that followed *Euander* into ITALIE, was called *Patron*, becauſe he was pitifull, and relieued the poore and litle children, and ſo got himſelfe a name for his pitie and humanitie. But me thinkes it were more like the trothe to ſay, that *Romulus* did call them ſo, becauſe he thought the chiefeſt men ſhould haue a fatherly care of the meaner ſorte: conſidering alſo it was to teache the meaner ſorte that they ſhould not feare the authoritie of the greater, nor enuie at their honours they had, but rather in all their cauſes ſhould vſe their fauour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For euen at this preſent, ſtraungers call

The feaſt day of Romes foundation the 21. of Aprill.

The feaſt Palilia.

An eclips of the moone at the laying of the foundation of Rome.

Varro a philoſopher.

Tarutius a mathematicia.

The hower of a mans natiuitie may be calculated by his accidents.

Romulus natiuitie calculated by Tarutius.

An eclips of the ſunne when Romulus was conceiued in his mothers wombe.

The Romaine legion.

3000 footmen.

300 horſemen.

Romulus inſtituteth a comon wealth.

What the Patricians and Senate were.

Patres Conscripti.

those of the Senate, lordes or captaines: but the naturall ROMAINES call them, *Patres Conscripti*, which is a name of fatherhead and dignitie without enuie. It is true, that at the beginning they were only called *Patres*, but sithence, because they were many ioyned vnto the first, they haue bene named *Patres Conscripti*, as a man should say, fathers of recorde together: which is the honourablest name he could haue deuised to make a difference betwixt the *Senatours*, and the people. Furthermore, he made a difference betweene the cheefer citizens, and the baser people, by calling the better sorte *Patroni*, as much to saye, as defenders: and the meaner sorte *Clientes*, as you would say, followers, or men protected. This did breede a maruellous great loue and good will among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutuall curtesies and pleasures: for the Patrons did helpe the clients to their right, defended their causes in iudgement, did giue vnto them counsaile, and did take all their matters in hand. The clients againe enterchaungeably humbled themselues to their patrons, not onely in outwarde honour and reuerence towardes them, but otherwise did helpe them with money to marrie and aduaunce their daughters, or els to pay their debts and credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was no lawe nor magistrate that could compell the patron to be a witnesse against his client: not yet the client to witnesse against his patron. So they increased, and continued, all other rights and offices of amitie and friendship together, sauing afterwards they thought it a great shame and reproache for the better, and richer, to take reward of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we haue spoken sufficiently. Moreouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the citie was layed, *Fabius* writeth, there was a great rauishment of women. There are some which lay it vpon *Romulus*, who being then of nature warlike, and geuen to prophecies and aunswers of the goddes, foretolde that his citie should become very great and mightie, so as he raised it by warres, and increased it by armes: and he sought out this colour to do mischiefe, and to make war vpon the SABYNES. To proue this true, some say he caused certaine of their maides by force to be taken away, but not past thirtie in number, as one that rather sought cause of warres, then did it for neede of mariages: which me thinkes was not likely to be true, but rather I iudge the contrarie. For seeing his citie was incontinently repleniſhed with people of all sorts, whereof there were very fewe that had wiues, and that they were men gathered out of all countries, and the most parte of them poore and needie, so as their neighbours disdained them much, and did not looke they would long dwell together: *Romulus* hoping by this violent taking of their maides and rauishing them, to haue an entrie into alliance with the SABYNES, and to entise them further to ioyne with them in mariage, if they did gently intreate these wiues they had gotten, enterprised this violent taking of their maides, and rauishing of them in such a sorte. First he made it to be commonly bruted abroad in euery place, that he had founde the altar of a god hidden in the grounde, and he called the name of the god, *Consus*: either because he was a god of counsaile, whereupon the ROMAINES at this day in their tongue call *Consilium*, which we call counsell: and the chiefe magistrates of their citie *Consules*, as we say counsellers. Other saye it was the altar of the god *Neptune*, surnamed the patron of horses. For this altar is yet at this day within the great listes of the citie, and euer couered and hidden, but when they vse the running games of their horse race. Other say because counsell euer must be kept close and secret, they had good reason to keepe the altar of this god *Consus* hidden in the ground. Nowe other write when it was opened, *Romulus* made a sacrifice of wonderfull ioye, and afterwards proclaimed it openly in diuers places, that at such a day there should be common playes in ROME, and a solemne feast kept of the god *Consus*, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome Great numbers of people repaired thither from all partes. He himselfe was set in the chiefest seate of the showe place, apparelled faire in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his citie about him. And there hauing purposed this rauishment you haue heard of, he had giuen the signe before: that the same should beginne, when he should rise vp and folde a plaite of his gowne, and vnfolde the same againe. Hereupon his men stood attending with their swordes: who so soone as they perceiued the signe was giuen, with their swords drawne in hand, and with great showtes and cryes, ranne violently on the maydes and daughters of the SABYNES to take them awaye and rauishe them, and suffered the men to runne away,

Patroni. Clientes.

The shame of the Romaines to take gifts of poore men.

The rauishment of the Sabynes women.

Romulus craft about the rauishment of the Sabines daughters.

Consus a god.

Neptune the god of horsemen.

The execution of the rauishment.

away, without doing them any hurt or violence. So some say, there were but thirtie rauished, after whose names were called the thirtie linages of the people of Rome. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were fiue hundred and seuen and twentie: and *Iuba*, sixe hundred foure score & three. In the which is singularly to be noted for the commendation of *Romulus*, that he him selfe did take then but onely one of the maydes, named *Hersilia*: that afterwards was the onely cause and mediation of peace betwixt the Sabynes and the Romaines. Which argueth plainely, that it was not to doe the Sabynes any hurt, nor to satisfie any disordinate lust, that they had so forcibly vndertaken this rauishment: but to ioyne two peoples together, with the straighrest bondes that could be betweene men. This *Hersilia* as some say, was maried vnto one *Hostilius*, the noblest man at that time amongst the Romaines: or as others write, vnto *Romulus* himselfe, which had two children by her. The first was a daughter, and her name was *Prima*, because she was the first: the other was a sonne, whō he named *Aollius*, because of the multitude of people hee had assembled together in his citie, and afterwards he was surnamed *Abillius*. Thus *Zenodotus* the Troezenian writeth, wherein notwithstanding there be diuers that doe contrarie him. Among those which rauished then the daughters of the Sabynes, it is saide there were founde certaine meane men carying away, a marueilous passing faire one. These met by chance on the waye, certaine of the chiefe of the citie, who would haue taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they beganne to cry, they caried her vnto *Talasius*, who was a young man marueilously well beloued of euerie body. Which when the others vnderstoode, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: in so much as there were some which sodainely turned backe againe, and did accompanie them for *Talasius* sake, crying out alowd, and often on his name. From whence the custome came, which to this day the Romaines sing at their mariages, *Talasius*, like as the Grecians sing *Hymenæus*. For it is sayde he was counted very happie that he met with this woman. But *Sextius Sylla* a Carthaginian borne, a man very wise, and well learned, tolde me once it was the cry and signe which *Romulus* gaue to his men, to beginne the rauishment: whereupon those which caried them away, went crying this word *Talasius*, and that from thence the custome hath continued, that they sing it yet at their mariages. Neuertheless the most part of authors, specially *Iuba*, thinkes it is a warning to remember the new maried women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the Grecians cal *Talasia*, the Italian word at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the Romaines vsed this terme of *Talasia*, as we of Grece do vse: we might by coniecture yeeld another reason for it, which should carrie a better likelihoode and proofe. For when the Sabynes after the battell, had made peace with the Romaines, they put in an article in fauour of the women in the treatie, that they should not be bound to serue their husbandes in any other worke, but in spinning of wolle. Euer since this custome hath growen, that those which giue their daughter in mariage, and those who leade the bride, and such as are present at the wedding, speake in sport to the newe maried wife, laughing, *Talasius*: in token that they doe not leade the bride for any other worke or seruice, but to spinne wolle. Thereof this hath bene the vse to this day, that the bride doth not of her selfe come ouer the threshold of her husbandes doore, but she is hoysed pretily into the house: because the Sabyne women at that time were so lift vp, and caried away by force. They say also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded wiues haire, with the Iron head of a Iaueling, came vp then likewise: this storie being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the swords point: as we haue written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and shew the causes of the Romaines fashions and customes. This rauishment was put in execution about the eighteenth day of the moneth then called *Sextilis*, and now named August: on which day they yet celebrate the feast they call *Consalia*. Now the Sabynes were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within inclosed walles: being a thing fit for their noble courages that did feare nothing, and as those who were descended from the Lacedæmonians. Neuertheles, they seeing themselues bound and tyed to peace by pledges & hōstages, that were very neere allyed vnto them, and fearing their daughters should be ill intreated: sent ambassadours

The number of the Sabyne women rauished.

Hersilia Romulus wife.

Romulus first daughter called Prima. His sonne was called Aollius. Abillius.

The cause why the Romaines doe sing the name of Talasius in mariages.

Talassia.

Matrimoniall ceremonie at Rome.

Sextilis, August. Plutar. in his proble. Consualia.

The Sabynes what they were.

to *Romulus*, by whom they made reasonable offers and perswasions, that their daughters might be deliuered vnto them againe, without any force or violence, and then afterwardes, that he would cause them to be asked in mariage of their parents, as both reason and lawe would require. To the end that with good will and consent of all parties, both peoples might contract amitie and alliance together. Whereunto *Romulus* made aunswere, he could not restore the maydes which his people had taken away and maried: but most friendly he prayed the SABYNES to be contented with their alliance. This answere being returned, & not liked, whilest the princes and communaltie of the SABYNES were occupied in consultation, and about the arming of themselues: *Acron* king of the CENINENSES (a man exceeding couragious and skilfull in the warres, and one that from the beginning mistrusted the ouer bold & stout enterprises that *Romulus* was likely to attempt, cõsidering the late rauishment of the SABYNES daughters, and how he was alreadie greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and somewhat vntolerable, if he were not chasticed and brought lower) first beganne to inuade him with a puissant armie, and to make hotte and violent warres vpon him. *Romulus* on the other side prepared also, and went foorth to meete him. When they were come so neere together that they might see one another, they sent defiance to ech other, and prayed that they two might fight man to man amiddest their armies, and neither of theirs to sturre a foote. Both of them accepted of it, and *Romulus* making his prayer vnto *Iupiter*, did promise, and made a vow: that if he did giue him the victorie to ouercome, he would offer vp to him the armour of his enemie, which he did. For first he slew *Acron* in the field, and afterwards gaue battell to his men, and ouerthrew thẽ also. Lastly he tooke his citie, where he did no hurt nor yet displeasure to any, sauing that he did commaund them to pull downe their houses, and destroy them, and to goe dwell with him at ROME: where they should haue the selfe same rights & priuiledges which the first inhabitants did enioy. There was nothing more enlarged the citie of ROME, then this manner of pollicie, to ioyne alwayes vnto it those she had ouercome and vanquished. *Romulus* now to discharge his vow, and in such sort that his offering might be acceptable to *Iupiter*, and pleasant to his citizens to behold: did cut downe a goodly straight growen young oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lye. The same he trimmed and did set forth after the manner of victorie, hanging and tying all about it in fayre order, the armour and weapons of king *Acron*. Then he girding his gowne to him, & putting vpon his long bush of hayre, a garland of lawrell, layd the young oke vpon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his citie, and sung a royall song of victorie, all his armie following him in armes vnto the citie in order of battell: where his citizens receiued him in all passing wise and triumph. This noble and stately entry euer since hath giuen them mindes in such sort, and in statelier wise to make their triumph. The offering of this triumph was dedicated to *Iupiter* surnamed *Feretrian*: because the Latine word *Ferire*, signifieth to hurt & kill: and the prayer *Romulus* had made, was, he might hurt & kill his enemie. Such spoyles are called in Latine, *Spolia opima*: therefore layth *Varro*, that *opes* signifie riches. Howbeit me thinks it were more likely to say, that they were so named of this worde *Opus*, which betokeneth a deede, because he must needes be the chiefe of the armie, that hath slaine with his owne hands the generall of his enemies, and that must offer the spoyles called *Spolia opima*, as you would say, his principall spoyles and deeds. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captaines only: of the which *Romulus* was the first, who slew *Acron*, king of the CENINENSES. *Cornelius Cossus* was the second, who killed *Tolumnius*, the generall of the THVSCANS. *Clodius Marcellus* was the third, who slew *Britomartus*, king of the GAVLES, with his owne hands. And for the two last, *Cossus* & *Marcellus*, they made their entry into the citie, carying their triumphes vpon charets triumphant: but *Romulus* did not so. Therefore in this point *Dionysius* the historiographer hath erred, writing that *Romulus* did enter into ROME vpon a charret triumphant. For it was *Tarquinius Priscus* the sonne of *Demaratus*, who first did set out triumphs in so stately & magnificent show. Other hold opinion it was *Valerius Publicola*, who was the first that euer entred vpon triumphant charret. Concerning *Romulus*, his statues are yet to be seene in Rome, carying his triumph a foote. After this ouerthrow & taking of the CENINENSES, the inhabitants of the cities of FIDENA, CRVSTVMERIVM, and ANTEMNA, rose altogether

Acron king of the Ceninenses maketh warre with Romulus.

Acron slaine in the field.

Romulus triumph.

The beginning of triumph.

Iupiter Feretrius.

Spolia opima.

Three Romains onely obtained spolia opima.

Tarquinius Priscus the first that triumphed in charet.

Valerius Publicola.

The cities of Fidena, Crustumerium, and of Antemna rose all against Romulus.

together against the ROMAINES whiles the other SABYNES also were a preparing themselues. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the ouerthrow: & left their cities to the spoyle of *Romulus*, their lands to be giuen where he thought good, & themselues to be caried to ROME. *Romulus* then did giue their lands among his citizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maidens that they had taken away & rauished. For he was contented that the fathers of them should keepe still their lands. By & by the other SABYNES stomaking thereat, did chuse them a generall called *Tatius*, & so went with a puissant armie toward the citie of ROME, whereunto to approch at that time it was very hard, the castle or keepe of their city being seated, where at this day the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great garrison, whereof *Tarpeius* was captaine, & not his daughter *Tarpeia*, as some will say, who set out *Romulus* as a foole. But *Tarpeia* the captaines daughter, for the desire she had to haue all the gold bracelets which they did weare about their armes, sold the fort to the SABYNES, and asked for reward of her treason, all they did weare on their left armes. *Tatius* promised them vnto her: and she opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the SABYNES into the castle. *Antigonus* then was not alone, who sayd, he loued those which did betray, & hated them that had betrayed: nor yet *Cæsar Augustus*, who told *Rymitalces* the THRACIAN, that he loued treason, but he hated traytors. And it is a common affection which we beare to wicked persons, whilest we stand in neede of them: not vnlike for all the worlde to those which haue neede of the gall and poyson of venemous beasts. For when they finde it, they are glad, & take it to serue their turne: but after their turne is serued, & they haue that they sought, they hate the crueltie of such beasts. So played *Tatius* at that time. For when he was gotten into the castle, he commanded the SABYNES (for performance of his promise he had made to *Tarpeia*) they should not sticke to giue her all they weare on their left armes, & to do as he did: who taking from his owne arme first, the bracelets which he ware, did cast it to her, and his target after. And so did all the rest in like sort, in so much as being borne down to the ground by the weight of bracelets & targets, she died as pressed to death vnder her burden. Neuertheles *Tarpeius* selfe was atteinted, and condemned also of treason, by *Romulus* order, as *Iuba* saith, it is set forth by *Sulpitius Galba*. They that write now otherwise of *Tarpeia*, saying she was the daughter of *Tatius*, generall of the SABYNES, & was forced by *Romulus* to lie with him, & how she was punished in this sort by her owne father after her said treason committed: those I say, amongst whom *Antigonus* is one, are not to be credited. And the Poet *Simylus* also doth dote most, who sayth *Tarpeia* sold the Capitoll not to the SABYNES, but to the king of GAVLES, with whom she was in loue: as in these verses doth appeare.

The Sabynes led by Tatius, went to besiege the citie of Rome.

Tarpeia betrayeth the castle, and letteth in the Sabynes.

Antigonus and Augustus Cæsars words of traytours.

A fit similitude.

Note the reward of treason.

Tarpeia prest to death.

Tarpeia, that mayde of foolish minde,
which neere vnto the Capitoll did dwell
(Inferuent flames, of beastly loue beblinde,
wherewith the king of Gaules did make her swell)
Caused stately ROME *surprised for to be*
by enemies, as euery man may see.
And so through hope of his fidelitie
betrayed her Syre, with all his familie.

And a litle after, in speaking of the manner of her death, he sayth also:

Yet lo: the Gaules, those worthy men of might
threw her not downe, into the waues of Po,
But from their armes, wherewith they wont to fight
they cast their shields vpon her bodie so,
That she surprest with such an heauy waight,
(Ah wofull mayde) to death was smoothred straight.

This mayden therefore being buried in the same place, the whole hill was called afterwards *Tarpeius* after her name, which continued vntill *Tarquinius* the King did dedicate all the place to *Iupiter*: for then they caried her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Onles it be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call *Rupes Tarpeia*, from the toppe whereof they were wont in old time to throwe downe headlong all wicked offenders.

When the SABYNES now had gotten this holde, *Romulus* being exceeding wrath, ſent them a defiance, and bad them battell if they durſt. *Tatius* ſtraight refuſed not, conſidering if by miſchaunce they were diſtreſſed, they had a ſure refuge to retire vnto. The place betweene the two armies where the fight ſhould be, was all round about enuironed with litle hilles. So as it was plaine, the fight could not be but ſharpe and daungerous, for the diſcõmodiouſnes of the place, where was neither ground for any to flie, nor yet any ſpace for any long chaſe, it was of ſo ſmall a compaſſe. Now it fortuned by chaunce, the riuer of Tyber had ouerflowen the bankes a few dayes before, and there remained in it a deeper mudde then men would haue iudged, becauſe the ground was ſo plaine, and was euen where the great market place of ROME ſtandeth at this day. They could diſcerne nothing thereof by the eye, becauſe the vpper part of it was cruſted, whereby it was the more readie for them to venter vpon, and the worſe to get out, for that it did ſinke vnderneath. So the SABYNES had gone vpon it, had not *Curtius* daunger bene, which by good fortune ſtayed them. He was one of the nobleſt and valianteſt men of the SABYNES, who being mounted vpon a courſer, went on a good way before the armie. This courſer entring vpon the cruſted mudde, & ſincking with all, began to plunge and ſtruggle in the myre: whereat *Curtius* proued a while with the ſpurre to ſturre him, and get him out, but in the end ſeeing it would not be, he left his backe, and ſaued him ſelfe. The ſame very place to this day is called after his name, *Lacus Curtius*. The SABYNES then ſcaping thus this daunger, beganne the battell. The fight did grow very cruell, and endured ſo a great while, the victorie leaning no more to the one ſide then to the other. There dyed in a ſmall ſpace a great number of men, amongeſt whom *Hoſtilius* was one, who as they ſay was the husband of *Herſilia*, and grandfather to *Hoſtilius* that was king of ROMAINES after *Numa Pompilius*. Afterwards there were (as we may thinke) many other encounters and battels betweene them: howbeit they make mention of the laſt aboue all the reſt, wherein *Romulus* had ſo ſore a blow on his head with a ſtone, that he was almoſt felled to the ground, in ſo much as he was driuen to retire a little out of the battel. Vpon which occaſion the ROMAINES gaue backe alſo, and drew towards mount Palatine, being driuen out of the plaine by force. *Romulus* beganne now to recouer of the blow he had receiued, and ſo returned to giue a new onſet, and cryed out all he might to his ſouldiers to tarie, and ſhew their face againe to their enemie. But for all his lowd crying, they left no flying ſtill for life, and there was not one that durſt returne againe. Whereupon *Romulus* lifting vp his handes ſtraight to heauen, did moſt feruently pray vnto *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe him to ſtay the flying of his people, and not ſuffer the ROMAINES glorie thus to fall to their vtter deſtruction, but to repaire it by his fauour againe. He had no ſooner ended his prayer, but diuers of his men that fled, beganne to be aſhamed to flie before their King, and a ſodaine boldnes came vpon them, and their feare therewithall vaniſhed away. The place they firſt ſtayed in was, whereas now is the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, which is as much to ſay, as *Iupiter* the ſtayer. Afterwards gathering themſelues together againe, they repulſed the SABYNES euen to the place they call now *Regia*, and vnto the temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta*: where both the battels being prepared to giue a new charge, there did fall out before them, a ſtraunge and vncredible thing to ſee, which ſtayed them they fought not. For of the SABYNE women whom the ROMAINES had rauiſhed, ſome ranne of the one ſide, other of the other ſide of the battels, with lamentations, cryes, & ſhowts, ſtepping betweene their weapons, and among the ſlaine bodies on the ground, in ſuch ſort that they ſeemed out of their wits, and caried as it were with ſome ſpirites. In this manner they went to find out their fathers and their husbandes, ſome carying their ſucking babes in their armes, other hauing their hayre looſe about their eyes, and all of them calling, now vpon the SABYNES, now vpon the ROMAINES, with the genteleſt names that could be deuiſed: which did melt the hearts of both parties in ſuch ſort, that they gaue backe a little, and made them place betweene both the battels. Then were the cryes and lamentations of euery one plainely heard. There was not a man there but it pittied him, aſwell to ſee them in that pitifull caſe, as to heare the lamentable wordes they ſpake: adding to their moſt humble petitions and requeſtes that could be any way imagined, paſſing wiſe perſwaſions and reaſons to induce them to a peace. For what offence (ſayd they) or what diſpleaſure haue we done to you,

The place of the fight betwixt Romulus and Tatius.

Curtius the Sabyne.

Curtius lake.

The Sabynes giue battell to Romulus.

Hoſtilius ſlaine.

Romulus hit on the head with a ſtone.

Iupiter Stator.

A wonderfull boldnes of women.

you, that we ſhould deſerue ſuch an heape of euils, as we haue already ſuffered, and yet you make vs beare? we were as you know violently (and againſt all law) rauiſhed by thoſe, whoſe now we remain. But our fathers, our brethren, our mothers and friends haue left vs with them ſo long, that proceſſe of time, and the ſtraighteſt bonds of the world, haue tyed vs now ſo faſt to them, whom mortally before we hated, that we are conſtrayned now to be flighted thus, to ſee them fight, yea and to lament & die with them, who before vniuſtly tooke vs from you. For then you came not to our reſcue when we were virgins vntouched, nor to recouer vs from them when they wickedly aſſaulted vs, poore ſoules: but now ye come to take the wiues from their husbands, & the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thinke to giue vs now doth grieue vs more, then the forſaking of vs was ſorrowfull to vs then. Such is the loue they haue borne vnto vs, and ſuch is the kindneſſe we beare againe to them. Now, if ye did fight for any other cauſe then for vs, yet were it reaſon ye ſhould let fall your armes for our ſakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in law, coſins and brothers in law) euen from thoſe againſt whom you now bend your force. But if all this war beganne for vs, we heartely beſeech you then that you will receiue vs with your ſonnes in law, and your ſonnes by them, and that you will reſtore vnto vs our fathers, our brethren, our kinſefolks and friends, without ſpoyling vs of our husbands, of our children, and of our ioyes, and thereby make vs woefull captiues and priſoners in our mindes. Theſe requeſts and perſwaſions by *Herſilia*, and other the SABINE women being heard, both the armies ſtaied, and held euery body his hand, and ſtraight the two generalles imparled together. During which parle they brought their husbãds and their children, to their fathers and their brethren. They brought meat and drinke for them that would eate. They dreſſed vp the woundes of them that were hurt. They caried them home with them to their houſes. They ſhewed them how they were miſtreſſes there with their husbands. They made them ſee how greatly they were accoumpted of and eſteemed: yea how with a wedlocke loue and reputation they were honored. So in the end peace was concluded betweene them, wherein it was articled, that the SABINE women which would remaine with their husbands ſhould tarrie ſtill, and be exempted from all work or ſeruice (as aboue recited) ſaue only ſpinning of woll. And that the SABINES & ROMAINES ſhould dwell together in the city, which ſhould be called ROMA, after *Romulus* name: & the inhabitants ſhould be called *Quirites*, after the name of the city of *Tatius* king of the SABINES, & that they ſhould raigne & gouern together by a common conſent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this day *Comitium*: becauſe that *Coire*, in the Latine tongue ſignifieth to aſſemble. So the city being augmented by the one halfe, they did chooſe of the SABINES another hũdred new PATRICIANS, vnto the firſt hũdred of the ROMAINES that were choſen before. Then were the Legions made of ſix thouſand footmen, and ſix hundred horſemẽ. After they deuided their inhabitãts into three Tribes, whereof thoſe that came of *Romulus*, were called *Ramnenſes* after his name: thoſe that came of *Tatius* were called *Tatienſes* after his name: and thoſe that were of the third ſtock, were called *Lucerenſes*, as from the Latine word *Lucus*, called with vs a groue in Engliſh, becauſe thither great number of people of all ſorts did gather, which afterwards were made citizens of ROME. The very word of *Tribus* (which ſignifieth bands, warres, or hundreds) doth witneſſe this beginning of ROME from wards, or hundreds. For hereupon the ROMAINES call thoſe at this day, their *Tribunes*, which are the chiefe heades of the people. But euery one of theſe principall wardes had afterwards ten other particular wards vnder them, which ſome thinke were called after the names of the thirtie SABINE women that were rauiſhed: but that ſeemeth falſe, becauſe many of them cary the names of the places they came frõ. Howbeit at that time many things were ſtabliſhed and ordained in honor of women: as to giue them place, the vpper hand in meeting them, the vpper hand in ſtreets: to ſpeake no fowle or diſhoneſt word before them, no man to vnray himſelf, or ſhew naked before them: that they ſhould not be called before criminall iudges ſitting vpõ homicides & murderers: that their children ſhould weare about their necks a kind of a Iuel, called *Bulla*, faſhioned in mãner like theſe water bubbles that riſe vpõ the water whẽ it beginneth to rain: & that their gowns ſhould be garded with purple. Now the two kings did not ſtraight confer together ſo ſoone as any occaſiõ of buſines was offered them, but either of

The wordes of Herſilia and other Sabine women vnto both armies.

Romulus and Tatius imparle together.

Peace betweene the Romaines and the Sabines.

Quirites why ſo called.

Comitium.

The Romaine legion. 6000. footemen. 600. horſemẽ. The Romaine tribes.

Honours giuen to women.

them did first counsell alone with his hundred Senatours, and afterwards they did all assemble together. *Tatius* dwelt in the place where now is the temple of *Iuno Moneta*: *Romulus* in the place called at this present, the staires of the faire banke, then the descent of mount Palatine, as they go to the show place of great liftes, where they say was sometime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make so great account. *Romulus* one day desirous to proue his strength, threw (as it is laide) a dart from mount Auentine toward mount Palatine. The staffe whereof was of a cornell tree: and the Iron of it entred so deepe into the ground being a lusty fat soile, that no man could pull it out, although many proued it, & did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did so nourish the end of this staffe, that it tooke roote, and beganne to spread braunches: so that in time it became a faire great cornell tree, which the successors of *Romulus* did inclose with a wall, and did keepe and worship it as a very holy thing. If by chaunce any went to see it, and found it looked not fresh and greene, but like a tree withered and dried away for lacke of moisture: he went away straight as one affraide, crying to all he met (& they with him went crying still) in euery place, water, water, as it had ben to haue quenched a fire. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with vessels of water, to water and moist the tree. In the time of *Caius Cæsar*, who caused the staires about it to be repaired: they say the labourers raysing the place, and digging about this cornell tree, did by negligence hurt the rootes of the same in such sort, as afterwardes it dried vp altogether.

Tatius and Romulus places. The holy cornell tree.

The Sabines vsed the Romaines moneths.

Now the SABINES receiued the moneths after the manner of the ROMAINES, whereof we haue written sufficiently in the life of *Numa*. *Romulus* againe vsed the SABINES shields: and both he and his people chaunged the fashion of their armour and weapons they vsed. For the ROMAINES before did cary litle shields after the fashion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their holy daies and sacrifices, they kept them both altogether, and did not take away any of them, which either the one or the other people obserued before, but they added thereunto some other new. As that which they call *Matronalia*, which was instituted in honour of the women, because by their meanes peace was concluded. And that also of *Carmentalia*, in the honour of *Carmenta*, whom some suppose to be the goddesse of fate or destiny, because shee hath rule & power ouer the natiuities of men, by reason whereof, the mothers call vpon her often, & reuerence her very much. Other say she was the wife of *Euander* the *Arcadian*, who being a prophetesse inspired by the god *Phœbus*, gaue the oracles in verse, whereupon she was surnamed *Carmenta*, because that *Carmina* in Latine signifie verses: for it is of certainty that her proper name was *Nicostrata*. Howbeit there are some which giue another manner of deriuation and interpretation of this word *Carmenta*, which is the liklier to be true: as if they would say, *Carens mente*: which signifieth wanting wit, for the very furie that taketh the when they are inspired with the prophetical spirite. For in Latine *Carere* betokeneth to lacke: and *Mens*, signifieth wit. As for the feast of *Palilia*, we haue told of it before: but the feast of *Lupercalia*, considering the time of celebrating thereof, it seemeth it is ordeined for a purification. For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate daies of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging daies. The daies in the old time on which they did celebrate the same, were called Februata. But the proper name of the feast, is as much to say, as the feast of Wolues. Wherefore it seemeth to be a feast of great antiquity, and instituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with *Euander*: albeit the name of Wolues is as common to the females, as the males, and so it might perhaps be called, by reason of the Wolfe that brought vp *Romulus*. For we see those which runne vp and down the city that day, and they call *Luperci*, do beginne their course in the very place where they say *Romulus* was cast out. Howbeit many things are done, whereof the originall cause were hard now to be coniectured. For goates about a certaine time of the yeare, are killed, then they bring two yong boies, noble mens sons, whose foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloud of the goates that are sacrificed. By and by they dry their forheads with woll dipped in milke. Then the young boyes must laugh immediatly after they haue dried their forheads. That done, they cut the goates skinnes, & make thongs of the, which they take in their hands, and run with them all about the city starke naked (sauing they haue a cloth before their secrets) and so they strike with these thonges all they meete in their way. The young wiues doe neuer shunne them at all, but are well cotented to be striken with them, beleeuing

Feasts, Matronalia, Carmentalia, Carmenta.

Lupercalia.

beleeuing it helpeth them to be with childe, and also to be easily deliuered. There is another thing yet in this feast, that these LVPERCIANS which runne about the city, do also sacrifice a dog. Concerning this feast, the Poet named *Butas* doth write somewhat in his elegies, where shewing the occasion of the fond customes and ceremonies of the ROMAINES, he doth say that *Romulus* after that he had slaine *Amulius*, did runne straight with great ioy to the very place where the Wolfe gaue him & his brother sucke, in memory of which running, he saith this feast of Lupercalia was celebrated: and that the noble mens yonger sons doe run through the city striking and laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate thongs, in token that *Remus* and *Romulus* ranne from ALBA vnto that place, with their drawn swords in their hands. And that the touching of their forehead with a blouddy knife, is in remembrance of the daunger they stoode in at that time to haue bene slaine. Last of all, the drying of their foreheads with wolle dipped in milke, is in memory of the milke they sucked of the Wolues. But *Caius Acilius* writeth, that *Remus* and *Romulus* before ROME was built, did happen to lose their beasts on a day, and after they had made certaine prayers vnto *Faunus* for the finding of them, they ran here and there starke naked as they went a seeking of them, for feare they should haue bene troubled with ouermuch heat and sweating. And this is the cause he saith, why the LVPERCIANS do at this day runne about naked. And if it be true, they make this sacrifice for a purging, a man might say they might offer vp a dog for that purpose, like as the GRECIANS in their sacrifices of purgation, do vse to cary out all their dogs. And in many places they doe obserue this ceremony, to driue out the dogs, which they call *Periscylaciſmes*. Otherwise, if it be of a thankefulnesse to the Wolfe that gaue *Romulus* suck, & saued him from perishing, that the ROMAINES do solemnize this feast: it is not impertinent they should sacrifice a dog, because he is an enemy to the Wolues. Vnlesse a man wold say it was to punish this beast, which troubleth and letteth the LVPERCIANS when they runne. Some say also it was *Romulus*, who first instituted it a religion to keepe holy fire, & that first ordained holy virgins, which are called *Vestales*: other do ascribe it to *Numa Pompilius*. Notwithstanding it is most certaine otherwise, that *Romulus* was a very deuout man, & greatly skilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cause he did ordinarily cary the augurs crooked staffe, called in latin *Lituus*. It is a rod crooked at the end, wherewith the augurs or soothsaiers whē they sit down to behold the flying of birds, do point out & mark the quarters of the heauen. They carefully kept it within the pallace: howbeit it was lost in the time of wars with the GAVLES, when the city of ROME was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chased and driuen out, it was found againe (as it is said) all whole, within a great hill or heape of ashes, hauing no manner of hurt, where all things else about it had beene consumed & marred with the fire. He is saide to haue made certaine lawes, among which there is one that seemeth somewhat hard, which is: that the man is suffered to put away his wife, and in some case to giue her nothing: and like liberty is not giuen to the wife to put away her husband. As if she may be proued to haue consented to the poysning of her children, or to haue counterfaited her husbands keyes or to haue committed adultery. But if he put her away for any other cause, thē the one halfe of the goods is adiudged to the wife, and the other moity to the goddesse *Ceres*: and he that putteth away his wife after this sort, is commāded further to sacrifice to the goddes of the earth. This also was notable in *Romulus*, who hauing ordained no paine nor punishmēt for parricides (that is, for those that kill their parents) called yet all murther parricide, to shew how detestable that murther was, and as for parricides, he thought it vnpossible. And it semed a great while, he had reason to thinke so, that such wickednes would neuer happen in the world. For in sixe hundred yeares together it was not knowen that any man in ROME committed such an offence: and the first parricide with them was *Lucius Ostius*, after the warres of *Hannibal*. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the first yeare of the raigne of *Tatius*, some of his kinsemen and friends met by chaunce on the way certaine ambassadours, comming from the city of LAVRENTVM vnto ROME, whom they set vppon, and ment to haue robbed them. The ambassadours resisting them, and not willing to deliuer their money, they made no more a doe, but slew them. This haynous deede being thus commited, *Romulus* was of opinion they should be executed openly in the high way for example. But *Tatius*

The Lupercians do sacrifice a dogge.

Why the Lupercians do run through the citie naked.

The Vestall Nuns and holy fire instituted by Romulus Lituus.

Romulus Lawes.

Parricides.

No parricide knowen in Rome sixe hundred yeares together.

Lucius Ostius the first man that slew his owne father at Rome.

Ambassadours slaine comming to Rome.

deferred it ſtill from day to day, and did alwayes excuſe the matter vnto him, which was the only cauſe, they fell out one with the other. For in all things els, they caried them ſelues as honeſtly as might be the one to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a common conſent and good accord. But the parents and kinſefolks of thoſe who were murdered, when they ſaw they could haue no iuſtice becauſe of *Tatius*: watched him one day as he ſacrificed with *Romulus*, in the city of Lauinium, and ſtabbed him in, without offering *Romulus* any violence, but rather prayſed him for a good and righteous prince. *Romulus* cauſed the body of *Tatius* to be ſtraight taken vp, and buried him very honorably in mount Auentine, about the place now called Armiluſtrium. Futther he neuer ſhewed any countenaunce to reuenge his death. There are ſome Hiſtoriographers that write, that thoſe of the city of Laurentum being afeard at this murder, did deliuer forthwith to *Romulus* the murderers of the ambaſſadours. He notwithſtanding did let them goe againe, ſaying: one murder was requited by another. This gaue ſome occaſion of ſpeach to thinke, he was glad he was ridde of his companion: yet the Sabines neither ſtirred nor rebelled for all this, but ſome of them were affraid of him for the great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honour they gaue him as a god, continuing ſtill in dutie & obedience towards him. Diuers ſtrangers alſo had *Romulus* valiancie in great honour: as amongſt other, thoſe who then were called the auncient Latines, which ſent ambaſſadours to him to make league and amitie with him. He deuiſed to take the citie of Fidena which was nere neighbour to Rome. Some ſay he tooke it vpon a ſodaine, hauing ſent before certain horſmen to breake downe the hookes and hinges with force, which the gates hang by: & himſelfe came after with the reſt of his armie, & ſtale vpon them, before the citie miſtruſted any thing. Other write that the Fidenates firſt inuaded his countrie, & foraged vnto the very ſuburbes of Rome, where they did great harme: and how *Romulus* layed an ambuſh in their way as they returned home, and ſlew a great number of them. When he tooke their citie, he did not raſe it, but made a colony of it, (as a place to ſend the ouerincreaſe of Rome vnto) whither he ſent afterwards two thouſand fiue hundred Romaines to inhabite there: & it was on the thirteenth day of April, which the Romains call the Ides of the ſame moneth. Not long after there roſe ſuch a great plague in Rome, that men died ſodainly, & were not ſick: the earth brought forth no fruite: bruite beaſts deliuered no increaſe of their kind: there rained alſo drops of bloud in Rome, as they ſay. In ſo much as beſides the euils men felt in this extremitie, they fell in a marueilous feare of the wrath of the gods. Afterwards perceiuing the like happened to the inhabitants of Lavrentvm, then euery man iudged it was the very vengeance and heauie hand of the goddes, who plagued and puniſhed theſe two cities for the murder commited vpon *Tatius*, and the ambaſſadours that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both ſides were appehended and executed: and theſe plagues by and by ceaſed both in the one and the other city. *Romulus* beſides, did purifie the cities with certaine ſacrifices that he deuiſed, which they keepe ſtill at this day, at the gate called *Ferentina*. But before the plague ceaſed, the Camerines came to aſſault the Romaines, and had ouercome all the countrey, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtand them, becauſe they had bene ſo ſore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithſtanding, *Romulus* ſet vpon them with his army, & wan the field of them, in which conflict there were ſlaine about ſixe thouſand men. After the battell done, he tooke their city, & conueied to Rome the one halfe of the inhabitants that remained. After this, he ſent twiſe as many Romaines as there were naturall Camerians left at Camerine, to dwell there among them. This was done the 1. day of Auguſt: ſo great was the multitude of the inhabitants of Rome that had encreaſed in 16. years frō the firſt foūdation of the city. Among other ſpoils he got there, he carried away a charret of braſſe with four horſes, which he cauſed to be ſet vp in the temple of *Vulcan*, and his owne ſtatue vpon it, and victory crowning him with a garland triūphāt. His power being growē thus great, his weake neighbours did ſubmit themſelues vnto him, being contented to liue in peace by him. His ſtronger neighbours were affraid of him, and enuied much his greatnes, and did take it no good policy to ſuffer him thus to riſe in the face of the world, and thought it meete ſpeedily to daunt his glory, and clip his wings. The firſt of the Thvscanes that bent their power againſt him, were the Veians, who had a great countrey, & dwelled in a ſtrong & mighty city. To picke a quarrell

The death of Tatius in Lauinium.

Armiluſtrium.

The Sabines obedience to Romulus.

Romulus tooke the cittie of Fidnea.

Plague at Rome.

It rained bloud at Rome.

Camerium taken of Romulus.

a quarrell to him, they sent to haue redeliuered to them the citie of FIDENA, which they saide belonged vnto thē. This was thought not only vnreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, considering that al the while the FIDENATES were in war, & danger, the THVSCANS neuer came to their aide, but had suffered them to be slaine, and then came to demaunde their lands and tenements, when other had possession of them. Therefore *Romulus* hauing giuen them an answere full of mockerie, and derision, they diuided their power into two armies, and sent the one against them of FIDENA, & with the other they marched towards ROME. That which went against the citie of FIDENA, preuayled, and killed there two thousand ROMAINES: the other was ouerthrowen and discomfited by *Romulus*, in which there died eight thousande VEIANS. Afterwards, they met againe somewhat neere the citie of the FIDENATES, where they fought a battell: and all did confesse, the chiefest exployt was done by *Romulus* owne hands that day, who shewed all the skill and valiantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy captaine. It seemed that day, he farre exceeded the common sort of men, in strength of bodie & feats of armes. Neuertheles that which some say, is hardly to be credited: and to be plaine, is out of all compasse of beliefe and possibilitie. For they write, there were fourteene thousand men slaine at that battell, & that more then halfe of them were slaine by *Romulus* owne hands: & the rather, for that euery man iudgeth it a vaine bragge and ostentation which the MESSENIANS report of *Aristomenes*, who offered in sacrifice to the goddes three hundred beastes of victorie, as for so many LACEDÆMONIANS himselfe had slaine in the battell. Their armie being thus broken, *Romulus* suffered them to flie who by swiftnesse could saue themselues, and marched with all his power in good array towards their citie. The citizens then considering their late great losse and ouerthrowe, would not hazard the danger of withstanding him, but went out all together, & made their humble petition and sute for peace. All was granted them for a hundred yeres, saue they should forgo their territorie called *Septemagium*, that was the seuenth part of their countries & yeeld to the ROMAINES all their salt houses by the riuers side, and deliuer fiftie of their chiefest citizens for their pledges. *Romulus* made his entrie and triumphe into ROME for them, the day of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth day of the same moneth, leading in his triumphe many prisoners taken in those wars: and among other, the generall of the VEIANS, a very auncient man who fondly behaued himselfe in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was farre short for his yeares in the warres. And from thence it commeth, when they offer to the goddes to giue thankes for this victorie, that euen at this day, they bring to the capitoll through the market place, an olde man apparelled in a purple robe, & with a Iuell called *Bulla* about his neck, which the gentlemens young children weare about their neckes: & a herauld goeth hard by him, crying, who buieth who, the SARDIANIANS, bicause they hold opinio the THVSCANES are come of the SARDIANIANS, and the very citie of VEIES standeth in the countrie of THVSCANE. This was the last warre that *Romulus* had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wont to happen almost to all those, who by sodaine prosperity, and fortunes speciall fauour, are raised to high and great estate. For trusting to prosperity and good successe of his actes, he beganne to grow more straunge and stately, and to carry a sowrer countenaunce then he was wont to doe before: leaning to be after his old manner, a curteous and gracious prince, and gaue him selfe in fashions to be somwhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and stately port and maiesty that he caried. For he ware euer a coate of purple in graine, and vppon that, a long robe of purple colour: and gaue audience, sitting in a wide chaire of estate, hauing euer about him young men called *Celeres*, as we would say, flights for their swiftnes & speed in executing of his commandements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were tipstaues in their hands, to make the people giue roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to bind fast streight, all the prince should commaund. Now in old time the LATINES said, *Ligare* was to bind: but at this present they say *Alligare*, from whence it commeth that the vshers and sergeants are called *Lictores*. Howbeit me thinkes it were more likely to say, they had put to a c, & that before they were called *Litores*, without a c. For they be the very same which the GRECIANS call *Liturgos*, and be in English, ministers or officers: and at this day, *Leitos*, or *Leos*, in the GREEKE tong signifieth the people. *Romulus* now after his grandfather *Numitor* was dead

The incredible valiantnesse of Romulus.

Romulus maketh peace with the Veians.

Prosperity increase of pride and stomache.

Celeres Romulus guard.

Lictores, wherefore so called.

at the citie of ALBA, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the fauour of the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Common weale, and euery yeare did chuſe a new magiſtrate to miniſter iuſtice to the SABYNES. This preſident taught the noble men of ROME to ſeeke and deſire to haue a free eſtate, where no ſubiect ſhould be at the commaundement of a King alone, and where euery man ſhould command & obey as ſhould be his courſe. Thoſe which were called *Patricians* in ROME, did medle with nothing, but had only an honorable name and robe, and were called to counſaile rather for a faſhion, then to haue their aduiſe or counſaile. For when they were aſſembled together, they did onely heare the Kings pleaſure and commaundement, but they might not ſpeake one word, and ſo departed: hauing no other preheminence ouer the common wealth, ſauing they were the firſt that did know what was done. All other things therby did grieue them leſſe. But when of his owne meere authority, & as it were of himſelfe, he would as pleaſed him, beſtow the conquered lands of his enemies to his ſouldiers, and reſtore againe to the VEIANS their hoſtages as he did: therein plainely appeared, how great iniurie he did to the Senate. Whereupon the Senators were ſuſpected afterwards that they killed him, when within few dayes after it was ſayde, he vaniſhed away ſo ſtraungely, that no man euer knew what became of him. This was on the ſeuenth day of the moneth now called Iuly, which then was named *Quintilis*, leauing no maner of certaintie els of his death that is knowen, ſaue onely of the day and the time when he vaniſhed, as we haue ſaid before. For on that day, the ROMAINES doe at this preſent many things, in remembrance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his death was not knowne: ſeeing *Scipio Africanus* was found after ſupper dead in his houſe, and no man could tell, nor yet did know how he dyed. For ſome ſay that he fainted, and dyed ſodainly being of weake complexion. Other ſay he poiſoned himſelfe: other thinke his enemies did get ſecretly in the night into his houſe, and ſmoothered him in his bed. Yet they found his body laide on the ground, that euery body might at leiſure conſider, if they could finde or coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit *Romulus* vaniſhed away ſodainely, there was neither ſeene peece of his garments, nor yet was there found any part of his body. Therefore ſome haue thought that the whole Senatours fell vpon him together in the temple of *Vulcan*, and how after they had cut him in peeces, euery one caried away a peece of him, folded cloſe in the skirt of his robe. Other thinke alſo, this vaniſhing away was not in the temple of *Vulcan*, nor in the preſence of the Senatours only: but they ſay that *Romulus* was at that time without the citie, neere the place called the goates marſhe, where he made an oration to the people, and that ſodainely the weather changed, and ouercaſt ſo terribly, as it is not to be tolde nor credited. For firſt, the ſunne was darkened as if it had bene very night: this darkeneſſe was not in a calme or ſtill, but there fell horrible thunders, boiſterous windes, and flaſhing lightnings on euery ſide, which made the people runne away, and ſcatter heere and there, but the Senatours kept ſtill cloſe together. Afterwardes when the lightning was paſt and gone, the day cleared vp, & the element waxed faire as before. Then the people gathered together againe, & ſought for the King: asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not ſuffer thē to enquire any further after him, but counſelled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp into heauen: and that thenceforth in ſteade of a good King, he would be vnto them a mercifull & gracious god. The meaner ſort of people (for the moſt part of them) tooke it well, and were very glad to heare thereof & went their way worſhipping *Romulus* in their hearts, with good hope they ſhould proſper by him. Howbeit ſome ſeeking out the troth more egerly did cūber ſore, & troubled the PATRICIANS: accuſing them, that they abuſed the common people with vaine & fond perſwaſions, whileſt themſelues in the meane time had murdered the king with their own hāds. While things were thus in hurly burly, ſome ſay there was one *Iulius Proculus*, the nobleſt of al the PATRICIANS, being eſteemed for a maruelous honeſt mā, & knowne to haue bene very familiar with *Romulus*, & came with him from the city of ALBA: that ſtepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greateſt and holieſt othes a man might ſweare) that he had met *Romulus* on the way, farre greater and fayrer, then he had ſeene him euer before, and armed all in white armour, ſhining bright like fire: whereat being affraid in that ſort to ſee him, he asked him yet: O King, why haſt thou thus left and forſaken vs, that are

Romulus conuerteth the kingdome of Alba to a common weale.

Romulus vaniſhed away no man knew how.

The 17. day of Iuly an vnfortunate day to the Romaines. The death of Scipio Africanus.

Diuers opinions of Romulus death.

The goates marſhe.

Iulius Proculus met with Romulus after his vaniſhing.

ſo falſely

so falsely accused and charged to our vtter discredite and shame, by thy vanishing. To whom *Romulus* gaue this aunswere. *Proculus*, it hath pleased the goddes from whom I came, that I should remaine amongest men so long as I did: and now hauing built a citie, which in glorie and greatnesse of empire shall be the chiefest of the worlde, that I shoulde returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in heauen. Therfore be of good comfort, and tell the ROMAINES, that they exercising prowesse and temperancie, shalbe the mightiest and greatest people of the worlde. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protector, and patron, and they shall call me *Quirinus*. These words seemed credible to the ROMAINES, aswell for the honestie of the man that spake them, as for the solemne othes he made before the all. Yet I wote not how, some celestiall motion, or diuine inspiration helped it much: for no man said a word against it. And so all suspition and accusation layde aside, euery man began to call vpon *Quirinus*, to pray vnto him, and to worshippe him. Truely this tale is much like the tales that the GRECIANS tell of *Aristeas* the proconnesian, & of *Cleomedes* the Astypalæian. For they say, that *Aristeas* died in a fullers worke house, & his friends comming to carie away his bodie, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: & at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his way towards the citie of CROTONA. It is saide also that *Cleomedes* was more then a man naturally strong and great, and therewithall madde, and furious hastie. For after many desperate partes he had played, he came at the last on a day into a schoole house full of litle children, the roofe whereof was borne with one piller, which he did hit with so terrible a blowe of his fiste, that he brake it in the middest, so as the whole roofe fell and dashed the poore children in peeces. The people ranne straight after him to take him. But he threw himselfe forthwith into a chest, and pulled the lid vpon him. He held it so fast downe, that many striuing together all they could to open it, they were not able once to stirre it. Whereupon they brake the chest all in peeces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were maruellously amazed, and sent to *Apollo Pythias*, where the prophetesse aunswered them in this verse:

Cleomedes the last of the demy goddes.

The reporte goeth also that *Alemenes* corse did vanish away, as they caried it to buriall, and how in stead thereof they found a stone laide in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other such wonders, that are farre from any apparance of trothe: onely because they would make men to be as goddes, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reproue and denie diuine power, it were a lewde and wicked part: euen so to compare earthe and heauen together, it were a meere follie. Therefore we must let such fables goe, being most certaine that as *Pindarus* saith it is true.

Each liuing corps, must yeeld at last to death,
and euery life must leese his vital breath:
The soule of man, that onely liues on hie,
and is an image of eternity.

For from heauen it came, and thither againe it doth returne, not with the body, but then soonest, when the soule is furthest off and separated from the body, and that shee is kept holy, and is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the philosopher *Heraclitus* ment, when he said. The dry light, is the best soule which flieth out of the body, as lightning doth out of the clowde: but that which is ioyned with the body being full of corporall passions, is a grosse vapour, darke and massie, & cannot flame, rise or shoote out like lightning. We must not beleeue therefore, that the bodies of noble and vertuous men, do goe vp together with their soules into heauen, against the order of nature. But this we are certainely to beleeue, that by the vertues of their soules (according to diuine nature and iustice) they doe of men become saincts, and of saincts halfe goddes, and of halfe goddes, entier and perfect goddes: after that they are perfectly (as it were by sacrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being deliuered from all paine & mortality, and not by any ciuill ordinance, but in troth & reason, they receiue a most happy and glorious end. Now touching *Romulus* surname, which afterwards was called *Quirinus*: some say that it signifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was so called because the ROMAINES them selues were called *Quirites*. Other write, that men in old time did

Romulus oracle vnto Proculus.

Romulus called Quirinus, and honored as a God.

Aristeas a Proconnesian taken out of mens sight after he was dead.

Cleomedes Astypalensis vanished strangely out of mens sights, being fast locked in a chest.

Alcmenes body vanished out of the beere.

The soule is eternall.

Heraclitus saying of the soule.

why Romulus was called Quirinus.

call the poynt of a ſpeare, on the dart it ſelfe, *Quiris*: by reaſon whereof the image of *Iuno* ſurnamed *Quiritides*, was ſet vp with an iron ſpeare, and the ſpeare which was conſecrated in the Kings pallace, was called *Mars*. Furthermore it is an vſe amongſt men, to honour them with a ſpeare or dart, which haue ſhewed themſelues valiant in the warres: and that for this cauſe *Romulus* was ſurnamed *Quirinus*, as who would ſay, god of the ſpeares and wars. There was ſince built a temple vnto him, in the hill called *Quirinus*, and ſo named of him. The day whereon he vaniſhed, is called the flying of the people, or otherwiſe the Nones of the goates. For on that day, they goe out of the citie to doe ſacrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the goates marſhe: and the ROMAINES call a goate, *Capra*. As they goe thus together, they call with lowd ſhowtes and cryes vpon diuers Romaines names, as *Marcus*, *Cneus*, and *Gaius*, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another backe againe, as they ranne away in great feare and diſorder. Howbeit other ſay, that it is not done to ſhewe the running away, but to ſhew their ſpeede and diligence, and referre it to the ſtorie. Now after the GAVLES that had take ROME were expulſed by *Camillus*, the citie was ſo weakned, that they could ſcant recouer their force and ſtrength againe: wherfore many of the LATINES ioyning together, went with a great mightie armie, vnder the conduct of *Liuius Poſthumius*, to warre againſt the ROMAINES. This *Poſthumius* brought his campe as neere the citie of ROME as he could, and ſent to the ROMAINES by a trumpet to let them vnderſtand, how the LATINES were deſirous by new mariages, to reſtore their old ancient amitie and kindred that was neere hand decaied betweene them: and therfore if the ROMAINES would ſend them a conuenient number of their daughters and young widowes to marie with them, they ſhould haue peace, as they had before time with the SABYNES, vpon the like occaſion. The ROMAINES hereat were ſore troubled, thinking that to deliuer their women in ſuch ſorte was no better, then to yeeld and ſubmit them ſelues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a wayting maide called *Philotis* (or as other call her, *Tutola*) gaue them counſell to doe neither the one nor the other, but to vſe a pollicie with them, by meanes whereof they ſhould ſcape the daunger of the warres, and ſhould alſo not be tyed nor bound by any pledges. The deuiſe was, they ſhould ſend to the LATINES her ſelfe, and a certaine number of their faireſt bonde maydes, trimmed vp like gentlewomen and the beſt citizens daughters, and that in the night ſhe would liſte them vp a burning torche in the ayre, at which ſigne they ſhould come armed, and ſet vpon their enemies as they lay a ſleepe. This was brought to paſſe: and the LATINES thought verely they had bene the ROMAINES daughters. *Philotis* failed not in the night to lift vp her ſigne, and to ſhewe them a burning torche in the toppe of a wilde figge tree: and did hang certaine couerlets and clothes behinde it, that the enemies might not ſee the light, and the ROMAINES cõtrariwiſe might diſcerne it the better. Thereupon ſo ſoone as the ROMAINES ſaw it, they ranne with all ſpeed, calling one another by their names, and iſſued out of the gates of the citty with great haſt: and ſo tooke their enemies vpon a ſodaine, and ſlew them. In memory of which victory, they doe yet ſolemnize the feaſt called the Nones of the goates, becauſe of the wilde figge tree called in Latine *Caprificus*. And they do feaſt the women without the city, vnder ſhadowes made of the boughs of figge trees. The wayting maides, they runne vp and downe, and play here and there together. Afterwards they ſeeme to fight, and throw ſtones one at another, as then they did when they holpe the ROMAINES in their fight. But few writers doe auow this tale, becauſe it is on the day time that they call ſo ech other by their names, and that they goe to the place which they call the goates marſhe, as vnto a ſacrifice. It ſeemeth this agreeth better with the firſt hiſtory whē they called one another by their names in the night, going againſt the LATINES: vnles peraduenture theſe two thinges after many yeares happened vpon one day. Furthermore, they ſay *Romulus* was taken out of the world, when he was foure and fifty yeares of age, and had raigned eight and thirty years by accoumpt.

The hill Quirinus.

None Capratina.

The warre of the Latines.

Liuius Poſthumius generall.

Philotis a waiting maides ſodaine deuiſe.

Romulus age and raigne.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Theſeus with Romulus

THus haue we declared all things of *Theſeus* and *Romulus* worthie memorie. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth firſt that *Theſeus* of his owne voluntarie will, without compulſion of any (whē he might with ſafetie haue raigned in the citie of TROEZEN, and ſucceeded his grandfather in no ſmall kingdome) did deſire of him ſelfe, and rather ſought meanes to aſpire to great things: and teat *Romulus* on the other ſide, to deliuer him ſelfe from bondage and ſeruitude that lay ſore vpon him, and to eſcape the threatned puniſhment which ſtill did hang ouer his head, was certainely compelled (as *Plato* ſayth) to ſhew him ſelfe hardie for feare: who ſeeing how extremely he was like to be handled, was of verie force conſtrained to ſeeke aduenture, and hazard the enterpriſe of attaining high & great things. Moreouer the chiefeſt act that euer he did was, when he ſlue one onely tyrant of the citie of ALBA called *Amulius*: where *Theſeus* in his iourney onely, as he trauelled, gaue his minde to greater enterpriſes, and ſlue *Sciron*, *Scinnis*, *Procruſtes*, and *Corynetes*. And by ridding them out of the world, he deliuered GREECE of all thoſe cruell tyrants, before any of thoſe knew him whō he had deliuered from them. Furthermore, he might haue gone to ATHENS by ſea, & neuer needed to haue trauelled, or put him ſelfe in danger with theſe robbers, conſidering he neuer receiued hurt by anie of them: whereas *Romulus* could not be in ſafetie whileſt *Amulius* liued. Hereupon it may be alledged, that *Theſeus* vnprouoked by any priuate wrong or hurt receiued, did ſet vpon theſe deteſtable theeues and robbers: *Remus* and *Romulus* contrariwiſe, ſo long as the tyrant did them no harme, did ſuffer him to oppreſſe and wrong all other. And if they alledge theſe were noble deeds, and worthie memorie: that *Romulus* was hurt fighting againſt the SABINES, and that he ſlue king *Acron* with his owne hands, and that he had ouercome and ſubdued many of his enemies. Then for *Theſeus* on the other ſide may be obiected, the battell of the CENTAVRI, the warres of the AMAZONES, the tribute due to the king of CRETA: and how he ventured to go him ſelfe thither with the other yong boyes and wenches of ATHENS, as willingly offering him ſelfe to be deuoured by a cruell beaſt, or elſe to be ſlaine and ſacrificed vpon the tombe of *Androgeus*, or to become bondſlaue and tyed in captiuitie to the vile ſeruice of cruell men and enemies, if by his courage and manhood he could not deliuer him ſelf. This was ſuch an act of magnanimitie, iuſtice and glorie, & briefly of ſo great vertue, that it is vnpoſſible truly to be ſet out. Surely me thinkes the philoſophers did not ill define loue, when they ſayd ſhe was a ſeruitour of the gods, to ſaue young folks, whom they thought meete to be preſerued. For, the loue of *Ariadne* was in mine opinion the worke of ſome god, and a meane purpoſely prepared for *Theſeus* ſafetie. Therefore the woman is not

By what meanes men are prouoked to greate enterpriſes.

Plato in Phædone.

Loue the miniſter of the godds.

to be reproched nor blamed for the loue she bare *Theseus*, but rather it is much to be wondred at, that euery man and woman in like wise did not loue him. And if of her selfe she fell in loue with him, I say (and not without cause) she afterwards deserued to be beloued of a god, as one that of her owne nature loued valiantnes and honour, and entertained men of singular value. But both *Theseus* & *Romulus* being naturally giuen to rule and raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a King, but both of them did degenerate alike: the one chaunging himselfe into a popular man, the other to a very tyrant. So that by sundry humours, they both fell into one mischiefe and errour. For a prince aboue all things must keepe his estate: which is no lesse preserued by doing nothng vncomely, as by doing al things honorably. But he that is more seuere or remisse thē he should be, remaineth now no more a king or a prince, but becommeth a people-pleaser, or a cruell tyrant: & so causeth his subiects to despise or hate him. Yet me thinkes the one is an errour of too much pittie and basenes: and the other of too much pride and cruelue. But if we may not charge fortune with all mischaunces happening vnto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diuersities of manners and passions, seeing anger is vnreasonable, and wrath rash and passionate: then can we not cleare the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the fact committed by the one against his brother, and by the other against his naturall sonne. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth much excuse *Theseus*, who moued with the greatest cause that might be, was put into such choller and passion. But if *Romulus* variaunce with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counsell, or cause of the common weales: there is none so simple to thinke, that his wisdome would so sodainely haue set vpon him. Where as *Theseus* in contrarie manner killed his sonne, prouoked by those passions that few men can auoide: to wit, loue, iealousie, and false reporte of his wife. Moreouer *Romulus* anger went to the effect, whereof the issue fell out very lamentable: *Theseus* anger stretched no further, then to roughe words, and olde folkes curses in their heate. For it seemeth, cursed fortune, and nought els, was the cause of his sonnes onely mishap, as foresposken and wished for somewhat by his father. These be the speciall things may be alledged for *Theseus*. But for *Romulus* this was a notable thing in him. First his beginning being very lowe and meane, and his brother and he taken for bondemen, and the children of hoggeheards, before they were themselues all free, they set at libertie in manner all the LATINES, winning at one instant many titles of glorie and honour: as destroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of newe cities, and no ouerthrowers of the olde, where as *Theseus* of many habitations and houses made onely one, and did ouerthrowe and plucke downe diuers states, bearing the names of auncient Kings, princes, and halfe goddes of ATTICA. All these also did *Romulus* afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had ouercome, to destroy their owne houses, and to come and dwell with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he neuer chaunged nor increased any citie that was built before, but build him selfe a new city out of the ground, getting all together, land, countrey, kingdome, kindred and mariages, without losing or killing any man: and to the contrary, rather he did good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrey, lands, nor houses, and desired nothing els but to make a people amongst them, and to become citizens of some city. Also *Romulus* bent not him selfe to follow theeues and robbers, but subdued by force of armes many mighty and puissant people: he tooke cities, and triumphed ouer Kings and Princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murther of *Remus*, it is not certainely knowen of whose hands he died. The most part of authors do charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that *Romulus* deliuered his mother from apparant death, and restored his grandfather to the royall throne of *AEneas*, who before was depossed and brought from a King to seruile obedience, without any regard of honour or dignity: to whom he did many moe great pleasures and seruices. Besides he neuer offended him willingly, no not so much as ignorantly. Contrarily I thinke of *Theseus*, who sayling by negligence to put out his white saile at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, how eloquent an oration soeuer could be made for his excuse: yea though it were before the most fauorable iudges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN very well perceyuing that it was no hard thing to excuse and defend so fowle a fault, doth faine that the good old man *AEgeus* hauing

The office of a prince.

Wherein Romulus was to be preferred before Theseus.

Romulus loue to his kinne.

Theseus detected for obliuion.

hauing newes brought him that his sonnes shippe was at hand, did ronne in so great haste to his castell, to see his sonne arriue a far off, that as hee ranne, his foote hit against some thing, and ouerthrewe him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man seeing him ronne so hastely to the sea side, did make haste to attende and wayte vpon him. Furthermore, *Theseus* faultes touching women and rauishmentes, of the twaine, had the lesse shadowe and colour of honestie. Because *Theseus* did attempt it very often: for he stole away *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, and *Anaxo* the Troezenian. Againe being stepped in yeares, and at later age, and past mariage: he stole awaye *Helen* in hir minoritie, being nothing neere to consent to marrye. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and the AMAZONES (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birthe and linage of his owne countrie which were at ATHENS, and descended of the noble race and progenie of *Erichtheus*, and of *Cecrops*) did giue men occasion to suspect that his womannishenes was rather to satisfie lust, then of any great loue. *Romulus* now in a contrarie manner, when his people had taken eight hundred, or thereaboutes, of the Sabine women to rauish them: kept but onely one for himselfe that was called *Hersilia*, as they say, and deliuered the rest to his best and most honest cittizens. Afterwardes by the honour, loue, and good entertainment that he caused them to haue and receiue of their husbands, he changed this violent force of rauishment, into a most perfect bond and league of amitie: which did so knit & ioyne in one these two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall loue which grew afterwards betwixt those two peoples, and consequently of the ioyning of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath giuen a good testimonie of the loue, reuerence, constancie, kindnesse, and all matrimoniall offices that he established by that meanes, betwixt man and wife. For in two hundred and thirtie yeares afterwards, there was neuer man that durst forsake or put away his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GREGIANS, the best learned men, and most curious obseruers of antiquities do know his name, that was the first murderer of his father or mother: euen so all the ROMAINES knew what he was, which first durst put away his wife. It was one called *Spurius Caruilius*, because his wife was barren and had no children. The effects also do agree with the testimonie of the time. For the realme was common vnto the Kings of both nations, and through the alliance of these mariages that began first of rauishments, both nations liued peaceably, and in equalitie, vnder one ciuill pollicie, and well gouerned common weale. The ATHENIANS contrariwise, by *Theseus* mariages, did get neither loue nor kinred of any one person, but rather they procured wars, enmities, & the slaughter of their citizens, with the losse in the end of the citie of APHIDNES: and yet verie hardly, and by the mercie of their enemies (whom they honoured as gods) they escaped for him, the danger which the TROIANS suffered afterwards, for the selfe act done by *Alexander Paris*. So it fell out at the last, that his mother was not onely in danger, but euen feelingly suffered like miserie and captiuitie, which *Hecuba* did afterwards, when she was forsaken of her sonne: vnlesse peraduenture those things that they write of the imprisonment and captiuitie of *Æthra*, be found false, and but fables, as for the fame and memorie of *Theseus* were behouefull, that both it, and many other things also, were of no more troth nor likelihood. That which they write of *Romulus* diuiuements, maketh great difference betweene him and *Theseus*. For *Romulus* in his birth was preserued by the maruellous fauour of the gods: *Theseus* to the contrarie, was begotten against the gods will, as appeared plainely by the answer of the oracle to *Ægeus*, that he should not meddle with any woman in strange and foraine countrey.

Theseus detected for his rauishmentes of women.

Romulus rauishment of women excused.

No diuorce made in Rome for 230. yeres space. Val. Max. sayth 520.

The first wife put away in Rome

Theseus mariages cause of warres and troubles.

Romulus more acceptable to the godds then Theseus.

The end of Romulus life.

THE LIFE OF *Lycurgus*.

A Man cannot ſpeake any thing at all of *Lycurgus*, who made the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but he ſhal find great contrariety of him amongſt the hiſtoriographers. For, of his parentage and trauell out of his countrey, of his death and making of lawes, of his forme of gouernement, and order of executing the ſame, they haue written diuerſly. And yet aboue all things, concerning him, they agree worſt about the time he liued in. For ſome of them (and *Ariſtotle* is of that number) wil needes haue him to haue bene in the time of *Iphytus*, and that he did helpe him to ſtabliſh the ordinance that all warres ſhould ceaſe during the feaſt of the games olympicall: for a teſtimonie whereof, they alledge the copper coyte which was vſed to be throwen in thoſe games, and had found grauen vpon it, the name of *Lycurgus*. Other compting the dayes and time of the ſucceſſion of the kings of LACEDÆMON (as *Eratoſtenes*, and *Apollodorus*) ſay he was manie yeares before the firſt Olympiades. *Timæus* alſo thinketh there were two of this name, and in diuers times: howbeit the one hauing more eſtimation then the other, men gaue this *Lycurgus* the glorie of both their doings. Some ſay the eldeſt of the twaine, was not long after *Homer*: and ſome write they ſawe him. *Xenophon* ſheweth vs plainely he was of great antiquitie: ſaying he was in the time of the *Heraclides*, who were neareſt of bloud by deſcent to *Hercules*. For it is likely *Xenophon* meant not thoſe *Heraclides*, which deſcended from *Hercules* ſelfe: for the laſt kings of SPARTA were of *Hercules* progenie, aſwell as the firſt. Therefore he meaneth thoſe *Heraclides*, which doubtleſſe were the firſt and neareſt before *Hercules* time. Neuertheles though the hiſtoriographers haue written diuerſly of him, yet we will not leaue to collect that which we finde written of him in auncient hiſtories, and is leaſt to be denied, and by beſt teſtimonies moſt to be proued. And firſt of all, the poet *Simonides* ſaith, his father was called *Prytanis* and not *Eunomus*: and the moſt part do write the pedegree otherwiſe, aſwell of *Lycurgus* ſelfe, as of *Eunomus*. For they ſay, that *Patrocles* the ſonne of *Ariſtodemus* begate *Sous*, and *Sous* begate *Eurytion*, and *Eurytion* begat *Prytanis*, and *Prytanis* begat *Eunomus*, and *Eunomus* begat *Polydectes* of his firſt wife, and *Lycurgus* of the ſecond wife, called *Dianaſſa*: yet *Euthychidas* another writer, maketh *Lycurgus* the ſixt of deſcent in the right line from *Polydectes*, and the eleuenth after *Hercules*. But of all his anceſters, the nobleſt was *Sous*, in whoſe time the citie of SPARTA ſubdued the ILOTES,

Xenophon in lib. de Lacedæmon. rep.

Of the Heraclides, Pauſanias, Diodorus and Cleme. Strom. lib. 1.

Lycurgus kinred.

TES, made them slaues, and did enlarge and increase their dominion, with the landes and possessions they had got by conquest of the *Arcadians*. And it is sayd that *Sous* himselfe being on a time straightly besieged by the CLITORIANS, in a hard drye grounde, where no water could be founde: offered them thereupon to restore all their landes againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his companie did drinke of a fountaine that was there not far off. The CLITORIANS did graunt vnto it, and peace also was sworne betweene them. Then he called all his souldiers before him, and tolde them if there were any one amongest them that would refraine from drinking, he would resigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his companie that could (or would) forbeare to drinke, they were so sore a thirst. So they al dranke hartely except himself, who being the last that came downe, did no more but a litle moyste his mouth without, and so refreshed himself, the enemies selues standing by, and dranke not a droppe. By reason whereof, he refused afterwardes to restore their landes he had promised, alledging they had not all dronke. But that notwithstanding, he was greately esteemed for his actes, and yet his house was not named after his owne name, but after his sonnes name *Eurytion*, they of his house were called *Eurytionides*. The reason was, because his sonne *Eurytion* to please the people, did first let fall and giue ouer, the sole and absolute power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwardes marnellous disorder and dissolution, which continued a greate time in the citie of SPARTA. For the people finding themselues at libertie, became verye bolde and disobedient: and some of the Kinges that succeeded, were hated euen to death, because they would perforce vse their auncient authoritie ouer the people. Other, either to winne the loue and goodwilles of the people, or because they sawe they were not strong enough to rule them, did giue them selues to dissemble. And this did so much increase the peoples lose and rebellious mindes, that *Lycurgus* owne father being King, was slayne among them. For one daye, as he was parting a fraye betweene two that were fighting, he had such a wounde with a kitchin knife, that he died: and left his Realme to his eldest sonne *Polydectes*, who died also soon after, and without heyre of his body as was supposed. Insomuch as euery man thought *Lycurgus* should be King: and so he tooke it vpon him, vntil it was vnderstood that his brothers wife was young with child. Which thing so soone as he perceiued, he published openly, that the Realme belonged to the childe that should be borne, if it were a sonne. After this he gouerned the Realme, but as the Kinges lieutenante and regent. The LACEDÆMONIANS call the regents of their Kinges that are left within age, *Prodicos*. *Lycurgus* brothers widdowe did send, and let him secretly vnderstand, that if he would promise to marrye her when he should be King, that she woulde come before hir time, and either miscarye or destroye that she went with. *Lycurgus* detestably abhorring this brutish and sauage vnnaturalnesse of the woman, did not reiect her offer made him, but seemed rather to be very glad, then to dislike of it. Neuertheless he sent her worde againe, shee should not neede to try masteryes, with drinkes and medicines to make her come before her time: for in so doing, she might bring her selfe in daunger, and be cast awaye for euer. Howbeit he aduised her to goe her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, and then he woulde finde meanes enough to make away the childe that should be borne. And so with such perswasions he drewe on this woman to her full time of deliuerie. But so soone as he perceiued she was neere her time, he sent certaine to keepe her, and to be present at her laboure, commaunding them that if she were brought a bed of a daughter they should leaue her with the woman; and if it were a sonne they should forthwith bring it to him, in what place soeuer he was, and what businesse soeuer he had in hand. It chaunced that she came euen about supper time, and was deliuered of a sonne. As he was sitting at the table with the other magistrates of the citie, his seruantes entred the hall, and presented to him the litle babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes. and sayed openly to them that were present: beholde my lordes of SPARTA, heere is a King borne vnto vs. And speaking these wordes, he layed him downe in the Kinges place, and named him *Charilaus*, as much to say as the ioye of the people. Thus hee sawe all the lookers on reioycinge much, and might heare them praise and extoll his sincerities, iustice, and vertue. By this meanes he raigned onely es King, but eight moneths. from thencefoorth

A subtile promise.

Prodicus, Regents, or protectors of young Kinges in their minorite.

Charilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, Herod. lib 1. Dionysius Halicarn. lib. 2.

hee was taken and esteemed so iust and sincere a man among the citizens, that there were moe that willingly obeied him for his vertue, then for that he was the kings regent, or that he had the gouernment of the whole Realme in his handes. Notwithstanding there were some that bare him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder & disgrace his credit, and cheifly the freinds and kinred of the Kinges mother: whose power and honour were thought much impaired by *Lycurgus* aucthoritie, in so much, as a brother of hirs called *Leonidas*, entring boldly into great wordes with him on a day, did not sticke to say to his face. I know for a certaintie one of these dayes thou wilt be king: meaning thereby to bring him in suspition with the citizens. Which thing though *Lycurgus* neuer ment, yet of a subtile and craftie wit, *Leonidas* thought by giuing out such words, that if the young King happened to die in his minoritie naturally, it would be mistrusted that *Lycurgus* had secretly made him away. The Kinges mother also gaue out such like speaches, which in the end did so trouble him, with the feare he had, what euer might fall out thereof: that he determined to depart his countrie, and by his absence to auoyde the suspition that therein might grow vpon him any way. So he trauelled abroade in the worlde as a stranger, vntill his nephew had begotten a sonne who was to succeed him in his kingdome.

Lycurgus trauelled countryes.

He hauing with this determinatiō taken his iorney, went first of all into CRETA, where he diligently obserued and considered the manner of their liuing, the order of the gouernment of their Cōmon weale, and euer kept company with the best, and euer was conferring with the most learned. There he founde very good lawes in his iudgment, which he noted of purpose to carie home to his countrie, to serue when time should come. He found there other lawes also, but of them he made no reckoning. Now there was one man that aboue the rest was reputed wise and skilfull in matters of state & gouernment, who was called *Thales*: with whom *Lycurgus* did so much by intreatie, and for familiar frendshippe that he perswaded him to go with him vnto SPARTA. This *Thales* was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title and name: but in effect he sang all that the best and sufficientest gouernours of the worlde could deuise. For all his songes were goodly ditties, wherein hee did exhort and perswade the people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace & concord one with the other. His wordes were set out with such tunes, countenance & accents, that were so full of sweetnes, harmony, and pearcing: that inwardly it melted mens hartes, and drew the hearers of a loue to like the most honest things, and to leaue all hatred, enmitie, sedition, and diuision, which at that time raigned sore among them. So as it may be said, he it was that prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, whereby he afterwards reformed & brought the LACEDÆMONIANS vnto reason. At his departing out of CRETA, he went into ASIA, with intent (as it is sayd) to compare the māner of life and pollicie of those of CRETA (being then very straight and seuere) with the superfluities and vanities of IONIA: and thereupon to consider the difference betweene their two manners & gouernments, as the physitian doth, who to know the whole & healthfull the better, doth vse to compare them with the sicke & diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first saw *Homers* works, in the hands of the heires & successours of *Cleophylus* & finding in the same, aswell many rules of pollicie, as the greate pleasure of poets fayning, he diligently coppied it out, and made a volume thereof to carie into GREECE. It is true there was much fame abroad of *Homers* poemes among the GRECIANS, howbeit there were few of them brought together, but were scattred here & there in diuers mes hands, in pamphlets & peeces vnsowed & without any order: but the first that brought the most to light among men, was *Lycurgus*. The ÆGYPTIANS say, that he was in their countrey also, and that hauing found there one notable ordinance among other, that their souldiers and men of warre were separated from the rest of the people, he brought the practise of it into SPARTA: where setting the marchants, artificers & labourers euerie one a part by themselues, he did establish a noble Common wealth. So the ÆGYPTIAN historiographers, and some others also of GREECE do write. He was also in AFRICKE, and in SPAINE, & as farre as INDIA, to conferre with the wise men there, that were called the philosophers of INDIA. I knowe no man that hath written it, sauing *Aristocrates*, that was *Hipparchus* sonne. The LACEDÆMONIANS wished for him often when he was gone, and sent diuers and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or maiestie of a prince, wherby they did excell the common people.

Thales a poet harper.

Lycurgus trauelleth into Asia.

The praise of Homers workes.

Homers poemes vnknowen to the Grecians, brought to light by Lycurgus.

people. But as for *Lycurgus*, they thought of him thus,: that he was a man borne to rule, to cõmaund, and to giue order, as hauing in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to drawe men willingly to obeye him. Moreouer the Kings thẽselues were not vnwilling to haue him to returne home, becauſe they hoped that his preſence would ſomwhat bridle, & reſtraine the people from their inſolencie & diſobediẽce towards them. Wherupon *Lycurgus* returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no ſooner arriued, but he began to deuiſe how to alter the whole gouernment of the common weale, & throughout to chaunge the whole courſe and order of the ſtate: thinking that to make only certaine particular lawes were to no purpoſe, but much like, as one ſhould giue ſome eaſie medicine, to purge an ouerthrowen bodye with all humors and diſeaſes. Therfore he thought firſt that all groſſe and ſuperfluous humors, were meete to be diſſolued and purged, and then afterwardes to giue them a new forme and order of gouernment. When he had thus determined with himſelf, before he would take in hãd to do any thing, he went to the citie of DELPHES: where after he had ſacrificed to *Apollo*, he cõſulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of *Pythia*: ô beloued of the gods, and rather god then man. Where when he craued grace of *Apollo* to eſtabliſh good lawes in his countrie, it was anſwered him: that *Apollo* graunted his petition, and that he ſhould ordaine the beſt and perfecteſt manner of a Common wealth, that euer had or ſhould be in the worlde. This anſwer did comfort him very much, and ſo he began to breake his purpoſe to certaine of the chief of the citie, and ſecretly to pray and exhort them to helpe him, going firſt to thoſe he knew to be his friends and after by litle & litle he wan others to him, who ioyned with him in his enterpriſe. So when he ſaw the time fit for the matter, he cauſed thirtie of the chiefeſt men of the cittie in a morning to come into the market place wel appoynted & furniſhed, to ſuppreſſe thoſe that would attempt to hinder their purpoſe. *Hermippus* the hiſtoriographer rehearſeth twentie of the chiefeſt: but he that aboue all others did moſt aſſiſt him in his doings, & was the greateſt ayde vnto the ſtabliſhing of his lawes, was called *Arithmiadas*. The King *Charilaus* hearing of this aſſẽbly, did feare there had bene ſome conſpiracie or inſurrection againſt his perſon, & for his ſafety he fled into the temple of *Iuno*, called *Chalceæcos*, as much to ſay, as *Iunos* braſen tẽple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the troth, he waxed bolde & came out of the temple againe, & he himſelf fauored the enterpriſe, being a prince of a noble minde, howbeit very ſoft by nature, as witneſſeth *Archelaus* (that was thẽ the other king of LACEDÆMON) by telling how *Charilaus* anſwered one that praiſed him to his face, in ſaying he was a good man. And how ſhould I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be euil to the euil? In this change of the ſtate, many things were altered by *Lycurgus*, but his chiefeſt alteration was, his law of the erection of a Senate, which he made to haue a regal power & equal authoritie with the Kings in matters of weight and importance & was (as *Plato* ſayeth) to be the healthful counterpeaſe of the whole body of the Cõmon weale. The other ſtate before was euer wauering, ſometime inclining to tirannie, when the Kings were too mightie: & ſometime to cõfuſion, when the people would vſurp authority. *Lycurgus* therfore placed betwene the kings & the people, a coũſel of Senatours, which was as a ſtrong beame, that held both theſe extreames in an euen ballance, and gaue ſure footing and ground to either part, to make ſtrong the ſtate of the commõ weale. For the eight & twentie Senators (which made the whole body of the Senate) tooke ſometime the Kings part, when it was needfull to pull downe the furie of the people: and contrarily, they held ſometimes with the people againſt the Kings, to bridle their tyrannical gouernment. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, he ordeined the number of Senatours to be but eight and twentie, becauſe two of thirtie that ioyned with him as afore, did for feare forſake him at his enterpriſe. Howbeit *Sphærus* writeth, that from the beginning, he neuer purpoſed to haue more then eight and twentie to be the Senate. And perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, conſidering it is compounded of the number of ſeuen, multiplied by foure: and is the firſt perfect number next to ſixe, being equall to all parts gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he choſe this number rather then anie other, becauſe he meant the whole bodie of the counſell ſhould be but thirtie perſons, adding to that number, the two Kings. *Lycurgus* tooke ſo great care to eſtabliſh well this counſell, that he brought an oracle for it, from *Apolloes* temple in

Lycurgus returneth and changeth al the cõmon wealth.

Lycurgus cõſulteth with the oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

Chalceæcos, Iunos braſen temple.

Lycurgus inſtituteth a Senate of the Lacedæmonians. Plato de leg. 3.

28. was the number of the Senatours.

Retra of Lycurgus.

DELPHES. This oracle is called vnto this day *Retra*, as who would say, the statute oracles whereof the answer was. Whē thou hast built a temple vnto *Iupiter* the *Syllanian*, and to *Minerua* the *Syllanian*, and deuided the people into lineages, thou shalt establish a Senate of thirtie counsellers, with the two kinges: & shalt assemble the people at times conuenient, in the place betweene the bridge and the riuer Cnacion. There the Senatours shall propound all matters, and breake vp after their assemblies: and it shal not be lawfull for the people to speake one worde. In those dayes the people were euer assembled betweene two riuers, for there was no hall to assemble a counsaill at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For *Lycurgus* thought no builded place meete for men to giue good counsell in, or to determine causes, but rather a hindrance: because in such places men be drawen to muse on vaine thinges, and their mindes be caried away with beholdinge the images, tables, and pictures, comonly set vp for ornament in such open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and sportes be made, they thinke more of them, then of any counsail. Againe, if it be in a greate hall, then of the fayer embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretised seelinges curiously wrought, and sumptuously set forth, and tend not still their busines they come for. When the people were assembled in counsaill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counsell to be determined, neither might any of them deliuer his opinion what he thought of any thing: but the people had onely authoritie to giue their assent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senatours, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwards, the two Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, because the people did many times crosse and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding something to it, they did adde these wordes to the oracle aforesayed. That if the people would not assent to any ordinance of the Senate, then should it be lawfull for the Kinges and Senate to breake vp the counsell, and to frustrate all thinges done in the same: the wise aduise of the Senate being encountered thus, and their meaning to the best, so peruerted to the worse. These two Kings perswaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the oracle of *Apollo*: as the poet *Tyrtæus* maketh mention in the place, where he sayeth:

Cnacion ß.

The open fields appoynted for place of counsaill.

From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought
of Pythia: into their country soyle.
The Kinges (euen they to whome of right there ought
a louing care in princely brestes to boyle,
the Spartane wealthe, to gurde from euery spoyle:)
Shalbe the chiefe, graue causes to decyde
with Senatours: whose sounde aduise is tride.
And next to them, the people shall fulfill
asmuch as seemes, to please their princes will.

Lycurgus now hauing thus tempered the forme of his common weale, it seemed notwithstanding to those that came after him, that this small number of thirtie persons that made the Senate, was yet too mighty, & of too great authoritie. Wherfore to bridle thē in a litle, they gaue them (as *Plato* sayeth) a bitte in their mouths, & that was the authoritie of the Ephores, which signifie as much as controllers: and were erected about a hundred and thirtie yeres after the death of *Lycurgus*. The first which was chose of these, was *Elatus*, & it was in the time of King *Theopompus*, whose wife on a day in her anger sayed: how through his negligence he would leaue lesse to his successours, then he had receiued of his predecessours. To whom he answered againe, not lesse but more, for that it shall continue longer, and with a more suertie. For, in losing thus their too absolute power, that wrought them great enuie & hatred amōg their citizens, they did escape the danger & mischief that their neighbours the ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS did feele: who would not giue ouer the soueraigne authority which they had gotten once. This example maketh *Lycurgus* great wisdome & foresight manifestly knowen: who so will deeply consider the seditions & ill gouernments of the ARGIVES, & MESSENIANS (their neere neighbours and kinsmen) aswell from the people, as from the Kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the SPARTANS: & in deuiding of their lands a far better order then theirs. This notwithstanding, they did not prosper long: but through the pride of their Kings,

The institution of the Ephores.

Lycurgus wisdome.

Kings, and the disobedience of their people, they entred into ciuill warres one against another, shewing by their disorders and misfortunes the speciall grace the gods did beare to SPARTA, to giue them such a reformer, as did so wisely temper the state of their common weale, as we will shew hereafter. The second lawe that *Lycurgus* made, and the boldest and hardest he euer tooke in hand, was the making of a new diuision of their lands. For he saw so great a disorder & vnequality among the inhabitants, aswell of the countrie, as of the citie LACEDÆMON, by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poore, that they had not a handfull of ground, and other some being least in number were very riche, that had all: he thought with himselfe to banish out of the citie all insolencie, enuie, couetousnesse, & deliciousnesse, and also all riches and pouertie, which he tooke the greatest, and the most continuall plagues of a citie, or common weale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessarie a meane, as to perswade his cittizens to suffer all the lands, possessions, and inheritance of their countrie, to runne in common together: and that they should make a new diuision equally in partition amongst themselues, to liue from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer then another, & none should seeke to go before each other, any other way then in vertue onely: thinking there should be no difference or vnequalitie among inhabitants of one citie, but the reproches of dishonestie, and the praises of vertue. Thus *Lycurgus* following his determination, did out of hand make a lawe of the diuision of their lands. For first he did deuide all the countrie of LACONIA, into thirtie thousand equall parts, the which he did set out for those that inhabited about SPARTA: and of those lands that ioyned next to the citie of SPARTA, that was the chiefe metropolitan citie of LACONIA, he made other nine thousand parts, which he deuided to the naturall citizens of SPARTA, who be those that are properly called Spartans. Howbeit some will say, he made but sixe thousand parts, & that king *Polydorus* afterwards did adde to other three thousand parts. Other say also, that *Lycurgus* of these nine thousand parts made but the halfe onely, and *Polydorus* the rest. Euery one of these parts was such, as might yeeld vnto the owner yeerely, three score and ten bushels of barley for a man, and twelue bushels for the woman, and of wine and other liquide fruites, much like in proportion: which quantitie *Lycurgus* iudged to be sufficient, to keepe the body of a man in health, and to make him strong and lustie, without any further allowance. They say after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came ouer the lands where wheate had bin reaped not long before, and saw the number of sheaues lying in euery shocke together, and no one shocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing, & told them that were with him, me thinks all LACONIA is as it were an inheritance of many bretheren, who had newly made partition together. He gaue an attempt to haue deuided also moueables, & to haue made a cõmon partition betweene them, to thend he would haue vtterly taken away all vnequalitie. But finding the citizens tooke it very impatiently, that openly that which they had, should be taken away; he went about to do it more secretly, and in a cunninger wise to take away that couetousnesse. For first of all he did forbid all coine of golde and siluer to be currant: and then he did set out certaine coines of iron which he commaunded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantitie was but little worthe. So as to lay vp thereof the value of ten Minas, it would haue occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would haue needed a yoke of oxen to carie it any where. Now golde and siluer being thus banished out of the countrie, many lewde parts and faultes must needs cease thereby. For who would robbe, steale, picke, take away, hyde, procure, or whorde vp any thing, that he had no great occasion to desire, nor any profit to possesse, nor would be any pleasure to vse or imploy. For, the iron they occupied for their coyne, they cast vinegar vpon it while it was red hoate out of the fire, to kill the strength and working of it to any other vse, for thereby it was so eger & brickle, that it would bide no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other fashion. By this means he banished also, all superfluous and vnprofitable sciences, which he knew he should not need to do by any proclamation: because they would fall away (or the most part of them) euen of themselues, when the baseneſſe of the money they should take for their worke, should vndo them. For their iron moneys were not currant els where in the cities of GREECE, but euery body made a ieste of it there. By this occasion, the LACEDÆMONIANS could buie no forrein wares nor marchandises, neither

Lycurgus maketh equall diuision of lands vnto the citizens.

All the lands through the countrie of Laconia, deuided into 30000 parts.

All the lands about Sparta into 9000 parts.

What barley euery part did yeelde.

Lycurgus chãgeth all golde and siluer into iron coyne.

Lycurgus made all sciences and crafts of no value.

came there any ſhip into their hauen to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rethorician did repaire into their countrie to teach them eloquence, and the cunning caſt of lying: nor yet came there to them any wiſard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell houſe, nor yet goldſmithe or ieweller, to make or ſell any toyes or trifles of gold or ſiluer to ſet forth women: conſidering all theſe things are vſed to be made to get money, and to hourd vp that they had not. After this ſorte, delicatenes that wanted many things that entertained it, began by litle and litle to vaniſh away, and laſtly, to fall off from themſelues: when the moſt riche men had no more occaſion then the pooreſt, and riches hauing no meane to ſhew her ſelfe openly in the worlde, was faine to remaine ſhut at home idely, as not able to doe her maſter any ſeruice. Thereupon moueables and houſehold ſtuffe (which a man cannot be without, and muſt be dayly occupied) as bedſteads, tables, chaires, and ſuch like neceſſaries for houſe, were excellently well made: and men did greatly praiſe the faſhion of the LACONIAN cup which they called Cothon, and ſpecially for a ſouldier in the warres, as *Critias* was wont to ſay. For it was made after ſuch a faſhion, that the colour of it did let the eye to diſcerne the fowle & vnwholſome water, which men are driuen oft times to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times againſt ones ſtomack to ſee it: and if by chaunce there was any filth or mudde in the bottome, it would cleaue and ſtick faſt vpon the ribbes of the bellie, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that dranke it. The reformer of their ſtate was the cauſe of all this: becauſe their artificers tending now to ſuperfluous works, were occupied about the making of their moſt neceſſarie things. Further, now to driue away all ſuperfluitie and deliciouſnes, and to roote out vtterly deſire to get and gathet: he made another third law for eating and drinking, and againſt feaſts and banckets. Firſt he willed and commaunded the citizens, that they ſhould eate together all of one meate, and chieflie of thoſe he had permitted by his ordinance. Then he did expreſſely forbid them to eate alone, or apart, or ſecretly by themſelues, vpon riche tables and ſumptuous beds, abuſing the labour of excellent workemen, and the deuiſes of lickeriſh cookes to cramme themſelues in corners, as they doe fatte vp beaſts and poultrie, which doth not onely breed ill conditions in the minde, but doth marre the complexions of men, and the good ſtates of their bodie, when they giue themſelues ouer to ſuch ſenſualitie and gluttonie. Whereof it followeth in the ende that men muſt needs ſleepe much, to helpe to digeſt the exceſſe of meates they haue taken, and then muſt they goe to the hoate houſes to bathe themſelues, and ſpend long time about the ordinarie attendance of their ſickely bodies. This was a maruellous thing for him to bring to paſſe, but much more, to make riches not to be ſtolen, and leaſt of all to be coueted, as *Theophraſtus* ſaid of him: which by this meanes of making them eate together with all ſobrietie at their ordinarie dyet, was brought to paſſe. For there was no more meane to the riche, then to the poore, to vſe to play, or ſhew tiches, ſithe both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: ſo as that which is commonly ſpoken, that *Pluto* the god of riches is blinde, was truely verified onely in the citie of SPARTA, aboue all other places of the world. For there riches was laide on the ground like a corſe without a ſoule, that mooueth no whit at all: conſidering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home ſecretly in his houſe, before he came to their open halles, nor might not come thither for a countenance onely to his meales, being already fed and full fraught. For euery mans eye was vpon thoſe ſpecially which did not eate and drinke with a good ſtomach amongſt them: and it was the vſe to reproche them as gluttons, and daintie mouthed men, which refuſed to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they ſay, that grieued moſt the riche aboue all that *Lycurgus* made, and whereat they were moſt mad and angrie with him: in ſo much, as on a day, they all ſetting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to runne out of the market place, and getting ground of them, he recouered the liberties of a church, before any could ouertake him: ſauing one young man called *Alcander*, who otherwiſe had no ill nature in him, but that he was ſomewhat quick of his hand, and cholericke with all. Who following *Lycurgus* neerer then any other, did giue him a blowe ouerthwart the face with a ſtaffe, and ſtrake out one of his eyes, as *Lycurgus* turned toward him. Yet for all this, *Lycurgus* neuer baſhed or made worde at the matter, but did liſte vp his head to thoſe that followed him, and ſhewed

Cothon a ſtrange kinde of cup of the Lacedæmonian ſouldiers.

Lycurgus appointeth order for dyet vnto the Lacedemonians.

Alcander ſtrooke out Lycurgus eye.

ſhewed them his face all a gore bloud, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were all ſo ſore aſhamed, that there was not a man that durſt once open his mouth againſt him, but to the contrarie, they ſeemed to pitie him, and did deliuer *Alcander* into his handes that had done the deed, to puniſh him as him ſelfe pleaſed. And ſo they all brought him to his houſe, and ſhewed they were right hartely ſorie for his hurt. *Lycurgus* thanking them, returned them all backe againe, ſaue that he made *Alcander* to goe with him into his houſe, where he neuer hurte him, nor gaue him fowle worde: but commaunded him onely to waite vpon him, and made his other ordinary ſeruants to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now began to ſpie his owne faulte, did moſt willingly attend vpon him, and neuer ſpake worde to the contrarie. When he had ſerued him a certaine time, being very nere continually about him, he began to feele and taſte of his naturall liberalitie, and ſaw of what affection and intention *Lycurgus* was moued to do all he did: he perceiued what was the ſeueritie of his ordinarie life, and what his conſtancie was to endure labour without wearineſſe. *Alcander* then began to loue and honour *Lycurgus* from his heart, and tolde his parents and friends, howe he was no ſuch ſeuere man as he ſeemed, but was of ſo kinde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I pray you how *Alcander* was transformed by *Lycurgus*, and his puniſhment alſo, which he ſhould haue receiued: for of a fierce, raſhe, and a lewde conditioned youth he was before, he became now a very graue and wiſe man. But for memorie of this his misfortune, *Lycurgus* built a temple to *Minerua*, which he ſurnamed *Optiletide*, becauſe the DORIANS which dwell in thoſe parts of PELOPONNESVS, doe call the eyes, *optiles*. There are other writers (as *Dioſcorides* for one) which ſay *Lycurgus* had a blowe with a ſtaffe, but he had not his eye ſtriken out with it: and how contrariwiſe, he founded this temple to *Minerua*, to giue her thankes for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that euer ſince the SPARTANS haue bene reſtrained to carie ſtaues in any aſſemblie of counſell. But to returne to their common repaſtes, which the CRETANS called *Andria*, and the LACEDÆMONIANS *Phiditia*, either becauſe they were places wherein they learned to liue ſoberly and ſtraightly (for in the GREKE tongue *Phido*, is to ſaue and ſpare) or elſe becauſe their amitie and friendſhip grewe there towards one another, as if they would haue called them *Philitia*, feaſts of loue, by changing d. into L: It may be alſo they added the firſt letter as ſuperfluous, and meant to call the places *Editia*, becauſe they did eate and drinke there. They ſat in their halles by fifteene in a companie, litle more or leſſe, and at the beginning of euery moneth, euery one brought a buſhell of meale, eight gallons of wine, fiue pound of cheeſe, and two pound and a halfe of figges for a man, beſides ſome little portion of their money to buie certaine freſh cates. And ouer and aboue all this, euery man when he did ſacrifice in his houſe, was bound to ſend the beſt and chiefeſt things of his ſacrifice to the halles to be eaten. Likewiſe if any man went on hunting, and killed any veniſon: it was an order, he ſhould ſend a peece of the fleſh thither. Hauing theſe two lawfull cauſes, they might eate and drinke by themſelues at home, either when they ſacrificed any beaſt to the goddes, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwiſe they were bounde of neceſſitie to meete in their halles at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very ſtraightly a great time: in ſo much as king *Agis* on a daye, returning from the warres, where he had ouerthrowne the ATHENIANS, and being deſirous to ſuppe at home priuately with the Queene his wife, he ſent to the halles for his portion. But the *Polemarchi*, that be certaine officers aſſiſting the Kings in the warres, did denie him. The next daye *Agis* left of for ſpight, to doe the accuſtomed ſacrifice they were wonte to celebrate in the ende of euery warre: whereupon they ſet a fine on his head, and condemned him to paye it. The young children alſo went to theſe repaſts, euen as they ſhould goe to ſchooles to learne grauitie and temperance, where they heard wiſe and graue diſcourſes touching the gouernment of a common weale, but not of maſters that were as hirelings. There they learned pretily to playe vpon wordes, and pleaſauntly to ſporte one with another, without any broade ſpeeches, or vncomely ieſtes, and at others handes to beare the ſame againe, without choller or anger. For this property haue the LACEDÆMONIANS aboue all other, to take and giue a mocke without any offence: neuertheles, if any mans nature could not beare it, he needed but pray the partie to forbeare his ieſting, and ſo he leſte it ſtraight.

Lycurgus patience and gentleneſſe.

Minerua optiletide.

Andria and Phiditia, meales why ſo called.

Children were brought to theſe meales.

The propertie of a Lacedæmonian.

And it was euer an ordinarie among them, that the eldeſt of the companie tolde the reſt that were come into the hall to meale, with ſhewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a worde here out of this doore. Euen ſo he that would be receiued to meale there in their companie, muſt firſt of neceſſitie be allowed and receiued in this ſort, by all the reſt. Euery one of them tooke a litle ball of branne or dowe to waſhe their hands with, and without euer a word ſpeaking, they threw it into a baſen, which the ſeruant that waited on them at the table did carie vpon his head: he that was contented the other ſhould be receiued in companie, did caſt in his balle as he did receiue it, but if he miſliked him, then he preſſed it flat betweene his fingers, and threw it in. This ball of branne thus preſſed flat, was as much as a beane bored thorough, and was to them a ſigne of condemnation. If any one ball were found of this ſorte, the ſuter was reiected: for they would not haue any enter into their companie, that was not liked of all the reſt. He that thus was reiected, they ſay he was diſcadded: for the baſin wherein the litle balles were caried, was called *Caddos*. The beſt diſh they ſerued at theſe meales, was that they call their blacke brothe: ſo that when they had that, the olde men did eate no fleſh, but left it all to the young men, and they by them ſelues did eate the brothe. There was a king of PONTVS, that being deſirous to taſte of this blacke broth, did buie of purpoſe a LACEDÆMONIAN cooke: but after he had once taſted therof, he was very angry ſtraight. The cooke then ſaid vnto him: and it pleaſe your grace, ere one ſhall finde this brothe good, he muſt be waſhed firſt in the riuer of Eurotas. After they had eate and drunke thus ſoberly together, euery one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to go thither, nor any where els with light, becauſe they ſhould accuſtome themſelues boldly to goe vp and downe the darke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meales. But here is ſpecially to be noted, that *Lycurgus* would in no wiſe haue any of his lawes put in writing. For it is expreſſely ſet downe in his lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his lawes ſhould be written. For he thought that which ſhould chiefly make a citie happie, and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens hearts and manners, as to haue continuance for euer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as a farre ſtronger knot to tie men with, then any other compulſarie lawe. Which when men by vſe and cuſtome through good education doe take in their childhood, it maketh euery man to be a lawe to him ſelfe. Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and ſometime are changed into one ſort, and ſometime in another, as occaſion ſerueth: he thought it beſt not to conſtraine them to doe it by writing, nor to eſtabliſh cuſtomes that might not be altered, but rather to leaue them to the libertie and diſcretion of men which had bene brought vp in the ſame, bothe to take away, and to adde therein, as the caſe and time ſhould require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefeſt point of a good lawe maker or reformer of the common weale was, to cauſe men to be well brought vp and inſtructed. One of his ordinances therefore was expreſſely, that not one of his lawes ſhould be written. Another of his deuiſes was, againſt ſuperfluous charges and expences: which to auoide, he made a lawe that all rooſes of houſes ſhould be made onely with the axe, and all gates and dores with the ſawe, and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards *Epaminondas* had, when he ſaid, ſpeaking of his table: Such a borde neuer receiueth any treaſon. Euen ſo thought *Lycurgus*, that ſuch a builte houſe would neuer receiue curioſitie or daintineſſe. For no man is ſo madly diſpoſed or ſimple witted, as to bring into ſo poore and meane houſes, bedſteads with ſiluer feete, imbrodered couerlets, or counterpointes of purple ſilke, neither yet plate of golde nor of ſiluer, nor ſuch other like coſtly furniture and fineneſſe, as thoſe things require to waite vpon them: becauſe the beds muſt be aunſwerable to the meaneſſe of the houſe, the furnitures of the beddes muſt be ſutelike to the ſame, and all other houſeholde ſtuffe, dyet, meate, and drinke agreeable to the reſt. Hereof proceeded that, which *Leontychidas* the firſt King of that name, ſaied once: who ſupping on a time in the citie of CORINTH, and ſeeing the rooſe of the hall where he ſate, ſumptuouſly embowed and carued, he asked ſtraight if the trees did growe carued ſo in that countrie. The third lawe was, he did forbid them to make warre often with one enemie, leaſt the enemie forced to take often armes in hand, might in the ende growe experter and valianter then they.

The order of receiuing any man into their company at meales.

The blacke broth.

Cicero calleth this King, Dionyſius the tyran. Tuſc. 5.

Lycurgus would not haue his lawes written otherwiſe then in mens mindes.

Retra, for exceſſe or ryot.

Epaminondas ſaying.

King Leontychidas ſaying.

Retra for warr.

they. For this cauſe king *Ageſilaus* was greatly blamed, who was a long time after. For by making often warres with the countrie of BOEOTIA, he made the THEBANS in the end as expert and valiant ſouldiers, as the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon *Antalcidas* ſeeing him hurt one daye, ſayde vnto him: The THEBANS haue nobly rewarded thee for their learning, ſith thou haſt made them expert ſouldiers vnwilling to learne the diſcipline of warre. Theſe be the lawes *Lycurgus* ſelfe called *Retra*, and ſignifie as much as Oracles, that the god *Apollo* had diſcouered to him. Nowe the education of children, hee eſteemed the chiefeſt and greateſt matter, that a reformer of lawes ſhould eſtabliſh. Therefore beginning a farre off, he firſt conſidered the ſtate of mariage, and the generation of children. For *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that *Lycurgus* did attempt to reforme women, and did ſoone giue it ouer againe: becauſe he could doe no good therein, by reaſon of the great libertie they had taken by the abſence of their husbandes in the warres, compelled often ſo to be abroad, and that they did leaue them miſtreſſes of their houſe, and at their returne did honour them ſo much, and make of them ſo beyonde meaſure, with calling them ladyes and miſtreſſes. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, aſwell as he had of mens: and ſo reaſon did require. Firſt of all, he willed that the maydens ſhould harden their bodies with exerciſe of running, wreſtling, throwe the barre, and caſting the dart, to the ende that the frute wherewith they might be afterwardes conceiued, taking nouriſhment of a ſtrong and luſtie bodie, ſhould ſhoote out and ſpread the better: and that they by gathering ſtrength thus by exerciſes, ſhould more eaſely away with the paynes of child bearing. And to take away from them their womaniſh daintineſſe, and fineneſſe, he brought vppe a cuſtome, for younge maydes and boyes to goe as it were a preceſſion, and to daunce naked at ſolemne feaſtes and ſacrifices, and to ſing certaine ſonges of their owne making, in the preſence and ſight of younge men. To whom by the way they gaue manie times pretie mockes of purpoſe, as pleaſantly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their duties: and ſometimes alſo in their ſong for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they prayſed them which had deſerued it. By this meanes, they did ſet young mens hearts a fire, to ſtriue to winne moſt prayſe and honour. For who ſo was prayſed of them for a valiant man, or whoſe worthy actes were ſung by them, he thereby was incouraged to doe the better another time: and the pretie girdes and quippes they gaue to others, was of no leſſe force, then the ſharpeſt wordes and admonitions that otherwiſe could be giuen them. This tooke place the rather, becauſe it was done in the preſence of the kings, the Senatours, and all the reſt of the citizens which came thither to ſee theſe ſportes. And though the maydes did ſhewe themſelues thus naked openly, yet was there no diſhoneſtie ſeene nor offered, but all this ſport was full of play and toyes, without any youthfull part or wantonneſſe: and rather caried a ſhew of demureneſſe, and a deſire to haue their beſt made bodies ſeene and ſpied. Moreouer, it ſomewhat lifted vp their hearts, and made them noblier minded, by giuing them to vnderſtand, that it was no leſſe comely for them, in their kinde and exerciſes to carie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exerciſes to carie the price. Hereof it came, that the women of LACEDÆMON were ſo bolde to ſay, and thinke of themſelues that, which *Gorgona* the wife of king *Leonidas* one day aunſwered: being in talke with a ſtraunge woman that ſayde to her. There be no women in the world that commaund their husbandes, but you wiues of LACEDÆMON. Whereto the Queene ſtraight replyed: ſo be there no women but we, which bring foorth men. Furthermore, theſe playes, ſports, and daunces, the maydes did naked before young men, were prouocations to drawe and allure the young men to mary: not as perſwaded by geometricall reaſons, as ſayth *Plato*, but brought to it by liking, and of very loue. Thoſe which would not marrie, he made infamous by law. For it was not lawfull for ſuch to be preſent, where theſe open games and paſtimes were ſhewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the citie compelled ſuch as woulde not marie, euen in the hardeſt time of the winter, to enuirone the place of theſe ſportes, and to goe vp and downe ſtarcke naked, and to ſing a certaine ſong made for the purpoſe againſt them, which was: that iuſtly were they puniſhed, becauſe that lawe they diſobeyed. Moreouer, when ſuch were olde, they had not the honour and reuerence done them, which

Antalcidas ſaying.

The diſcipline of women amongſt the Lacedæmonians. Ariſt. polit. lib. 7. cap. 17.

The exerciſes and diſcipline of maydes.

The ſaying of a Laconian woman.

Men that wold not marie, Lycurgus reputed infamous by lawe.

old maried men vſually receiued. Therefore there was no man that miſliked, or reproued that, which was ſpoken to *Dercillidas*: albeit otherwiſe he was a noble captaine. For, comming into a preſence, there was a young man which would not vouchſafe to riſe and do him reuerence, nor to giue him place for to ſit downe: and worthily, quoth he, becauſe thou haſt not gotten a ſonne, who may doe ſo much for me in time to come. Thoſe which were deſirous to marie any, were driuen to take them away by force, whom they would marie, not little young wenches I meane, which were not of age to be maried: but luſtie and ſtrong maydes of age to beare children. And when one of them was ſtolne away in this ſort, ſhe that was priuie thereto, and meane to make the mariage, came and ſhaued the hayres of her head that was maried: then ſhe put her into mans apparell, and gaue her all thinges ſute like to the ſame, and layde her vpon a mattereſſe all alone, without light or candle. After this was done, the bridegrome, being neither drunke nor finelier apparelled then he was wont to be, but hauing ſupped ſoberly at his ordinarie, came home ſecretly to the houſe where the bride was: and there vntyed his wiues girdle, tooke her in his armes, layde her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwardes fayre and ſoftly ſtole away to the place, where he was wont to ſleepe with other young men. And ſo from thenceforth, he continued alwayes to doe the like, being all the day time with his companions, and ſleeping moſt of the night, vnleſſe hee ſometime ſtale to ſee his wife, being affrayd, and aſhamed euer to be ſeene, by any of the houſe where ſhe was. And hereunto his young wife did helpe for her part, to ſpie meanes and occaſions howe they might meete together, and not be ſeene. This manner endured a great while and vntill ſome of them had children, before they boldly met together, and ſawe each other on the day time. This ſecret meeting in this ſort did ſerue to good purpoſes, not onely becauſe it was ſome meane of continencie, and ſhamefaſtneſſe, but alſo it kept their bodies in ſtrength and better ſtate, to bring foorth children. It continued alſo in both parties, a ſtill burning loue, and a new deſire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs commonly be which haue their bellies full of loue, and as much as they luſt: but they euer parted with an appetite one from another, keeping ſtill a longing deſire to deuiſe howe to meete againe. Nowe when hee had ſtabliſhed ſuch a continencie, and ſo kinde a framed honeſtie in mariage, he tooke no leſſe care to driue away all fooliſh iealouſie therein, thinking it very good reaſon to beware there ſhould be no violence, nor confuſion in mariage: and yet as reaſon would, they ſhould ſuffer thoſe which were woorthie to get children as it were in common, laughing at the madde follie of them which reuenge ſuch thinges with warre and bloudſhed, as though in that caſe men in no wiſe ſhoulde haue no fellowſhippe together. Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being ſtepped in yeares, and hauing a young wife, if ſeeing a faire young man that liked him, and knowen with all to bee of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with childe, and afterwardes would auow it for his, as if him ſelfe had gotten it. It was lawfull alſo for an honeſt man that loued another mans wife, for that he ſawe her wife, ſhamefaſt, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreat her husband to ſuffer him to lie with her, and that he might alſo plow in that luſty ground, and caſt abroad the ſeede of well fauoured children: which by this meanes came to be common in bloud and parentage, with the moſt honourable and honeſteſt perſons. For firſt of all, *Lycurgus* did not like that children ſhould be priuate to any men, but that they ſhould be common to the common weale: by which reaſon he would alſo, that ſuch as ſhould become citizens, ſhould not be begotten of euery man, but of the moſt honeſteſt men onely. So *Lycurgus* thought alſo there were many fooliſh vaine toyes and fanſies, in the lawes and orders of ther Nations, touching mariage: ſeeing they cauſed their bitches and mares to bee limed and couered with the fayreſt dogges and goodlieſt ſtalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the maſters and owners of the ſame: and kept their wiues notwithſtanding ſhut vp ſafe vnder locke and key, for feare leaſt other then them ſelues might get them with child, although they were ſickly, feeble brayned, and extreame olde. As if it were not firſt of all, and chiefely a diſcommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewiſe to thoſe that bring them vp, to haue vnperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drye and withered men: and then to the contrarie, what pleaſure and benefite is it to thoſe that haue

Matrimoniall ceremonies in Lacedæmon.

Holeſome rules for maried couples

Lycurgus regard to auoyde iealouſie in the common wealth

fayre

fayre and good children, borne, as gotten of like ſeede and men. Theſe thinges were done then by naturall and ciuill reaſon, neuertheleſſe they ſay women were ſo farre off then from intreatie, as euer they were before: ſo as in old time, in SPARTA, men knew not what adulterie ment. For proofe whereof, the anſwere made by *Geradas* (one of the firſt auncient SPARTANS) vnto a ſtranger, may be alledged: that asked him, what puniſhment they had for adulterers. My friend, quoth he, there be none here. But if there were? replied the ſtranger againe. Marie ſayd he, then he muſt pay as great a bull, as ſtanding vpon the toppe of the mountaine Taygetus, may drinke in the riuer of Eurotas. Yea marie: but how is it poſſible (quoth the ſtranger) to finde ſuch a bull? *Geradas* laughing, anſwered him againe. And how were it poſſible alſo to finde an adulterer in SPARTA? And this is that which is found of *Lycurgus* lawes touching mariages. Furthermore, after the birth of euery boy, the father was no more maſter of him, to cocker and bring him vp after his will: but he himſelfe caried him to a certaine place called Leſché, where the eldeſt men of his kinred being ſet, did view the childe. And if they found him fayre, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and ſtrong: they gaue order he ſhould be brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thouſand partes of inheritance for his education. Contrariwiſe, if they found him deformed, miſhapen, or leane, or pale, they ſent him to be throwen in a deepe pit of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, and as a man would ſay, the common houſe of office: holding opinion it was neyther good for the childe, nor yet for the common weale, that it ſhould liue, conſidering from his birth he was not well made, nor giuen to be ſtrong, healthfull, nor luſtie of bodie all his life long. For this cauſe therefore, the nurſe after their birth did not waſh them with water ſimply (as they doe euery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they prooue, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they ſuppoſe, that children which are giuen to haue the falling ſickneſſe, or otherwiſe to be full of rewmes and ſicknеſſes, cannot abide waſhing with wine, but rather dry and pine away: as contrarily the other which are healthfull, become thereby the ſtronger and the luſtier. The nurces alſo of SPARTA vſe a certaine manner to bring vp their children, without ſwadling, or binding them vp in clothes with ſwadling bandes, or hauing on their heads any croſſe clothes: ſo as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better ſhaped and goodlier of bodie. Beſides that, they acquainted their children to all kinde of meates, and brought them vp without much tendance, ſo as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be left alone in the darke, neither were they cryers, wrallers, or vnhappy children, which be all tokens of baſe and cowardly natures. So that there were ſtraungers, that of purpoſe bought nources out of LACONIA, to bring vp their children: as they ſay *Amycla* was one of them, which nourced *Alcibiades*. But *Pericles* his tutor, gaue him afterwardes a bondman called *Zopyrus*, to be his maſter and gouernour: who had no better propertie in him, then other common ſlaues. This did not *Lycurgus*. For he did not put the education and gouernement of the children of SPARTA, into the hands of hyred maſters or ſlaues bought with money: neyther was it lawfull for the father him ſelfe to bring vp his owne childe after his owne maner and liking. For ſo ſoone as they came to ſeuen yeares of age, hee tooke and diuided them by companies, to make them to be brought vp together, and to accuſtome them to play, to learne, and to ſtudie one with another. Then he choſe out of euery companie one, whom he thought to haue the beſt wit, and had moſt courage in him to fight: to whom he gaue the charge and ouerſight of his owne companie. The reſt had their eyes waiting alwayes on him, they did obey his commaundementes willingly, they did abide patiently all corrections hee gaue them, they did ſuch taskes and workes as he appointed them: ſo that all their ſtudie was moſt to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde gray headed men were preſent manie times to ſee them playe, and for the moſt part they gaue them occaſions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better knowe and diſcerne the naturall diſpoſition of euery one of them, and whether they gaue any ſignes or tokens in time to come, to become cowardes or valiant men. Touching learning, they had as much as ſerued their turne: for the reſt of their time they ſpent in learning howe to obey, to away with paine, to endure labour, to ouercome ſtill in fight. According to their

No adulteris ſhowen in Sparta.

The education of children with the Lacedæmonians.

Leſche.

Apothetes.

Young babes waſhed with wine.

The Spartan nurces.

Pluto of the firſt Alcibiades

How the Lacedæmonians children were brought vp.

groweth and yeares, they did chaunge the exercises of their bodies: they did shaue their heads, they went barelegged, they were constrayned to play naked together the most part of their time. After they were past twelue yeres of age, they ware no longer coates: and they gaue them yearely but one seely gowne. This was the cause they were alwayes so nasty & sluttish, & they neuer vsed to bath or noynt themselues, sauing only at certaine dayes in the yeare, when they were suffered to taste of this refreshing. They lay and slept together vpon beds of strawe, which they themselues did make, of the toppes of reedes or canes that grewe in the riuer of Eurotas: which they were forced to goe gather and breake them selues with their handes, without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they did mingle thistle down with these, which is called *Lycophonas*, because that stuffe seemeth somewhat warme of it selfe. About this time, the fauourers & likers of this pretie youth, which were commonly the lustiest and best disposed youthes of the citie, beganne to be ofter in their companie: and then the olde men tooke the better regard vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daily exercises, & where their vse was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should mocke another. This did their old men, not by way of pastime onely, but with such care and hearty loue towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, masters, & gouernours, while they were boyes: in so much as there was neuer time nor place, where they had not alwayes some to admonish, reproue, or correct them, if they did a fault. Notwithstanding all this, there was euer one of the honestest men of the citie, who had expressely the charge and gouernance of these boyes. He did diuide them in companies, and afterwards gaue the ouersight of them, to such a one of the boyes as was discreetest, the manliest, the most hardie, and of the best courage amongst them. They called the children that were past infancie two yeres, *Irenes*: and the greatest boyes *Melirenes*: as who would say, readie to go out of boyerie. This boye who was made ouerseer of them, was commonly twentie yeres of age. He was their captaine when they fought, and did commaunde them as his seruantes when they were in the house: and willed them which were strongest, and the most growen, to carie woode when they should prepare dinner or supper, and those which were least and weakest, to goe gather herbes, which they must steale or lack them. So they went out to steale some in gardens, some at the markets, other in the halles where the feasts were kept, and men did eate together, into the which they conueyed them selues as closely and cunningly as they could deuise: for if they were taken with the manner, they were scourged terribly, because they were so grosse & negligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They stole also all other kind of meate, whatsoeuer they could get or lay hands on. They pried and sought all occasions how to take and steale meate handsomely, both when men were a sleepe, or els that they were careless, or did not giue good heede vnto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundly, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittance, because necessitie should driue them to venter boldly, and wit should finde out all the deuises to steale finely. This was the chiefest cause, why they gaue them so small a diet. The seconde cause was, that their bodies might grow vp higher in height. For the vitall spirites not being occupied to concoct and digest much meate, nor yet kept downe, or spread abroad by the quantitie or ouerburden thereof, doe enlarge themselues into length, and shoote vp for their lightnes: and for this reason they thought the bodie did growe in height and length, hauing nothing to let, or hinder the rising of the same. It seemeth, that the selfe same cause made them fayrer also. For the bodies that are leane and slender, doe better and more easely yeelde to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to euery member: and contrariewise it seemeth these grosse, corpulent, and ouerfedde bodies doe encounter nature, and be not so nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heauy substance. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a little before their time, & be somwhat cast before they should haue bene borne, be smaller and fayrer also, and more pure commonly then other that goe their time: because the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more supple and pliant, is the easilier weilded by nature, which giueth them their shape and forme. Touching the naturall cause of this effect, let vs giue place to other to dispute it that will, without our further deciding of the same. But to returne to the matter of the LACEDÆMONIANS children.

They

It is a kind of thistle in the Messenian tongue: reade Hesychius.

Irenes. Melirenes.

The theeuerie of the Lacedemonians.

Straight dyet causeth growth and height.

X

They did robbe with ſo great care, and feare to be diſcouered, that they tell of one, which hauing ſtollen a little foxe, did hide him vnder his cloke, and ſuffered him with his teeth and clawes to teare out all his belly, and neuer cried, for feare he ſhould haue bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he ſtoode. This is not vncredible, by that we ſee young boyes doe abide at this day: for we haue ſeene diuerſe, which haue bidden whipping euen to death, vpon the altar of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orthia*. Now this vnder maiſter, who had the charge of euery company of theſe boies, vſed after ſupper (ſitting yet at the table) to bid one of them ſing a ſong: to another he put forth a queſtion, who was to be well aduiſed of his aunſwer, as for example: Who is the honeſteſt man in the city? or how thinkeſt thou by that ſuch a one did? By this exerciſe they were inured from boyes ſtate, to iudge of thinges well or ill done, and to vnderſtand the life and gouernment of their citizens. For which of them did not aunſwere quickely and directly to theſe queſtions, who is a good man, who is an honeſt citizen, and who not: they thought it was a ſigne of a dull wit, and careleſſe nature, not giuen to any vertue, for deſire of honour and eſtimation. Furthermore this vnder maſter was euer to waite for his aunſwer, and to ſee it ſhould be briefe and well knit vp in wordes: otherwiſe his puniſhment that aunſwered croſſely, or to little purpoſe, was that his maſter bit him by the thumbe. This he did many times in the preſence of the old men and magiſtrates of the city, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them with reaſon or not, and according to their deſeruing. And though he did hurt him, they did not by and by reproue him, but when the children were gone away, then was he him ſelfe rebuked and puniſhed, if he had corrected them too ſore, or contrarily had fauoured them too much. Moreouer they did aſcribe the good or ill opinion conceiued of the children, vnto euery of their fauourers, and louers, which did affect and entertaine them: in as much as they ſay, a young boy vppon a time fighting with another, and a cry ſcaping out of his mouth, which his faint cowardly heart did yeeld, his fauourer and louer was ſtraight condemned by the officers of the citty to a fine. Albeit this loue was a thing euen incorporated into them, that the moſt honeſt and vertuouſeſt women loued the young maides thus alſo: yet was there no iealouſie nor ſuſpition that grew hereof, but rather to the contrary, there grew a maruellous mutuall loue and kindneſſe betweene them, which liued in one ſelfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, did deuiſe how to make the childe they loued in common, the wiſeſt, the gentleſt, and the beſt conditioned aboue all other. They taught theſe children to ſpeake in ſuch ſort, that their ſpeach had euer in it a pleaſaunt grace, and in few words cõprehended much matter. For *Lycurgus* ordained, a great maſſe and weight of iron money, ſhould be but little worth, and of a ſmall value, as we haue tolde you before: and contrarily, that ſpeach in few wordes, without any affectation, ſhould hold much deepe and graue matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long ſilence, ſhould be briefe and pitthy in their aunſwers. For as the ſeede of incontinent men which are too buſie with euery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bring forth frute: euen ſo immoderate ſpeach, full of wordes and buſie tattle, bringeth forth as little ſenſe. Hereof it commeth, that the annſwers of the LACONIANS were ſo ſhort and witty. As they ſay, king *Agis* aunſwered on a day an ATHENIAN, who ieſting at the ſwords the LACEDÆMONIANS did weare, ſaid they were ſo ſhort, that theſe tumblers and iuglers did ſwallow them downe in the ſight of all the world: and yet ſaied *Agis* we hurt our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS mãner of ſpeaking: which is not to ſpeake much, but when they ſpeake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers vnderſtand them. I thinke alſo, that *Lycurgus* ſelfe, was ſhort and quicke in his talke. For ſo a man may coniecture by his aunſwers which are writtten: as that which he made to one who earneſtly praied him to ſtabliſh a popular ſtate in LACEDÆMON, that the baſeſt might haue as great authority as the higheſt. Beginne (quoth he) to doe it firſt in thine own houſe. And as that alſo which he aunſwered another who asked him, why he had appointed ſo ſmall things, & ſo litle of value to be offered to the gods? Becauſe (quoth he) we ſhould neuer ceaſe to honour them. And as that which he ſpake another time, touching fightes and frayes, which was: that he did neuer forbid his citizens any of them, but thoſe wherein they vſe to giue their hand, as you would ſay to yeelde. Men finde alſo ſuch like

Childrens exerciſe after their ſupper.

The Lacedæmonians manner of louing.

Short ſpeach taught among the Lacedæmonians.

Lycurgus wiſe aunſwers.

Lycurgus loue to God.

To giue a hãd is to confeſſe him ſelfe ouercome.

answers, in some of his letters written to his citizens, as when they asked him. How can we defend our selues against our enemies? He aunswered: If ye be poore, and one doe couet no more then another. And in another letter that was sent, where he discourseth, whether it were requisite to inclose the city with walles: he sayeth, can that city be without walles, which is enuironned with men, though it be vncompassed with stone? Neuertheless it is hard to resolue, whether those letters, and other such like that are shewed, be to be beleeued, or discredited to be his. But that long speach was much disliked, and reproued among the LACEDÆMONIANS, it is manifestly to be seene by the words, which some amongst them haue heretofore aunswered. As king *Leonidas* said one day, to one that discoursed with him many good things, but out of season: friend, thou speakest many good wordes, but to litle purpose. And *Charilaus*, nephew to *Lycurgus*, being asked why his vncle made so few lawes: because said he, to men of few wordes, few lawes will serue. And *Archidamidas* sayed thus to some which reproued *Hecataeus* the Orator, for that being bidden to supper at one of their feasts, he spake not a word all supper time. He who can speake wel, knoweth also when to speake. And where I haue tolde before, that in their feat and quicke aunswers, commonly there was some prety grace, it may be well seene and knowen by these that follow. *Demaratus* aunswered a busie fellow who troubled him too much with vaine importunate questions, asking him still: who was the honestest man of LACEDÆMON, euen he that is least like thy selfe. And *Agis* sayd to some which highly praysed the ELIANS for their vpright iudgement, and iust dealing in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (quoth he) if in fiue years space the ELIANS one day do good iustice? And *Theopompus* likewise to a stranger, who as desirous to shew his affection he bare the LACEDÆMONIANS, told him how euery body called him *Philolacon* (as to say) a louer of LACEDÆMON. It were more honesty for thee (said he) to be named *Philopolites*, a louer of her citizens. And *Plistonax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, when an Orator of ATHENS said the LACEDÆMONIANS were vnlearned, and ignorant: thou saiest true quoth he, for we only of all the GRECIANS haue learned none of your ill conditions. And *Archidamidas*, to one that demanded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enow said he, to driue away the wicked. We may coniecture also their manner of speaking, by their words in mirth, which they spake sometimes playing wise: for they did neuer vse to speake vain words at randone, but it had alwaies some secret meaning in it, which required anothers good obseruation that would find it. As he which was desired to goe heare the nightingall counterfeited naturally: I haue (said he) heard the nightingall it selfe. And another which hauing red this inscription vpon a tumbe.

Short sentences of certaine Laconians. Leonidas. Charilaus. Archidamidas

Sharpe sentences of the Laconians. Demaratus. Agis. Theopompus.

Plistonax, Pausanias sonne.

Archidamidas.

In the life of Agesilaus.

VVhen as they had, well quenched tyrannie
throughout their land, by worthy warlike power,
Their happe was yet in wretched wise to die,
by scaling Selynuntaes strongest tower.

They well deserued death, said he, that did but quench tyranny: they should haue quite consumed it with fire. And one younger boy to another, promising to giue him such hardy cockes of the game, as should die in the place where they fought. O giue me not those (said he) which will die, but those which with fighting will kill others. Another seeing men sitting in coches and litters as they went: god forbid (said he) that I should euer sit in a chaire, where I could not rise to my elders. Such were their aunswers and encounters. So that some had reason which sayed heretofore, to speake LACONIAN like, was to be Philosopher like: as you would say, more to exercise the minde, then the body. Besides all this, they did study to sing well, and to make goodly ditties and songs. Then they spake most properly and featly. There was in their songs also a certaine motion, I wote not what, which stirred vp the hearers hearts, and did kindle desire in them to do notable feats. Their tongue was plaine, without affectation: their matter graue and morall, contayning for the most part the praise of those, which were slaine in battell for the defence of their countrey, as being happy men: & a shame to those that liue, which for fainte hearts refused so to die, to lead a miserable and vnfortunate life. Or else they sang how they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glory of the world, and the true representation of vertuous men: as the song would best become their

The Lacedemonians songs.

their ages which did ſing. It ſhall not be impertinent for the better vnderſtanding hereof, to bring you here an example. For in their open feaſts, there were alwayes three daunces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the old men, thus beganne firſt for to ſing. *Three daunces among the Lacedamonians.*

VVe haue bene young and ſtrong, yet valiant heretofore,
till crooked age did hold vs backe, and bad vs do no more,

The young men followed after, ſinging:

VVe yet are young, bold, ſtrong, and ready to maintaine
that quarell ſtill, againſt all men that doe on earth remaine.

The third was of children that came after and ſaide:

And we doe hope as well, to paſſe you all at laſt,
and that the world ſhall witneſſe be, ere many yeares be paſt.

To conclude, who nearely will conſider the works & makings of the LACON poets (whereof ſome are yet extant) and will marke alſo the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the ſound and meaſure whereof they marched in array, going to charge the enemy: he ſhall finde, that *Terpander* and *Pindarus*, had reaſon to ioyne hardines with muſicke. For *Terpander* ſpeaking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſayeth in a place: *Terpander of the Lacedamonians.*

This is that land where deedes of chiualrie,
did florish moſt, in many a martiall feate:
VVhere muſicke made, her choiſe of harmony,
and iuſtice kept her ſtately royall ſeate.

And *Pindarus* ſpeaking of them alſo ſaieth: *Pyndarus of the Lacedamonians.*

There: graue aduiſe, is found in aged braines:
there: gallant youths, are luſty lads in deede.
VVhich can both ſing, and daunce, in courtlike traines:
yet daunt their foes, with many a doughty deede.

By which teſtimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and deſcribeth them to haue loued muſicke, and the warres together. For as another LACON Poet ſayeth:

It ſitteth well, and is a ſeemely thing,
for ſuch as ſpend their time in feates of warre:
To haue the ſkill, ſweete ſonnets for to ſing,
and touch the harpe withouten iangling iarre.

For this cauſe therefore in all their warres, when they ſhould giue battell, the King did firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes, to put his ſouldiers in mind (as it ſhould ſeeme) of the diſcipline & wiſdome of the Muſes that they had bene brought vp in, to the end that when his ſouldiers were in the moſt extreme daunger, the Muſes ſhould preſent them ſelues before the ſouldiers eyes, to pricke them forwards to doe ſome noble actes of worthy memory. In their time of warre, they did tollerate their young men a litle of their hard & old accuſtomed life, & ſuffered them then to trim their haires, to haue braue armour, to weare gay apparell, and tooke as great delight therin, to ſee them gallant & luſty, as to behold yong neying & ſnorting horſes, deſirous for to fight. And although from the beginning of their youth, they did vſe to weare long haires: yet were they neuer ſo carefull to combe and bruſh their heads, as when they ſhould to the battell. For when they did noint them ſelues with ſweet oiles, and did ſhed their haire, remembring *Lycurgus* ſaying: who was wont to tell them, that hairs to them which were faire, did make them more faire, and to them that were fowle, they made them more vgly & dredfull. The exerciſes alſo of their bodies, were more eaſy and gentle, and not ſo hard and ſtraight in their warres, as they were in a peace: and generally, their whole maner of life was not then ſo ſtraightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they only were the men of the world, to whom warres were made a reſt from labour, which men ordinarily do endure, to make them the fitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their army was ſet in battell ray, euen in the face of the enemy, the King did ſtraight ſacrifice a goate vnto the goddes, & forthwith commaunded all his ſouldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heads, & willed that the pipes ſhould ſound the ſong of *Caſtor*, at the noiſe and tune whereof, he him ſelfe beganne firſt to marche *The long buſhes and haire of the Laconians.* *How the Laconians began battell.* *The Laconians ſong when they marched. Euſt. Ilia. 15.*

forward. So that it was a maruellous pleasure, & likewise a dreadful sight, to see the whole battell march together in order, at the sound of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confound their ranckes, nor to be dismaide nor amazed themselues, but to go on quietly and ioyfully at the sound of these pipes, to hazard them selues euen to death. For it is likely, that such courages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet ouercom with much fury: but rather they haue an assured constancy & valiantnes in good hope, as those which are backed with the assisting fauour of the goddes. The King marching in this order, had alwaies some about him, which had before time wonne the prises in games and iustes. And they say there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great some of money at the games Olympical, not to present him selfe at them: but he refused it, liking better with great paine to winne the prise, then for much money to lose his honour. Whereupon one sayd vnto him, LACONIAN: & what hast thou gotten now, to cary away the prise with so much swet? The LACONIAN answered him laughing: I shall fight in the battell, saith he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they did still fiercely and fiercelier set vpon them, and did neuer cease, vntill their enemies gaue way and fled: and then they chased and followed them still, vntill such time as their ouerthrowe and flight had assured them of the victory. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, iudging it to be no manhood, neither the part of a noble minde, or of so worthy a nation as the GRECIANS were, to kill and hew in peeces, men so scattered and out of order, hauing forsaken all the hope of victory. This fell out not only honourable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but such as resisted stoutly, and how they did let other goe which fled before them: they found it was more their benefite to flie, then to tary and abide the strokes. *Hippias* the sophister saith, that *Lycurgus* him selfe was a very good captaine, and a great souldier, as he that had bene in many soughten fields: and *Philostephanus* ascribeth to him the deuise to put horsemen in troupes and companies, which they called *Oulames*, whereof fifty men at armes was a troupe, whose manner was to put them selues in squadrons. But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* writeth otherwise, that *Lycurgus* was neuer at the wars, and that he made all his lawes and gouernment in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of wars during the plaies Olympicall, which they say he deuised, doth shew in apparaunce that he was a gentle natured man, and one that loued quietnes and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongest whom *Hermippus* was one) say, he was not with *Iphitus* at the first beginning when he ordeined the playes Olympicall, but that by chaunce he happened to come thither, passing by in his iourney onely, and that he staid there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voice of a man behind him, saying, he maruelled much why he did not perswade his citizens also to be partners of this new deuise: and turning backe to see who it was that spake to him, he saw no body. Whereupon he tooke a conceite that it was a speach from the gods: and went therfore presently to seeke out *Iphitus*, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwards were farre more famous, better ordered, & more stately then before. But to returne againe to the LACEDÆMONIANS: their discipline and order of life continued still, after they were full growen men. For it was not lawfull for any man to liue as he listed, but they were within their city, as if they had bene in a campe, where euery man knoweth what allowance he hath to liue withall, & what busines he hath els to do in his calling. To be short, they were all of this mind, that they were not born to serue themselues, but to serue their countrey. Therefore if they were cõmanded nothing els, they went continually to see what the children did, and to teach them somewhat which might profite the common weale, or else they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which *Lycurgus* euer brought into his city, was the great rest and leysure which he made his citizens to haue, onely forbidding them that they should not professe any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goods were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bond men by the warres, did till their groundes, and yeelded them a certaine reuenue euery yere. And as touching this matter, they tell of a LACEDÆMONIAN, who being on a day at ATHENS where the law was pleaded, did vnderstand that a citizen there was condemned for Idlenes, and how he went home

How farre the Lacedæmoniãs did pursue their enemies.

Lycurgus a very good captaine. Oulames.

The Laconians opinion to serue their countrey.

The rest and leysure of the Lacedæmonians.

Idle liuers punished at Athens.

to

to his house very sorowfully, accõpanied with his friends which were sory for him, & greatly lamented his ill hap. The LACEDÆMONIAN then prayed those which were about him, to shew him the man condemned for liuing nobly, and like a gentleman. I haue alledged this, to shew how he thought it a vile & seruil thing to exercise any handy craft, or to work any thing by hand to get money. For sutes in lawe, a man may be well assured they were banished with the golde & siluer from LACEDÆMON, considering now there was no more auarice nor couetousnes there, nor yet pouertie nor lacke, but equalitie with aboundance, & quiet life with sobrietie. All other times but when they had warres, they followed dauncing, feasts, playes, bankets, hunting, or other exercises of body, and meetings to passe the time away. For the young men vntill they came to thirtie yeres of age, neuer went into the market to buie any prouision or things for the house, but did their fathers or their friends businesse: nay it was a shame for the oldest men, to haunt the market too often. As to the contrary, it was honorable for them to be present at the shew place the most part of the day, where they diuersely exercised their bodies, and likewise to be at the places of assembly, there to spend time with talking together, and discoursing honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffike, or money. For all their talke (for the most part) was about the praising of some honest thing, or sportingwise to reproue some dishonestie, which alwayes caried with it some gentle lesson or monition by the way. For *Lycurgus* was not such a sower man, as they neuer saw him laughe: but as *Sosibius* writeth, it was he that first sacrificed to the litle god of laughter, which is at LACEDÆMON, becausse he would mingle their feasts and assemblies with mirthe, as a pleasant sawce to ease the trouble of their strickt and hard life. To be briefe, he did accustome his citizens so, that they neither would nor could liue alone, but were in maner as men incorporated one with another; and were alwaies in company together, as the bees be about their maister bee: still in a continuall loue to serue their countrie, to winne honor, & to aduaunce the commonweale. Which affection of theirs is plaine and easly seene to be imprinted in them by certaine of their answers, as in that which *Pædaretus* said on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery and iocond as might be, said: It did him good to see there were three hundred found better in the citie than himselfe. *Pisistratidas* also being sent ambassadour with certaine other to the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, the PERSIAN lordes asked him, if they came of their owne desire, or whether they were sent from the whole state: if we obtaine, said he, it is from the state: if we be denied, then we come of our selues. And *Argileonida* the mother of *Brasidas*, asked some that went to visite her after they were returned home to LACEDÆMON from their iorney to AMPHIPOLIS, if her sonne died like a man, and a worthie SPARTAN. And they straight did commend him highly, saying: there was not left in all LACEDÆMON such a valiant man. She replied vnto them: Say not so, my friends, I pray you: for *Brasidas* was indeed a valiant man, but the country of LACONIA hath many moe yet valianter then he was. Now touching their Senate: *Lycurgus* was the first that erected it among them. The first that were therof, were *Lycurgus* chiefe aiders and assisters of that erection, as we haue declared before: but afterwards he ordained, that when any of those first should happen to die, they should choose in his place the most honest reported man in the citie, so he were three score yeere olde and aboue. This was the noblest glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and prise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest amongst the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the rewarde of his vertue, as for libertie to speake, soueraigne authoritie to gouerne, and princely power ouer the commonweale, the honour, the life, and the goods of the whole citizens: howbeit the election was made after this sort. The people first assembled in the market place, where there were some appointed and shut vp thereabout in a house, from whence they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assembled, but only they might heare the noise which they made there. For the people by their crie and showte, did declare whom they did choose, and whom they did refuse of the competitours, as they vsed to shew their liking by the like crie in other things. The competitours were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the middest of the assembly of the people, and said neuer a worde.

Sutes in law went away with gold and siluer that was banished.

How they spent the time in Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians liued not priuately to themselues in the commonweale.

Pædaretus saying.

The manner of choosing the Senate in Sparta.

The people ſtraight that liked, made a crie or ſhowte alowde. The men appointed which were locked vp, had bookes or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatneſſe of the crie, and ſhowt the people made, as euery competitour paſſed by, not knowing nor ſeeing who he was. Theſe hidden men did onely ſet downe in their bookes, the firſt, the ſecond, the third, and ſo many more, as by ſhowtes and cries they perceiued did paſſe thus through the aſſemblie. They noted alſo in their ſaid bookes, which of theſe had the greateſt crie and ſhowte of people at their paſſing thorough: and him they came and declared to be Senatour choſen. Then he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the goddes in the citie to giue thankes, hauing a great traine of young men following, and prayſing of his vertues. There went alſo with him a maruellous company of women ſinging ſonges of his praiſe, and how bleſſed he was, that he had liued ſo vertuouſly. Then euery one of his kinne prepared a bancket for him at home at their houſes, and as he entred the houſe, they ſaide vnto him: *The citie honoureth thee with this bancket.* That done, he repaired afterwards to the ordinarie place of their eating, where he did in all things as he was accuſtomed, ſauing he was ſerued nowe at his table with a double allowance, whereof he reſerued the one. After ſupper, all his kinſe women ſtood in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: ſo he called her whom he loued beſt, and gaue her his allowance he had ſaued, and ſaid to her: This was giuen me in token I was this day rewarded for my vertue: and euen ſo I giue it thee for a like token of rewarde for thy vertue. Then was ſhe brought home by all the women there to her houſe, euen in like ſorte as he was by the men. Touching burials, *Lycurgus* made a wiſe order: For firſt of all, to cut off all ſuperſtition of burying places, he commaunded they ſhould burie their dead within the citie, and that their graues ſhould be round about their temples, that young perſons might haue them alwaies in their eyes, and not be affraide to ſee a dead body, as if to touche a coarſe, or to paſſe by their graues, it ſhould defile a man. Then did he forbid them to burie any thing with the coarſe, and willed they ſhould only lappe it vp in a redde clothe, with oliue leaues. It was not lawfull to graue the name of any dead body vpon his graue, but onely of ſuch a man as died in the warres, or of ſome holy woman profeſſed into their temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very ſhorte. For it laſted not but a eleuen dayes, and on the twelft day, they muſt doe ſacrifice to *Proſerpina*, and ſo leaue off their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or vnworking in his citizens: for to all neceſſarie things which men can not lacke, *Lycurgus* ioyned euer a certaine emulation of men. As to deſire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furniſhed his citie with many good precepts and examples, among which his citizens being ſtill borne and bred vp, and hauing the ſame in euery place before their eyes where they went, they came to paſſe in time to be framed after the very patterne and mould of vertue it ſelfe. For this cauſe he did not ſuffer any to trauell out of the countrie, or to goe abroade as he would, without ſpeciall licence, for feare leaſt thoſe which trauelled abroad for their pleaſure, ſhould bring home ſtrange faſhions and manners, and a corrupt diſordered life, which by litle and litle might get away, and bring an alteration and change of the whole ſtate. Furthermore, he kept out of SPARTA all ſtrangers, except thoſe which had neceſſarie buſineſſe there, or were come thither for ſome profit to the countrie: not that he was affraide they ſhould learne ſomething whereby to loue vertue, or that they ſhould deſire to follow his faſhion and manner of gouernement as *Thucydides* was: but rather fearing they ſhould teach his citizens ſome naughtie manners, or ſome ill fauoued vice. For it muſt needs be, that ſtrangers bring euer ſtraunge and new deuiſes with them: which new deuiſes bring with them alſo new opinions: and new opinions beget new affections and mindes, that many times are repugnant to the lawe, and to the forme of the common weale eſtabliſhed before, as diſcordes doe many times in an harmonie of muſicke, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he iudged it a thing moſt neceſſarie, to keepe his citie free and ſafe from counterfaiting of any ſtrangers maners or faſhions, that were commonly as perſons infected with ſome contagious ſickneſſe. Now in all we haue ſpoken before, euen to this place, there is no maner of token or ſhew of iniuſtice, or lacke of equitie, wherewith ſome ſeeme to burden *Lycurgus* in his lawes: by ſaying they were well made, to make men warlike and valiant, but not to be iuſt or righteous. But concerning the law they call *Cryptia*, as much to ſay, as their ſecret: if it were of *Lycurgus*

What was done the Senatour being choſen.

The maner of buriall with the Lacedæmonians.

The time of mourning.

None allowed to trauell into other countries without licence.

No ſtrangers ſuffered to dwell in Sparta.

Cryptia with the Lacedæmonians.

curgus institution, as *Aristotle* saieth, it might haue caried *Plato* into the like opinion that *Lycurgus* had of his common weale. This was the lawe: The gouernours which had the charge and ouersight of the young men, at certaine appointed times, did chooſe out thoſe they thought to haue the beſt diſcretion, and ſent them abroade into the countrie, ſome one waye, ſome another way, who caried with them daggers, and ſome prouiſion to feede them. Theſe young men being thus diſperſed abroade in the countrie, did hide themſelues all the day cloſe in ſecret places, and there they lay and tooke their reſt: afterwards when night was come, they went to ſeeke out the high wayes, and killed the firſt of the Ilotes that they met. Sometimes euen in the broad day, they went into the countrie to kill the ſtrongeſt and ſtowteſt of them: as *Thucydides* telleth in his hiſtorie of the warres of Peloponnesvs, where he ſaith. That a certaine conuenient number of the Ilotes were crowned, by a publicke proclamation of the Spartans: and being infranchiſed, for their good ſeruices they had done the common weale, they were carried to all the temples of the goddes for an honour. Within a while after, no man knew what was become of them, being about two thouſand in number: ſo that neuer man heard tell neither then nor ſince, how they came to their deaths. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* aboue all others ſaith, that the *Ephores*, ſo ſoone as they were placed in their offices, made warres with the Ilotes, becauſe they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardly. For they forced them ſometimes to drinke wine without water out of meaſure, till they had made them ſtarke drunke. Then they brought them all into their common halles where they did eate, to make their children to beholde them, and to ſee what beaſtlineſſe it was for a man to be drunke. Likewiſe they made them ſing ſongs, and daunce daunces, vnfit for honeſt men, and ſuch as were full of deriſion and mockerie, and did forbid them expreſſely to ſing any honeſt ſongs. So it is reported, that in the iourney the Thebans made to Laconia, many of the Ilotes were taken priſoners thereat, and when they were commaunded to ſing the verſes of *Terpander*, or of *Alcman*, or of *Spendon* the Laconian, they would not doe it: ſaying, they durſt not ſing them for their maiſters. Wherefore he that firſt ſaid in the countrie of Lacedæmonia, he that is free is more free, and he that is bonde, is more bonde then in other places: knew very well the diuerſitie betweene the libertie and bondage there, and the libertie and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the Lacedæmonians began to vſe theſe great outrages and cruelties, long time after the death of *Lycurgus*, and ſpecially ſince the great earthquake that happened at Sparta, at which time the Ilotes roſe againſt them with the Messenians, and did great miſchiefe through the countrie, and put the citie to the greateſt diſtreſſe and danger that euer it had. For I cannot be perſuaded, that euer *Lycurgus* inuented, or inſtituted, ſo wicked & miſchieuous an acte, as that kinde of ordinance was: becauſe I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and iuſtice we ſee he vſed in all his other doings, and was witneſſed beſides by open oracle from the goddes, for a iuſt and wiſe man. Furthermore, they ſay of him, that when he ſaw the chiefeſt points of his gouernement had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his commonweale went on, and was ſtrong enough to maintaine and keepe it ſelfe a foote, like as *Plato* ſaieth, that God reioyced greatly after he had made the worlde, and ſaw the ſame turne and moue his firſt mouing: euen ſo *Lycurgus* taking ſingular pleaſure and delight in his minde, to ſee his notable lawes put in vre, & ſo well eſtabliſhed and liked of by experience, ſought yet to make them immortall, as neere as he could poſſible, by any forecaſt of man, that no after time whatſoeuer, might chaunge or put them downe. To bring this to paſſe, he cauſed all the people to aſſemble, and tolde them he thought his ciuill pollicie and ſtate of commonweale was already ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behinde of greater importance then all the reſt, which he could not yet declare vnto them, vntill he had firſt asked counſell of the oracle of *Apollo*. And therefore in the meane time they ſhould keepe and obſerue his lawes and ordinances inuiolablie, without changing, remooving, or ſtaying any matter therein, vntill he were returned from the citie of Delphes, and then they ſhould doe that other thing behinde, if the God then ſo counſelled him. They all promiſed him to doe it, and prayed him to make haſt to go on his iourney. But before he departed, he made the kings and ſenatours ſweare firſt, and conſequently all the peo-

The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians againſt the Ilotes.

Diodorus lib. 2.

Plato in Timæo.

Lycurgus wonderfull counſell in ſtabliſhing his lawes.

ple after, that they would keepe his lawes and ordinances without changing or altering any thing, vntill he did return againe. This done, he went to the citie of DELPHES, where so soone as he arriued, he sacrificed in the temple to *Apollo*, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man an happy life. *Apollo* made him answer, his lawes were very good, and that his citie keeping them, should be the most renowmed of the world. *Lycurgus* caused this oracle to be written, which he sent to SPARTA. After he sacrificed to *Apollo* againe: and then taking leaue of his friends, and of his sonne, he determined to die, because his citizens should neuer be released of the othe they had made betweene his hands. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath strength enough to liue longer: and yet was olde enough also to die if he would. Wherefore finding himselfe happie to haue obteined his desire, he willingly pined himselfe to death, by abstinence, and lack of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit euer to the common weale, and that the end of their life should be no more idle, or vnprofitable, then the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious actes, to haue their death extolled for worthinesse. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and crowne of his felicitie, after he had made and ordained so many good and notable lawes, for the honour and benefit of his countrie: and should be as a seale of confirmation of his lawe, and the continuall preseruitour of this citie, considering all his citizens had swotne to keepe them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceiued of his hope, for his citie was the chiefest of the world, in glorie and honour of gouernment, by the space of fiue hundred yeeres. For so long his citie kept his lawes without any change or alteration by any of the Kings successours, vntill King *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* began to raigne. For the creation of the *Ephores*, did not breake, nor discontinue any of the lawes of *Lycurgus*, but reduced them rather to a more straight and strickt order: although it seemed at the first that the *Ephores* were ordained, for the maintenance and defence of the libertie of the people, whereas in deed they did also strengthen the authoritie of the Kings and Senate. Nowe in the raigne of king *Agis*, golde and siluer began first to creepe in againe to the citie of SPARTA, by meanes of *Lysander*. With money there came in straight couetousnesse, and greedines to get and gather. And although *Lysander* was not desirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and couetousnesse into the countrie, and filled the same with all fineneſse, by bringing in great store of golde and siluer from the warres, directly against the lawes and ordinances of *Lycurgus*. The which so long as they were in force and vse, it appeared that the gouernment of SPARTA seemed not to be a pollicy or commonweale, but rather a certaine holy place and order of religion. And euen as the Poets faine, that *Hercules* went through the world with his clubbe, and Lions skin, punishing cruell robbers, and vnnaturall tyrants: so in like case with a litle scroule of parchement, and a poore cape, did the SPARTANS commaund and giue lawes to all the rest of GREECE, euen with their good liking and consent. And they chased the tyrants away, which vsurped tyrannicall power ouer any of their cities, and did decide all controuersies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one souldier, but onely a simple poore ambassadour. At whose commaundement, the people presently assembled like the bees, which gather together about their King, so soone as they spie him: they did then so greatly reuerence the good gouernment & iustice of the SPARTANS. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which say, the citie of LACEDÆMON could obey well, but not commaund: and for proofe they alledge words of king *Theopompus*, who aunswered one which said, that SPARTA was maintained, because the Kings could commaund well. Nay the rather (said he) because the citizens can obey well. For men commonly disdaine to obey those, which are not wise in commaunding. So that the faithfull obedience of the subiects, dependeth much vpon the sufficient commandement of the wise prince. For he that directeth well, must needs be well obeyed. For like as the arte of a good rider, is to make his horse gentle, and ready at commaundement: euen so the chiefest point belonging to a prince, is to teach his subiects to obey. Wherefore the LACEDÆMONIANS procured, that not onely other people did willingly obey them, but also desired to be ruled, and commanded by them. For they asked them, neither shippes nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men

Lycurgus death.

Sparta florished fiue hundred yeares.

Lycurgus lawes were broken in king Agis time by Lysanders meanes.

Money corrupteth Lycurgus lawes.

See more in Lysanders life.

Lysander brought riches againe into Sparta.

Theopompus words of obeying and commaunding.

Good gouernment breedeth due obedience.

of

of warre to compell them, but onely they sent one citizen of SPARTA to gouerne them, to whom all the other people submitted themselues, and were holpen by him in their necessitie, as fearing and reuerencing him. In this wise the SICILIANS were holpen by *Gylippus*, the CHALCIDIANS by *Brasidas*, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by *Lysander*, *Callicratidas*, and by *Agesilaus*, who were called the reformers and directers of princes, peoples, and Kings, vnto whom they were sent here and there: but euer they had their eye vpon the citie of SPARTA, as vpon the most prefect patterne to order mans life by, and to gouerne a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery word spoken in iest by *Stratonicus*: Who said he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their sacrifices, and the ELIANS to tend their games: and if they made any fault therein, the LACEDÆMONIANS should be well whipped. That was merily spoken, and in a iesting manner. But *Antisthenes* (the philosopher and one of *Socrates* scholers) seeing the THEBANS growen very hawty & glorious, after that they had conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS in the iorney of LEVCTRES: me thinketh said he, these THEBANS here do like the schoole boyes, which bragge and reioyce when they haue a little beaten their master. But this was not *Lycurgus* meaning, to haue his citie to commaunde many. But he thought the felicitie of a citie, as of a priuate man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the vnitie of the inhabitantes thereof. He framed his common wealth to this ende, that his citizens should be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might maintaine and keepe themselues long in safetie. The selfe same intention had *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zenon*, in setting forth their bookes, which they wrote of the gouernment of common weales: and so had likewise many other great and learned men which haue written of the same matter. Howbeit they onely left behind them, wordes, and written books: but *Lucurgus* contrariwise, left no written books nor pamphlets, but stablished and left behind him, a royall forme of gouernment, which no man euer before had inuented, nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainely see, a whole citie liue together, and gouerne it selfe philosophically, according to the true rules and preceptes of perfect wisedome: which imagined that true wisdome was a thing hanging in the aire, and could not visibly be seene in the world. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glorie all those, which euer tooke vpon them to write or stablish the gouernement of a common weale. And therefore sayth *Aristotle*, that after his death they did him lesse honour in LACEDÆMONIA, then he had deserued: albeit they did him all the honour they possibly could deuise. And yet they built a temple for him, and made solemne sacrifice to him euery yeare, as vnto a god. More, they say, that when the ashes of his bodie were brought to SPARTA, there fell straight lightning vpon his tombe where they were put which they had not often seene to happen, to other men of name after their decease, sauing only to the poet *Euripides*, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried neere the citie of ARETHVSA. The which is some manifest argument, for such as loue the Poet, to lay against those which somewhat depraue him, seeing this signe came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well beloued man of the goddes. Some say *Lycurgus* died in the citie of CIRRHA. But *Apollothemis* sayth, he dyed in ELIDA. *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus* write, he ended his dayes in CRETA. And *Aristoxenus* sayth further, that those of the Ile of CRETA doe shewe his graue in the place which they call *Pergamia*, by the broad high wayes side. He left one onely begotten sonne named *Antiorus*, who died without issue, so that his house and name fayled with him. But his neere kinsmen and familiar friendes, did set vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they assembled, were called the *Lycurgides*. There is another *Aristocrates* (the sonne of *Hipparchus*) who sayth, that hee being dead in CRETA, his friends burned his bodie, and afterwardes threw his ashes into the sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any part of him should at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitants would haue sayd he was returned againe, and thereby would haue thought themselues discharged of their oth, and might haue lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and end of *Lycurgus* life.

Antisthenes, Socrates scholers words.

The foundation of a common weale.

Diuine honours to Lycurgus after his death.

Antiorus Lycurgus sonne.

The end of Lycurgus life.

THE LIFE OF
Numa Pompilius.

In what time Numa was. Cicero de Or. 2. & Tuscul. 4. Liu. Halic. li. 2.

THE Historiographers differ maruelously of the time, in which *Numa Pompilius* raigned king, albeit some wil deriue from him many noble houses descēded in ROME. For one *Clodius*, who wrote the booke intituled the table of time, affirmeth that the ancient registers of the citie of ROME were lost when it was taken & sacked by the GAVLES: and that those which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratifie some, which haue thrust in ancient houses and families of the first ROMAINES, that concerne nothing them whom they ment to represent. On the other side, although the common opinion be, that *Numa* was a familiar friend and scholler of *Pythagoras* the philosopher, yet some say he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. And yet mainteining that it is possible enough, that he was so well borne, and had such perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer needed any master: & though he had neded, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this king vnto some other forren person, that was more excellent then *Pythagoras*. Other say, that *Pythagoras* the philosopher was long time after the raigne of *Numa*, & well nigh fiue ages after him. Howbeit other say, there was another *Pythagoras* borne in SPARTA (who hauing wonne the ptyse of running at the games Olympicall, in the sixtenth Olympiade, & the third yeare of *Numaes* raigne) did come into ITALY, where he kept much about *Numa*, & did assist and helpe him in the gouerning & ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many customes yet of the LACONIANS, mingled with the ROMAINES, which this second *Pythagoras* was sayd to haue taught him. Neuertheless it is not confessed that *Numa* was borne of the SABYNES, which they say are descended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when *Numa* was, and chiefly for such as will followe the rolle or table of those, which from Olympiades to Olympiades haue wonne the ptyses of games Olympicall: considering the rolle or table that they haue at this present, was very lately published by one *Hippias* an *Elian*, who deliuereth no reason or argument of necessitie, why it should be taken for an vndoubted trothe, which he in that sort hath gathered. Yet we will not leaue to put in writing those things wor-

Whether Pythagoras had any conuersation with Numa.

Pythagoras the second, a Spartan borne, taught Numa, at Rome.

thy

thy of memory which we could gather by any meanes of king *Numa*, beginning at that place which we thought to be meeteſt. It was now ſince ROME was built, ſeuen and thirtie yeares (for ſo long time raigned *Romulus*) whē *Romulus* the fifth of the month of Iuly (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a ſolemne ſacrifice without the citie, neere to a certaine place cōmonly called, the goat marſh. As all the whole Senate, with the moſt part of the people were preſent at this ſacrifice, ſodainely there roſe in the ayre a very great tempeſt, and a maruellous darke thicke cloud, which fell on the earth with ſuch boyſterous windes, ſtormes, lightnings, and thunder: that the poore cōmon people being affrayd of ſo ſore a tempeſt, diſperſed themſelues ſodainly, running here and there for ſuccour, and therewithall king *Romulus* vaniſhed away in ſuch ſort, that he was neuer after ſeene aliue nor dead. This brought the Senators & noble men whom they called *Patricians*, into great ſuſpition. And there ranne a foule tale among the common people, how they had long time borne very impatiently to be ſubiects to a King, becauſe themſelues would haue had and taken vpon them ſome ſoueraign authoritie, and that for this cauſe they had killed king *Romulus*. Adding ſomewhat more vnto it, how a litle before he had vſed them more roughly, and cōmanded them more ſtraightly then he was wont or accuſtomed. Neuertheleſſe they found the meanes to quench all theſe brutes & murmurings, by doing diuine honour and ſacrifice vnto him, as one not dead, but paſſed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the nobleſt men among them called *Proclus* came in, and by oth, affirmed before all the people, that he ſaw *Romulus* aſcending vp into heauen, armed at all peeces, and that he heard a voyce ſay: from thenceforth call him *Quirinus*. This being thus appeaſed, there ſprange vp another trouble, to know whom they ſhould chooſe in his place. For the ſtrangers which were come then frō other places to dwel in ROME, were not yet throughly ioyned to the naturall borne ROMAINES: in ſo much, as the common people did not only wauer, and ſtagger vp and downe in opinion, but the Senators alſo (that were many and of diuers nations) did enter into a ſuſpition one of another. Theſe things notwithſtanding they all agreed in this, that of neceſſitie they muſt chooſe a King: howbeit in the reſt they differed much, not only whō they ſhould chooſe, but alſo of what nation he ſhould be. For thoſe which were the firſt founders & builders of the citie of ROME with *Romulus* could in no wiſe abide, nor ſuffer that the SABYNES (to whom they had diuided part of their landes, and a moytie of their citie) ſhould attempt and preſume to commaund them, whom they did receiue and aſſociate into their companie and fellowſhip. The SABYNES alledged on the other ſide for them, a good reaſon, and ſuch as caried great probabilitie. Which was, that neuer ſince the death of their king *Tatius*, they neither had in any thing diſobeyed nor diſquieted king *Romulus*, but had ſuffered him to raigne peaceably: and therefore *Romulus* being nowe deceaſed, reaſon would that the new King ſhould be choſen of their nation. And that albeit the ROMAINES had receiued them into their citie, they could not ſay therfore, that in time of this aſſociation, they were leſſe to be reckoned of in any thing, than themſelues. Further they added, that in ioyning with them, the ROMAINES had doubly increaſed their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deſerued the honour and title of a citie. Theſe were the cauſes of their contention. But to preuent that of this contention there might grow no confuſion in the citie, if it ſhould remaine without an head to commaund: the Senators which were a hundred and fiftie in number, gaue counſell that euery one of them by turnes, one after another, ſhould carie the royall ſtate of the king, and all the ſhowes and ornaments of his maieſtie, and ſhould doe the ordinarie ſacrifices of the king, and diſpatch all cauſes ſixe houres in the day, and ſixe houres in the night, as the king before had vſed. Thus they thought it beſt to deuide the rule, that one might haue aſmuch power as the other, aſwell in reſpect of themſelues, as alſo for regarde of the people. For they imagined, that the chaunging and remouing thus of this regall dignitie, and paſſing it from man to man, would cleane take away enuie among them, and make euery of them to rule temperately, and vprightly ſee, that in one, and the ſelfe ſame day and night, euery of them ſhould be a King and priuate perſon alſo. The ROMAINES call this manner of regiment in vacation, *Interregnum*: as you would ſay, rule for the time. Now albeit their gouernement was very modeſt and ciuill, yet they could not for all that keepe themſelues from falling into the ſuſpition, and ſlaunder of the people: who

The death of Romulus.

In the life of Romulus he is named Proculus.

Diſſention at Rome about chooſing of their King.

Liuie ſaith but a hundred. Dionyſius 200. Plutar. in the life of Romulus agreeth with Dionyſius.

Interregnum.

gaue it out straight, that this was a fine deuise of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the Realme into a few noble mens handes, to the ende that the whole authoritie and gouernement of all publique causes, should remaine still in them selues, because it grieued them to be subiect to a King. And in the ende, the two partes of the citie came to this agreement: that the one part should choose one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This course they liked very well, aswell for the pacification of present sturre and dissention amongst them selues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and sturring vp a likenesse of goodwill in the King that thus indifferently should be chosen: whereby he should loue the one part for that they had chosen him, and likewise the other part for that he was of their Nation. The SABYNES were the first, which referred the election to the ROMAINES choyse: and the ROMAINES thought it better to choose one of the Nation of the SABYNES, then to haue a ROMAINE chosen by the SABYNES. After they had consulted, they determined amongst them selues: and did choose *Numa Pompilius* one of the bodie of the SABYNES to be King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at ROME, howbeit hee was a man so famous for his vertue, that the SABYNES so soone as they named him, did receiue him more willingly, then they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their election, the first and chiefest persons of the one and the other side, were chosen out to goe vnto him. Now *Numa Pompilius* was borne in one of the chiefest and best cities which the SABYNES had, called *Cures*, whereuppon the ROMAINES, and their fellowes the SABYNES were called afterwards *Quirites*, and he was the sonne of *Pomponius* a noble man, the youngest of foure brethren: being by the secret working of the goddes, borne on the very day, on the which ROME was first founded by *Romulus*, which was the one and twentieth day of Aprill. This man being naturally giuen and inclined vnto all vertue, did yet increase the same, by studie, and all kind of good discipline: and by the exercise thereof, and of true patience, and right philosophie, he did maruellously adorne himselfe and his manners. For hee did not onely cleare his soule, and minde, of all passions and vices commonly vsed in the world: but he conquered in himselfe all heates, violence, & couetousnesse. And would neither seeke nor vsurpe, that which was an other mans, a thing at that time honored among the most barbarous people: but thought that to be the true, and right victorie in man, first to conquer and commaund himselfe by iudgement and reason, and then to subdue all couetousnes and greedines. Hauing therefore this opinion, he would in no wise haue in his house any superfluitie or fineneſſe. He became to euery man that would employ him (aswell straunger as his owne countrie man) a wise counsaillour, and an vpright iudge. He bestowed his leasure, not to follow his owne delight, or to gather goods together: but to serue the goddes, & to behold their celestiall nature and power, as much as mans reason and vnderstanding could comprehend. Therby he got so great a name and reputation, that *Tatius* (which was king of ROME with *Romulus*) hauing but one onely daughter called *Tatia*, made him his sonne in law. Howbeit this mariage put him in no such iolitie, that he would dwel at ROME with his father in law, but rather kept at home at his owne house in the countrie of the SABYNES, there to serue and cherish his olde father with his wife *Tatia*: who for her part also liked better, to liue quietly with her husband being a priuate man, then to go to ROME where she might haue liued in much honour and glory, by meanes of the King her father. She died as it is reported, 13. yeares after she was maried. After her death, *Numa* leauing to dwell in the citie, was better contented to liue in the country alone, and solitarie, & gaue himselfe to walke much in the fields and woods consecrated to the gods, as one desirous to leade alone life, farre from the companie of men. Whereupon was raised (in my opinion) that which is spoken of him, and of the goddesse *Egeria*. That it was not for any strangenesse, or melancholines of nature, that *Numa* withdrew himself from the conuersation and company of men, but because he had found another more honorable and holy societie of the *Nymph*, and goddesse *Egeria*, who had done him, as they say, that honour, as to make him her husbande: with whom as his beloued darling it is saide he enioyed happie dayes, and by daily frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the loue and knowledge of all celestiall things. Surely, these deuises are much like vnto certaine old fables of the *Phrygians*, which they, hauing learned from the father to the sonne, do loue to tell of one *Atis*: of the *Bithynians*,

Numa chosen King.

Numa borne in the citie of Cures.

Quirites why so called.

The life and manners of Numa before his raigne.

Tatia the wife of Numa.

Numa conuersant with the goddesse Egeria

of

of one *Herodotus*: of the ARCADIANS, of one *Endymion*: and of many other such like men, who in their liues were taken for saints, and beloued of the goddes. Notwithstanding, it is likely, that the goddes loue neither birdes, nor horse, but men, and haue sometimes a liking to be familiar with perfect good men, and doe not disdaine sometime the conuersation of such as be holy, religious, and deuout. But to beleeue the goddes haue carnall knowledge, and doe delight in the outward beauty of creatures, that seemeth to carie a very hard beliefe. Yet the wise EGYPTIANS thinke it probable enough and likely, that the spirit of the goddes hath giuen originall of generation to women, and doe beget fruit of their bodies: howbeit they hold that a man can haue no corporall company with any diuine nature. Wherein they doe not consider, that euery thing that ioyneth together, doth deliuer againe a like substaunce, to that wherewith it was ioyned. This notwithstanding, it is meete we should beleeue the gods beare good will to men, and that of it doth spring their loue, whereby men say the gods loue those whose manners they purifie and inspire with vertue. And they doe not offend, which faine that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus*, were sometimes the louers of *Apollo*; and also *Hippolytus* the SICYONIAN: of whom they report, that euer when he passed ouer the arme of the sea which lieth betweene the cities of SICYONA, and of CERRHA; the god which knew he came, reioyced, and caused *Pythia* the prophetesse to pronounce these heroycall verses.

Gods familiar with men.

I know full well, my deare Hippolytus.
returnes by sea, my minde diuineth thus.

Who are beloued of the goddes.

It is sayd also that *Pan* was in loue with *Pindarus* and his verses, and that the goddes honored the poets *Hesiodus*, and *Archilocus*, after their death by the Muses. They say moreouer, that *AEsculapius* lay with *Sophocles* in his life time, and at this day they doe yet show many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honorably buried. Now if they graunt, that such things may be true: how can we refuse to beleeue, that some goddes haue bene familiar with *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroastres*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and such other like personages, which haue gouerned kingdoms, and stablished common weales: and it is not vnlike that the goddes in deede did company with them, to inspire and teach them many notable things, and that they did draw neare vnto these Poets and plaiers of the harpe, that made and played many dolefull and ioyfull ditties, at the least for their sport and pleasure onely, if euer they came neare them. Neuertheless if any man be of other opinion, the way is open and large as *Bacchylides* sayd, to thinke and say as he lust. For my selfe I doe finde, that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other such persons, not to be without likelyhood and probability: who hauing to gouerne rude, churlish, and stiffe necked people, and purposing to bring in straunge nouelties into the gouernments of their countreis, did faine wisely to haue conference with the gods, considering this fayning fell to be profitable and beneficiall to those them selues, whom they made to beleeue the same. But to returne to our history. *Numa* was forty yeares old, when the ambassadours of ROME were sent to present the kingdome vnto him, and to intreat him to accept thereof. *Proclus*, and *Velesus*, were the ambassadours that were sent. One of the which the people looked should haue bene chosen for King, because those of *Romulus* side, did fauour much *Proclus*: and those of *Tatius* part fauoured *Velesus*. Now they vsed no long speach vnto him, because they thought he would haue bene glad of such a great good fortune. But contrarily it was in deede a very hard thing, and required great perswasions, and much intreaty, to moue a man which had alwaies liued quietly, and at ease, to accept the regiment of a citty, which as a man would say, had bene raised vp and growen by warres, and martiall deedes. Wherefore he aunswered them in the presence of his father, and one other of his kinsemen called *Martius* in this sort. Change and alteration of mans life is euer dangerous: but for him that lacketh nothing necessary, nor hath cause to complain of his present state, it is a great folly to leaue his old acquainted trade of life, and to enter into another new and vnknowen, if there were no other but this only respect: that he leaueth a certainety, to venter vppon vncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the dagers & perils of this kingdom which they offer me, are not altogether vncertain, if we will looke back what happened vnto *Romulus*. Who was not vnsuspected to haue laid wait, to haue had *Tatius* his fellow & companion murdered: & now after *Romulus* death, the Senators selues are mistrusted to haue killed him on the

Proclus and Velesus ambassadours to offer Numa the kingdome.

The oration of Numa to the ambassadours refusing to be King.

other side by treason. And yet they say it, and sing it euery where: that *Romulus* was the sonne of a God, that at his birth he was miraculously preserued, and afterwardes he was as incredibly brought vp. Whereas for my owne part, I doe confesse, I was begotten by a mortall man, and was fostered, brought vp, and taught by men as you know: and these few qualities which they praise and commend in me, are conditions far vnmeete for a man that is to raigne. I euer loued a solitarie life, quiet and study, and did exempt my selfe from worldly causes. All my life time I haue sought and loued peace aboue all thinges, and neuer had to doe with any warres. My conuersation hath bene to company with men, which meete only to serue and honor the goddes, or to laugh and be merry one with another, or els to spend their time in their priuate affaires, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas *Romulus* (my ROMAINE lords) hath left you many warres begonne, which peraduenture you could be contented to spare: yet now to maintaine the same, your city had needs of a martiall King, actiue, and strong of body. Your people moreouer, through long custome, and the great increase they are giuen vnto by feates of armes, desire nought else perhappes but warres: and it is plainely seene, they seeke still to grow, and commaund their neighbours. So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a meere mockerie for me, to goe to teach a city at this present to serue the goddes, to loue iustice, to hate warres, and to flie violence: when it rather hath needs of a conquering captaine, then of a peaceable King. These and such other like reasons and perswasions *Numa* alledged, to discharge himselfe of the Kingdome which they offered him. Howbeit the ambassadours of the ROMAINES most humbly besought and praied him with all instance possible, that he would not be the cause of another new stur, and commotion among them, seeing both parts in the city haue giuen their consent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreouer, when the ambassadours had left him vpon this suite, his father, and *Martius* his kinseman, beganne also priuately to perswade him, that he should not refuse so good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his present state, and desired to be no richer then he was, nor coueted no princely honour nor glory, because he sought only most famous vertue: yet hee must needes thinke, that to rule well, was to doe the goddes good seruice, whose will it was to employ the iustice they knew in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refuse not therefore (q they) this royall dignity, which to a graue and wise man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable works & fruits. There you may doe noble seruice to the goddes, to humble the hearts of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readely turne, and easely conforme them selues vnto the nature of their prince. They dearely loued *Tatius*, although he was a straunger: they haue consecrated a memory to *Romulus* with diuine honours, which they make vnto him at this day. And it may be, that the people seeing them selues conquerers, will be full enough of warres: and the ROMAINES being now full of spoiles and triumphes, will be glad to haue a gentle prince, and one that loueth iustice, that they may thenceforth liue in peace, vnder good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hearts be still full of heate and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their desire to make warres some other way, when a man hath the bridle in his owne handes to doe it, and to be a meane in the meane time to ioyne the countrey, and all the nations of the SABINES in perpetuall loue and amity, with so mighty and florishing a city? besides all these perswasions and reasons, there were many signes also (as they say) which promised him good lucke, together with the earnest affection and liking of his owne countrey citizens. Who, so soone as they vnderstood the comming & commission of the ambassadours of ROME, they importunately desired him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more straightly vnite and incorporate them together with the ROMAINES. Whereupon, *Numa* accepted the Kingdome. Then after he had done sacrifice to the goddes, he set forwards on his iourney towardes ROME: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonderfull desire to see him. The women at his entry, went blessing of him, and singing of his praises. They did sacrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to be as ioyfull and glad: as if a new Realme, and not a new King, had beene come to the citty of ROME. Thus was he brought with this open ioy, and

Numa beginneth his kingdome with the seruice of the goddes.

and reioycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called *Spurius Vettius*, made them pronounce his open election: and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignity of the King. But he himselfe commaunded they should be staid a while, saying: He must first be confirmed King by the gods. Then he tooke the wise men & priests, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which that time was yet called mount *Tarpeian*. And there, the chiefest of the foothsayers called *Augures*, turned him towardes the south, hauing his face couered with a vaile, and stood behinde him, laying his right hand vpon his head, and praying to the gods that it would please them to declare their willes by flying of birdes, or some other token concerning this election: and so the soothsayer cast his eyes all about, as farre as he could possibly discerne. During all this time there was a maruellous silence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were assembled there together, attending with great deuotion what the issue of this diuinatiō would be: vntill there appeared vnto them on the right hand, good and lucky birdes, which did confirme the election. Then *Numa* putting on his regall robes, came downe from mount *Tarpeian*, into the market place, where all the people receiued him with wonderfull shoutes of ioy, as a man the most holy, and best beloued of the goddes that they could haue chosen. So hauing taken the royall seate of the Kingdome, his first act was this. That he discharged the guard of the three hundred souldiers, which *Romulus* had alwaies about his person, called *Celeres*: saying he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which should mistrust him. His second act was, that he did adde to the two priests of *Iupiter* & *Mars*, a third, in the honour of *Romulus*, who was called *Flamen Quirinalis*. For the auncient ROMAINES also called their priests, instituted in the old time, *Flamines*, by reason of certaine litle narrowe hats which they did weare on their heads, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for *Pilos* in Greeke signifieth a hat. And at that time (as they say) there were many mo Greeke wordes mingled with the Latine, then there are at this day. For they called the mantles the Kings did weare *Lænas*. And *Iuba* saith, that it is the very same which the GRECIANS call *Chlænas*, and that the young boy which was a seruant in the temple of *Iupiter*, was called *Camillus*, as some of the GRECIANS doe yet call the god *Mercurie*, because hee is seruaunt of the gods. Now *Numa* hauing done these things at his first entrie into his Kingdome, still to winne further fauour and good will of the people; beganne immedialy to frame his citizens to a certaine ciuility, being as iron wrought to softnes, and brought them from their violent and warlike desires, to temperate and ciuill manners. For out of doubt, ROME was properly that, which *Plato* ascribeth to a city full of trouble and pride. For, first it was founded by the most couragious and warlike men of the world, which from all parts were gathered there together, in a most desperate boldnes: and afterwards it increased, and grew strong, by armes and continuall warres, like as piles driuen into the ground, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and sticke the faster. Wherfore *Numa* iudging it no small nor light enterprise, to plucke downe the haughty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them vnto a sober and quiet life: did seeme to worke it by meanes of the goddes, with drawing them on thereto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their whot and fierce courages to fight, with sacrifices, feastes, dauncings, and common processions, wherein he celebrated euer himselfe. In the which together with their deuotion, there was mingled now and then, pastime and pleasure: and sometimes he laid the terrour and feare of the goddes before their eyes, making them beleeue that he had seene straunge visions, or that he had heard voyces, by which the goddes did threaten them with some great troubles and plagues, alwaies to pull downe and humble their hearts, vnto the feare of the goddes. This was the cause why they thought afterwardes that he had learned his wisedome of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher: because the greatest part of the philosophy of the one, and of the gouernment of the other, consisted in such ceremonies, and diuine studies. They report also that *Numa* did put on the outward show and semblaunce of *Pythagoras* holinesse, as following his intention and example. For *Pythagoras* as they say, made an Eagle so tame and gentle, that she would stoupe, and come downe to him by certaine voices, as she flew in the aire ouer his head. And that

Numa was consecrated by the Augures.

The guard of Celeres discharged by Numa.

Flamen Quirinalis instituted of Numa.

Numa inducеth ciuill and quiet life. Plato de Rep. lib. 2.

Numa and Pythagoras institutions much a like.

passing through the assembly of the games Olympicall, he shewed her thigh of gold, & many other pretty feats and deedes they tell of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which *Timon Phliasian* hath written these verses of him:

Pythagoras which loued to dwell in dignity,
and had an heart to glory bent, and past in pollicy,
Much like a man which sought, by charming to enchaunt,
did vse this art, to winne mens mindes, which vnto him did haunt,
His graue and pleasaunt tongue, in sugred speach did flow,
whereby he drew most mindes of men, to bent of his owne bow.

Euen so the fained fable of *Numa*, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the loue of a goddesse, or some *Nymphe* of the mountaine: with whom he seemed to haue certaine secret meetings and talke, whereof we haue spoken before. And it is sayed he much frequented the Muses in the woddes. For he would say, he had the most part of his reuelations of the Muses, and he taught the ROMAINS to reuerence one of them aboue all the rest, who was called *Tacita*, as ye would say, Lady silence. It seemeth he inuented this, after the example of *Pythagoras*, who did so specially commaund, and recommend silence vnto his schollers. Againe, if we consider what *Numa* ordained concerning images, and the representation of the goddes, it is altogether agreable vnto the doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who thought that God was neither sensible, nor mortall, but inuisible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And *Numa* did forbid the ROMAINES also to beleeue, that God had euer forme, or likenesse of beast or man. So that in those former times, there was in ROME no image of God, either painted or grauen: and it was from the beginning a hundred three score and ten yeares, that they had built temples & chappels vnto the gods in ROME, and yet there was neither picture nor image of God within the. For they tooke it at the first for a sacrilege, to present heauenly things by earthly formes, seeing we cannot possibly any way attaine to the knowledge of God, but in minde and vnderstanding. The very sacrifices which *Numa* ordained, were altogether agreable, and like vnto the manner of seruing of the gods, which the *Pythagorians* vsed. For in their sacrifices they spilt not the bloud, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle sheading of wine and milke, and with such other light things. Such as affirme that those two men did much company and were familiar together, do laie further proofes and arguments for the same. The first is this: that the ROMAINES did make *Pythagoras* a free man of the city of ROME, as *Epicharmus* the Comicall poet an auncient writer (and sometimes one of *Pythagoras* schollers) saith in a book he wrote and dedicated vnto *Antenor*. The other proofe is: That *Numa* hauing had foure children, called one of them *Mamercus*, after *Pythagoras* sonnes name, from whom they say is discended, the house of the *AEmilians*, which is the noblest of the *Patricians*: for the King gaue him the surname of *AEmilius*, because of his sweet tongue and pleasant voice. Furthermore, I my selfe haue heard say many times in ROME, that the ROMAINES hauing receiued an oracle, which commanded them to set vp images in their city, to the wisest & valiantest man that euer was among the GRECIANS: caused two statues of brasse to be set vp in their market place, the one of *Pythagoras*, and the other of *Alcibiades*. Howbeit to striue about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubtes: me thinketh it were but vaine. Moreouer, they attribute to *Numa*, the first erection of the colledge pontificall: and say he him selfe was the first *Pontifex* that euer was. But touching the name of *Pontifex*, some will say they were so called, because they chiefly were ordained & appointed for the seruice of the almighty: for this word *Potens* in the ROMAINE tongue, betokeneth mighty. Other thinke this name was giuen to them by their founders, as to exempt persons out of the world: who enioyned them to do all the seruice and sacrifices to the goddes they could possibly, and yet notwithstanding, if they had any other law full let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most part doe bring out another deriuation of this name, wherein me thinkes there is litle reason. As that they should be called *Pontifices*, because they had the charge and maintenaunce of the bridge. For that which the GRECIANS call *Gephyran*, the LATINES call *Pontem*: that is, a bridge. And to say truely, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the Bishops: as well as the keeping of the most holy

Numa worshipped Tacita one of the Muses. Pythagoras taught his schollers to keepe silence.

Pythagoras opinion of God Numa forbad images of God.

Proofes for the conuersation of Numa and Pythagoras.

Numa instituteth Bishops. Pontifices why so called.

and

and vnchangeable ceremonies. For the ROMANES thought it not only a thing vnlawful, but tooke it for a most damnable and wicked act, to destroy or breake the bridge of wood, which was only ioyned together (as they say) with pinnes of wood, & without any iron at all, by the commandement of an olde oracle. But the stone bridge was built long time after the raigne of *Numa*, and in the time of the raigne of his nephew *Martius*. Now the first and chiefest of these bishops, which they call the great *Pontifex*, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the high priest and maister of their pontificall lawe: who should be carefull, not onely about all publique sacrifices and ceremonies, but also about such as were priuate, and to see that no man priuately should breake the auncient ceremonies, nor bring in any new thing into religion, but rather euery man should be taught by him, how and after what sorte he should serue and honour the gods. Heraldo hath the keeping of the holy virgines which they call *Vestales*. For they do giue *Numa* the first foundation and consecrating of them, and the institution also of keeping the immortall fire, with honour and reuerence, which these virgines haue the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to commit the substance of fire (being pure and cleane) vnto the custodie of cleane and vncorrupt maides: or els because he thought the nature of fire (which is barreh, and bringeth forth nothing) was fittest, and most proper vnto virgines. For in GREECE, where they kept continuall fire likewise (as in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, and at ATHENS) the maidens do not keepe the same, but olde women which are past mariage. And if this fire chaunce to faile, as they say in ATHENS the holy lampe was put out in the time of the tyrannie of *Aristion*: and in the citie of DELPHES it was put out, when the temple of *Apollo* was burnt by the MEDES: and at ROME also, in the time of the warres that the ROMAINES had against king *Mithridates*: and in the time of the ciuill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and consumed together: they say that it must not be lighted againe with other common fire, but must be made a new, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the sunne, and that they doe in this manner. They haue a hollowe vessell made of a peece of a triangle, hauing a corner right, and two sides alike: so that from all parts of his compasse and circumference, it falleth into one poinct. Then they set this vessell right against the beames of the sunne, so that the bright sunne beames come to assemble and gather together in the center of this vessell, where they doe pearce the aire so strongly, that they set it a fire: and when they put to it any drie matter or substance, the fire taketh it straight, because the beame of the sunne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drie matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thinke that these *Vestall* virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which neuer goeth out. Other say, there are other holy things also, which no body may lawfully see but they: whereof we haue written more largely in the life of *Camillus*, at the least so much as may be learned and tolde. The first maidens which were vowed and put into this order of religion by *Numa*, were (as they say) *Geganie*, and *Verenia*: and after them, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*. Afterwards king *Seruius* increased the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth vntill this day. Their rule & order set downe by king *Numa* was this: that they should vowe chastitie for the space of thirtie yeares. In the first ten yeares they learne what they haue to doe: the next ten yeares following, they doe that which they haue learned: and the last ten yeares, they teach young nouices. After they haue passed their thirtie yeares, they may lawfully marie if they be disposed, and take them to another manner of life, and leaue their religion. But as it is reported, there haue bene very few of them which haue taken this libertie, and fewer also which haue ioyed after they were professed, but rather haue repented themselues, and liued euer after a very grieuous and sorowfull life. This did so fraye the other *Vestalls*, that they were better contented with their vowed chastitie: and so remained virgines, vntill they were olde, or els dyed. He gaue them also great priuiledges, and prerogatiues. As: to make their will and testament, in their fathers life time. To doe all things without any gardian or ouerseer, as women which haue three children at a birth. When they goe abroade, they carie maces before them to honour them. And if by chaunce they meete any offendour in their way, going to execution, they saue his life: howbeit the professed *Vestall* must affirme by othe, that she met him vnwares, & not of set purpose. If any man presume vnder their chaire, whereupon they are caried through the citie, he shall die for it. Also when

The woodden bridge at Rome.

The highe bishop.

The institution of the Vestall Nunnes.

The holy and immortall fire.

How the holy fire is drawne from the pure flame of the sunne.

See the life of Camillus touching the Vestall Nunnes.

The order appointed the Vestals by Numa.

The Vestals prerogatiues.

The punishmēts of the Vestall Nunnes.

they themselues do any faulte, they are corrected by the great bishop, who sometimes doth whip them naked (according to the nature and qualitie of their offence) in a darke place, and vnder a curten. But she that hath deflowred her virginity, is buried quick by one of the gates of the citie, which they call *Collina* gate: where within the citie there is a mount of earth of a good length, and with the LATINES is said to be raised. Vnder this forced mount, they make a litle hollow vawte, and leaue a hole open, whereby one may go downe: and within it there is set a litle bed, a burning lampe, & some victuals to sustaine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honours sake: to the ende they would not be thought to famish a body to death, which had bene consecrated by the most holy and deuoute ceremonies of the world. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they couer strongly, and close it vp with thick leather in such sorte, that no body can so much as heare her voyce, and so they carie her thus shut vp through the market place. Euery one draweth back, when they see this litter a faire off, and do giue it place to passe by: and then follow it mourningly with heauy lookes, & speake neuer a word. They do nothing in the citie more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any day wherein the people are more sorowfull, then on such a day. Then after she is come to the place of this vawte, the sergeants straight vnlose these fast bound couerings: and the chiefe bishop after he hath made certaine secret prayers vnto the gods, and lift his handes vp to heauen, taketh out of the litter the condemned *Vestall* muffled vp close, and so putteth her vpon the ladder, which conueyeth her downe into the vawte. That done, he withdraweth, and all the priests with him: and when the seely offendour is gone downe, they straight pluck vp the ladder, and cast abundance of earth in at the open hole, so that they fill it vp to the very top of the arche. And this is the punishment of the *Vestalls* which defile their virginitie. They thinke also it was *Numa* that built the round temple of the goddesse *Vesta*, in which is kept the euerlasting fire: meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which they say is *Vesta*, but the figure of the whole world, in the middest whereof (according to the *Pythagorians* opinion) remaineth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call *Vesta*, and name it the vnite. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmoueable, nor yet that it is set in the middest of the world, neither that the heauen goeth about it: but say to the contrarie, that the earth hanged in the ayre about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they graunt, that the earth is one of the first and chiefest parts of the world: as *Plato* he like opinion in that age, that the earth was in another place then in the very middest, and that the center of the world, as the most honorablest place, did appertaine to some other of more worthy substance than the earth. Furthermore, the bishops office was to shewe those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customes of buriall: whome *Numa* taught not to beleeue that there was any corruption or dishonestie in burials, but rather it was to worship and honour the goddes of the earth, with vsuall and honourable ceremonies, as those which after their death receiue the chiefest seruice of vs that they can. But aboue all other in burials, they did specially honour the goddesse called *Libitina*, that is said, the chiefe gouernour and preseruer of the rites of the dead: or be it *Proserpina*, or *Venus*, as the most learned men among the ROMAINES do iudge, who not without cause do attribute the order of the beginning and end of mans life, to one selfe god, and power diuine. *Numa* ordained also, how long time euery body should mourne in blacke. And for a childe from three yeares to ten yeares of age, that dyed: he ordained they should mourne no more moneths then it had liued yeares, and not to adde a day more. For he commanded, that the longest time of mourning should be but ten moneths onely, and so long time at the least he willed women should remaine widdowes, after the decease of their husbands: or else she that would marie within that time, was bounde by his order to sacrifice a whole bullock. *Numa* also erected many other orders of priests: of two sortes whereof I will only make mention. The one shall be the order of the SALII, and the other of the FECIALES: for me thinkes, both the one and the other dooth manifestly shewe the great holinesse, and singular deuotion which he had in him. The FECIALES are properly those, which the GRECIANS call IRENOPHYLACES, as who would say, peace keepers. And in my iudgement, they had their right name according to their office, because they

The temple of Vesta representeth the figure of the world, where the fire abideth.

The manner of buriall.

Libitina honoured at funerals

The time of mourning.

Salij, Feciales. Pluta. Probl. 61. Gell. lib. 16. c. 4. Feciales called Irenophylaces.

did

did pacifie quarels with reason by waye of order, and did not suffer (as much as in them laye) that any matter should be tried by violence, vntill they were past all hope of any peace. For the Grecians call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controuersie with reason, and not with sworde. Euen so those which the Romaines called the *Feciales*, went many times in person to those that did the Romaines iniurie, and sought to persuade them with good reason, to keep promise with the Romaines, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeeld to reason, whom they sought to persuade: then they called the gods to the witnesse thereof, and praied them, that if they did not most earnestly incense the Romaines, to pursue that most iustly appertained vnto their right, that all euils and mischieues of the warres might fall vpon themselues, and on their countrie. This done, they did threaten open warres against such enemies. And if the Feciales would not consent to open warres, and did happen to speake against them: it was not lawfull in that case, neither for priuate person, nor for the King himselfe to make any warres. But like a iust prince, he must haue leaue by their sufferance to make the wars. Then did he consider, and consult, by what meanes he might best procure, & prosecute the same. Concerning this matter, they iudge that the ill hap which came to the Romaines, when the citie of Rome was taken and sacked by the Gaules, chaunced iustly for breaking of this holy institution. For at that time, the barbarous people besieged the citie of the Clvsinians: and *Fabius Ambustus* was sent ambassadour vnto them, to see if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill aunswer: whereupon *Fabius* thinking his embasie had bene ended, and being somwhat hotte, and rashe in defence of the Clvsinians, gaue defiance to the valianteſt Gaule there, to fight with him mã to man. Fortune fauored him in this chalenge: for he slew the Gaule, and stripped him in the field. The Gaules seeing their man slaine, sent immediatly an heraulde to Rome, to accuse *Fabius*, howe against all right and reason, he began warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The Feciales being then consulted with therabout, did declare, he ought to be deliuered into the hands of the Gaules, as one that had broken the lawe of armes, and had deserued it: but he made friends to the people which fauored him very much, and by their meanes escaped his deliuerie, and punishment. Neuerthelesse, the Gaules within short time after, came before Rome with all their power: which they tooke, sacked, & burnt euery whit, sauing the Capitoll, as we haue written more amplie in the life of *Camillus*. Now concerning the Priests that were called *Salij*, they say he did institute them vpon this occasion. In the eight yeare of his reigne, there came a pestilent disease through all Italie, and at the length it crept also into Rome. Whereat euery man being greatly affraide and discouraged, they say there fell from heauen a target of copper, which lighted betweene the hands of *Numa*. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King himselfe affirmed he heard, of the *Nymphe Egeria*, and the *Muses*. To wit, that this target was sent from heauen, for the health and preseruation of the citie: and therefore he should keepe it carefully, and cause eleuen other to be cast and made, all like vnto the same in fashion and greatnesse, to the end, that if any would enterprise to steale it, he should not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreouer he said, he was commaunded to consecrate the place to the *Muses* (in the which he did oftentimes companie with them) and also the fields which were neere thereabouts: and likewise to giue the fountaine that sprang in that place, vnto the *Vestalls* professed, that euery day they might drawe water at that Well, to wash the sanctuarie of their temple. The successe hereof proued his words true, for the sickines ceased incontinently. So he assembled all the chiefe crafts men then in Rome, to proue which of them would take vpon him to make one like vnto that. Euery man despaired to performe it. Howbeit one called *Veturius Mamurius* (the excellenteſt workeman that was in those dayes) did make them all so sute like, that *Numa* himselfe did not knowe the first target, when they were all laide together. So he ordained these priests *Salij*, to haue the custodie of these targets, to see them safe kept. They were called *Salij*, not after the name of Salian borne in Samothracia, or in Mantinea, as some haue vntruly alleaged, who first inuented the manner of dauncing all armed: but they were so called, of their fashion and manner of dauncing, and leaping. For in the moneth of Marche, they go skipping and leaping vp and downe the citie,

Irenen: a quarrell pacified with reason, without the sword.

Rome taken by the Gaules. See Camillus life.

The institution of the Salij.

A target from heauen.

whereof they were called Salij.

with those targets on their armes, apparelled in red cassockes without sleeues, and girded about with broade leather sworde girdles, studded with copper, hauing helmets of copper on their heads, & striking vpon their targets with short daggers, which they cary in their hands. Moreouer, all their dauncing consisteth in mouing of their feete: for they handle them finely, making turnes aboue ground and beneath, with a sodaine measure, and a maruellous force of agilitie. They call these targets *Ancylia*, because of their fashion, which is not altogether compasse: for they are not all round as other common targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the ends bowing in many foldes, and one so neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the GRECIANS call *Ancylon*. Or els they are so called, because *Ancon* signifieth an elbow, vpon which they cary them. All these deriuations are written in the historie of *Iuba*, who in any case will haue this word *Ancylia* to be drawne out of the Greeke tongue. And it may be also they were so called, because the first came from aboue, which the GRECIANS call *Anecathen*: or els for healing the sick, which is called *Acesit*. Or els for ceasing of the drineſſe, which in Greeke is called, *Anchmôn Lysis*. Or for the ending of all diseases and euils, for which cause the ATHENIANS call *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Anacas*: if they lust to giue this word his deriuation from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which *Mamurius* the goldsmith had for the making of these targets was, that the *Salij* vnto this day do make mention of him, in their song, which they sing going through the citie, and dauncing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit some thinke they say not *Veturius Mamurius*, but *veterem memoriam*, auncient memorie. But *Numa* after he had ordained and instituted these orders of priests, built his palace neere vnto the temple of *Vesta*, which holdeth his name *Regia* at this day, to say, the Kings palace. In which he remained most part of his life, studying either to sacrifice to the gods, or to teach the Priests what they should do, or how with them he should best contemplate all heauenly things. It is true that he had another house on the hill, which they call at this day, *Quirinall*, the place whereof is yet to be seene. But in all these sacrifices, ceremonies, and processions of the Priests, there were alwaies husshers that went before, crying to the people, keepe silence, and tend vpon diuine seruice. For they say the *Pythagorians* thought it good, that men should not worship the gods, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought it meete, that men should of purpose go out of their houses, to serue and pray vnto them. Euen so King *Numa* thought it not meete, that his subiects should come to see, and heare diuine seruice negligently, as it were for a fashion, and onely to be ridde of it, as heeding an other thing: but he would haue them set aside all other businesse, and employ their thoughts and hearts only vpon the principall seruice of religion, and deuotion towards the gods. So that during seruice time, he would not haue heard any noise, any knocking, bousing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all artificers shops of occupation, whereof at this day yet they seee some signes and tokens, remaining in their sacrifices at ROME. For all the time the *Augur* beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any sacrifice, the vergers crie alowde: *Hoc Age*, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wittes home, and to thinke on that which is in hand. Also there are many of his orders like the precepts of the *Pythagorians*. For as they did warne men, not to sit vpon a little bushell, not to cut fire with a sword, not to looke behinde them when they goe abroade: to sacrifice to the celestiall goddes in odde number, and to the goddes of the earth in an euen number, of which precepts they would not haue the commō people to haue any knowledge or vnderstanding. Euen so there are many institutions of *Numa*, the reasons whereof are hidde and kept secret: as not to offer wine to the gods of the vine neuer cut, and not to sacrifice vnto them without meale: and to turne a turne about when they do reuerence to the gods, & to sit downe after they haue worshipped them. And as touching the two first ordinances, it seemeth that by them he did recōmend clemency & humanity, as being a part of the deuotion towards the gods. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that worship the gods: they say it presenteth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thinketh it should rather come of this: for that the temples being set to the east, he that worshippeth entring into the temple, sheweth his backe to the West, and for this cause turneth towards that part, and afterwards returneth againe towards god: doing the whole turne, & ending the consummation

Ancylia, wherof so called.

Regia, the kings palace.

Them owner of the Romaine worshipping of the gods.

The Pythagorians opinion touching praier.

Hoc age, a watchword to tend diuine seruice.

The similitude of Numa and Pythagoras precepts.

ſummation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before & behind. Vnleſſe peraduenture that he ment ſecretly to ſignifie, & giue them to vnderſtand by this turning and chaunging of their looke, that which the EGYPTIANS figured by their wheeles: in ſhowing thereby, that theſe worldly things were neuer conſtant & in one ſtate. And therefore, that we ſhould take it thankfully, & patiently beare it, in what ſort ſo euer it pleaſed God to change or alter our life. And where he cõmanded that they ſhold ſit after they had worſhipped God: they ſaid it was a token of a good hope vnto them that praied, that their praiers ſhould be exalted, & that their goods ſhould remaine ſafe, and ſticke by them. Other ſay, that this eaſe & ſitting, is a ſeparating them from doing: and therefore he would they ſhould ſit in the temples of the gods, to ſhew they had done that which they had in hand before, to the end to take of the godds the beginning of another. And it may well be alſo, that it was referred to the thing we ſpake of a little before. That *Numa* would accuſtome his people, not to ſerue the gods, nor to ſpeake to thẽ at all, as they paſſed by, or did any other thing, or were in haſte: but would haue thẽ pray vnto the godds when they had time & leaſure, & al other buſines at that time ſet a part. By this good inſtruction & training them vnto religion, the citie of ROME by litle & litle came to be ſo tractable, & had the great power of king *Numa* in ſuch admiratiõ: that they tooke all to be as true as the goſpell that he ſpake, though it had no more likelihood of troth, then tales deuiſed of pleaſure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or vnpoſſible to him, if he wold haue it. And for proofe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he hauing bidden a great company of the citizens of ROME to come and ſup with him, cauſed them to be ſerued with plaine groſſe meat, and in very poore and homely veſſell. And when they were ſet, and began to fall to their meat, he caſt out words ſodainly vnto them, how the goddeſſe with whom he accompanied, was come to ſee him euen at that inſtant, & that ſodainely the hall was richly furniſhed, & the tables couered with all ſorts of excellent fine & delicate meates. Howbeit this far paſſed all the vanity of lying, which is found writtẽ of him, about his ſpeaking with *Iupiter*. The hill Auentine was not at that time inhabited, nor incloſed within the walles of ROME, but was full of ſprings & ſhadowed groues, whither cõmonly repaired to ſolace themſelues, the two godds, *Picus* & *Faunus*, which otherwiſe might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the *Titanias*: ſauing it is ſaid, that they went through all ITALY, doing the like miracles & wonders in phiſicke, charmes & art magike, which they report of thoſe the GRECIANS call *Idees Dactyles*. There they ſay that *Numa* tooke them both, hauing put into the ſpring both wine & honnie, where they vſed to drinke. When they ſaw that they were taken, they transformed thẽſelues into diuers formes, diſguiſing & diſfiguring their naturall ſhape, into many terrible & fearefull ſights to behold. Neuertheles in the end, perceiuing they were ſo faſt, as to eſcape there was no reckoning: they reuealed vnto him many things to come, & taught him the purifying againſt lightning & thunder, which they make yet at this day with onions, haire, and pilchers. Other ſay, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched *Iupiter* out of heauẽ, with their coniuring & magicke: whereat *Iupiter* being offended, anſwered in choller, that he ſhould make it with heads. But *Numa* added ſtraight, of onions: *Iupiter* replied, of men. Thẽ *Numa* asked him againe, to take a litle away the cruelty of the cõmaundement: What haires? *Iupiter* anſwered, quick haires. And *Numa* put to pilchers alſo. And it is reported that this was the goddeſſe *Egeria*, that taught *Numa* this ſubtiltie. This done, *Iupiter* returned appeaſed: by reaſon wherof the place was called *Ilicium*. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue ſignifieth appeaſed, & fauorable: & this purifying was afterwards made in that ſort. Theſe tales not only vaine, but ful of mockery alſo, do ſhow vs yet plainely the zeale & deuotion men had in thoſe times towards the godds: vnto which *Numa* through cuſtome had won them. And as for *Numa* himſelfe, they ſay that he ſo firmely put all his hope & confidence in the help of the godds: that one day when he was told his enemies were in armes againſt him, he did but laugh at it, & anſwered. And I do ſacrifice. It is he (as ſome ſay) that firſt built a temple to *Faith* & *Terme*: and which made the ROMAINES vnderſtand, that the moſt holy and greateſt oth they could make, was to ſweare by their faith, which they kepe yet at this day. But *Terme*, which ſignifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: vnto whom they doe ſacrifice, both publiquely & priuately, vpon the limits of inheritances, & now they ſacrifice vnto him liue beaſts. Howbeit in old time they did ſacrifice vnto

By what means Numa made the Romaines quiet & gentle

The wonders of Numa.

Numas ſpeaking with Iupiter.

Picus. Faunus.

The purifying of thunder.

Ilicium, the name of the place.

Numa builded temples to Faith and Terme.

him without any bloud, through the wise institutiō of *Numa*: who declared & preached vnto them, that this God of bounds was sincere, & vpright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a witnes of iustice, & a keper of peace. It was he, which in my opiniō, did first limit out the bouds of the territorie of ROME which *Romulus* would neuer doe, for feare least in bounding out his owne, he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding & mearing, to him that wil keepe it iustly is a bond that bridleth power & desire. But to him that forceth not to keepe it it is a proofe to shew his iniustice. To say truly, the territorie of ROME had no great bounds at the first beginning, & *Romulus* had got by conquest the greatest part of it, and *Numa* did wholy deuide it vnto the needy inhabitants to relieue them, & to bring thē out of pouerty: (which carieth men hedlong into mischiefe, & discourageth thē to labour) to the end that plowing vp the said land, they should also plow vp the weedes of their own barrennes, to become ciuill & gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so sodainly bringeth a man to loue & desire quietnes, as doth husbandry & tillage: & yet to defend a mans own, there is in it corage & hardines to fight. But greedy desire, violently to take from others, & vniustly to occupy that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husband men. And therfore *Numa* hauing brought in husbandry amongst his subiects, as a medicine and meane to make them loue quietnes: was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make thē humble & gentle of condition, then to increase them in riches. He deuided all the territorie of ROME into certaine parts which he called *Pagos*: as much to say, as vallages. And in euery one of thē he ordeined controllers & visiters, which should survey all about: & he himselfe sometimes went abroad in person, coniecturing by their labour the manners & nature of euery man. Such as he found diligent, he aduanced them vnto honor, & gaue them countenance & authority: other which he saw slothfull & negligent, by rebuking & reprouing of them, he made them amend. But amongst all his ordinances which he made, one aboue all the rest caried the praise: & that was, that he deuided his people into sundry occupations. For the citie of ROME seemed yet to be made of two nations, as we haue said before: and to speake more properly, it was made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether impossible to take away all factions, and to make there should be no quarrels nor contentions between both parts. Wherfore he considered, that when one will mingle two bodies or simples together, which for their hardnes and contrary natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breakes & beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller & lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen so he thought it was best to deuide the people also into many small parts: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more easily take away the first & the greatest part, when it should be deuided and separated thus into sundry sorts. And this diuision he made by arts & occupations: as minstrels, goldsmiths, carpenters, diers, shoemakers, tawers, tanners, bel-founders, & pot makers, & so forth through other crafts and occupations. So that he brought euery one of these into one bodie, & company by it selfe: and ordeined vnto euery particular mysterie or craft, their feasts, assemblies, & seruices, which they should make vnto the goddes, according to the dignitie & worthines of euery occupation. And by this meanes, he first tooke away al faction: that neither side said, nor thought any more, those are SABYNES, these are ROMAINES, these are of *Tatius*, these are of *Romulus*. Insomuch as this diuision was an incorporating, & an vniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinances, they did much commend his reforming of the law, that gaue libertie vnto fathers to sell their children. For he did except children already maried, so they were maried with their fathers cōsent & goodwil: iudging it to be too cruell & ouer hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had maried a free man, should find her self to be the wife of a bondman. He began also to mend a litle the calender, not so exactly as he should haue done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the raigne of *Romulus*, they vsed the moneths confusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them 20. dayes & lesse, and others 35. dayes and more, without knowing the difference betweene the course of the sunne and the moone: and onely they obserued this rule, that there was 360. dayes in the yeare. But *Numa* considering the inequalitie stood vpon 11. dayes, for that the 12. reuolutions of the moone are runne in 354. dayes, and the reuolution of the sunne, in 365. dayes, he doubled

Numa made the bounds of the territorie of Rome.

Numa aduanceth tillage.

Numa deuided his people into sundry occupations.

Numa tooke away the factions of Romulus and Tatius.

The ordinance of the moneths of Numas institution.

Macrob. 1. Satyr 13.

doubled the 11. dayes, whereof he made a moneth: which he placed from 2. yeres to 2. yeares, after the moneth of Februarie, & the ROMAINES called this moneth put betweene, *Mercidinus*, which had 22. dayes. And this is the correction that *Numa* made, which since hath had a farre better amendmẽt. He did also change the order of the moneths. For March which before was the first, he made it now the third: and Ianuary the first, which vnder *Romulus* was the 11. and Februarie the 12. and last. Yet many are of opinion, that *Numa* added these two, Ianuary & Februarie. For the ROMAINES at the beginning had but 10. moneths in the yere: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yere. And the ARCADIANS amongst the GRECIANS haue but foure moneths for their yeare. The ACARNANIANS haue sixe to the yeare. And the EGYPTIANS had first but one moneth to their yeare: & afterwards they made foure moneths for their yeare. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabite in a new countrie) to be neuertheles the ancientest people of the world: for that in their Chronicles they reckon vp such infinite number of yeares, as those which count the moneths for the yeares. And to proue this true, that the ROMAINES at the beginning had but 10. moneths in the yeare, & not 12. it is easely to be iudged by the name of the last, which they call at this day Decẽber. And that the moneth of March was also the first, may be coniectured by this: for the fifth moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis*: the 6. *Sextilis*, & so the other in order following the nũbers. For if Ianuary & February had then bene the first, of necessitie the moneth of Iuly, which they call *Quintilis*, must haue bene named September: considering also that it is verie likely, that the moneth which *Romulus* had dedicated vnto *Mars*, was also by him ordained to be the first. The second was Aprill: so called of the name *Aphrodite*, that is to say *Venus*, vnto whom they make open sacrifice in this moneth. And on the first day of the same, women doe wash themselues, hauing a garland of myrtle vpon their heads. Howbeit some other say, that it was not called after the name of *Aphrodite*, but it was only called *Aprilis*, because thẽ is the chiefest force & strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seedes of plants and hearbs begin to bud & shew forth, which the word it selfe doth signifie. The moneth following next after that, is called Maye: after the name of *Maia*, the mother of *Mercurie*, vnto whom the moneth is consecrated. *The month of Iune is so called also, because of the qualitie of that season, which is as the youth of the yeare. Although some will say, that the moneth of Maye was named of this word *Maiores*, which signifieth as much as the elders: & the moneth of Iune, of *Iuniores*, which signifies the yonger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *Nouember*, and *December*. But *Quintilis*, was after called *Iulius*, of the name of *Iulius Cæsar*, who slew *Pompeius*. And *Sextilis* was named *Augustus*, *Octauius Cæsars* successour in the empire, who was also surnamed *Augustus*. It is true also that *Domitian* would they should call the two moneths following (which are *September* & *October*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that held not long: for so soone as *Domitian* was killed, the moneths recouered their auncient names againe. The two last moneths only, haue euer continued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which *Numa* added, or at the least translated: the moneth of February doth signifie as much as purging, or at the least the deriuation of the word soundeth neere it. In this moneth, they do sacrifice of plants, * & do celebrate the feast of the Lupercales, in which there are many things agreable, and like to the sacrifices made for purification. And the first, which is Ianuarie, was called after the name of *Ianus*. Wherfore me thinks that *Numa* tooke away the moneth of March from the first place, & gaue it vnto Ianuary: because he would haue peace preferred before warre, and ciuill things before marshall. For this *Ianus* (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very ciuill & politick. For he changed the life of men, which before his time was rude, cruell, & wild: and brought it to be honest, gentle, & ciuill. For this cause they doe paint his image at this day with two faces, the one before, and the other behind, for thus chaunging the liues of men. And there is in ROME a temple dedicated vnto him, which hath two doores, that be called the doores of warre: for the custome is to open them, when the ROMAINES haue any warres in any place, and to shut them when they be at peace. To haue them shut, it was a rare thing to see, and happened very seeldome: by reason of the greatnesse of their empire, which of all sides was enuironed

The yere diuersily counted.

** Peraduenture ye must read in the Greeke (ἀπὸ τῶν ἰρῶν) which is to say, of the name of Iune.*

** Some old Grecian copies say in this place. Σήπεται, as much to say, as for the dead.*

Why Ianus is painted with two faces.

At what time the temple of Ianus is shut in Rome. Liu. lib. 1.

with barbarous nations, whom they were cõpelled to keepe vnder with force of armes. Notwithstanding it was once shut vp in the time of *Augustus*, after he had slaine *Antonie*: and once before also in the yere when *Marcus Attilius* & *Titus Manlius* were Cõsuls. But that cõtinued not long, for it was opened again incontinently, by reason of wars that came vpon them soone after. Howbeit during the raign of *Numa*, it was neuer one day opened, but remained shut continually by the space of 43 yeares together. For all occasions of wars, were then vtterly dead & forgotten: because at ROME the people were not only through the example of iustice, clemẽcie, & the goodnes of the King brought to be quiet, & to loue peace: but in the cities thereabouts, there began a maruellous change of maners & alteration of life, as if some gentle aire had breathed on them, by some gratious & healthfull wind, blowen from ROME to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens minds such a hearty desire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, & to serue the goddes truly: that almost through all ITALY, there was nothing but feasts, playes, sacrifices, and bankets. The people did traffick & frequent together, without feare or danger, and visited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the springing fountaine of *Numaes* wisdome many pretie brookes & streames of good & honest life had run ouer all ITALIE, and had watered it: and that the mildnes of his wisedome had from hand to hand bene dispearsed through the whole world. Insomuch, as the ouer excessiue speeches the Poets accustomably do vse, were not sufficient enough to expresse the peaceable raigne of that time.

The Romaines had no warres in all Numaes time.

There: spiders weaue, their cobwebbes day and night
in harnesses, which wont to serue for warre:
there: cancred rust doth fret, the steele full bright
of trenchant blades, well whet in many a iarre.
There: mightie speares, for lacke of vse are eaten,
with rotten wormes: and in that countrie there,
the braying trompe doth neuer seeme to threaten,
their quiet eares, with blasts of bloudy feare.
There: in that land, no drowsie sleepe is broken,
with hotte alarmes, which terrours do betoken.

For during all king *Numaes* raigne, it was neuer heard that euer there were any wars, ciuill dissention, or innouation of gouernement attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmity or malice borne him, neither any cõspiracy once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of displeasing the gods (which visibly seemed to take him into their protectiõ) or for the reuerent regard they had vnto his vertue, or for his prosperous & good successe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he sought to keepe men still pure, & honest, from al wickednes, & layd most opẽ before the eies of the whole world, a very example of that which *Plato* long time after did affirme, & say, concerning true gouernmẽt: which was. That the only meane of true quietnes, & remedy from al euill (which euer troubleth men) was: whẽ by some diuine ordinance from aboue there meeteth in one person, the right maiestie of a King, & the mind of a wise philosopher, to make vertue gouernesse & ruler ouer vice. For in deede happy is such a wise man, & more happy are they, which may heare the graue counsaile, & good lessons of such a mouth. And there me thinkes needeth no force, no compulsion, no threats, nor extremitie to bridle the people. For mẽ seeing the true image of vertue in their visible prince, & in the example of his life, doe willingly grow to be wise, & of them selues do fall into loue, liking, and friendship together, and doe vse all temperance, iust dealing, and good order one towarde another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe point of felicitie, and the most happie good that can light vnto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wisedome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners such a good disposition: and this, *Numa* aboue all other, seemed best to knowe and vnderstand. Furthermore, touching his wiues and children, there are great contrarieties among the historiographers. For some of them say, he neuer maried other wife then *Tatia*, and that he neuer had any children, but one only daughter, and she was called *Pompilia*. Other write to the contrarie, that he had foure sonnes, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*: of euery one of the which (by succession from the father to the sonne) haue descended the noblest

Platoes saying concerning the felicitie of a common weale.

Numaes wiues and posteritie. Pompilia, Numaes daughter.

noblest races, and most ancient houses of the ROMAINES. As the house of the *Pomponians*, of *Pompo*: the house of the *Pinarians*, of *Pinus*: the house of the *Calphurnians* of *Calpus*: & the house of the *Mamercians*, of *Mamercus*. All which families by reason of their progenitor haue kept the surname of *Reges*, Kings. There are three other writers, which do reproue the two first: saying that they did write to gratifie the families, making them falsely to descend of the noble race of king *Numa*. Moreouer it is said, he had his daughter *Pompilia*, not by *Tatia*, but by his other wife called *Lucretia*, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter *Pompilia* was maried vnto one *Martius*, the sonne of the same *Martius*, which perswaded him to accept the kingdome of ROME. For he went with him to ROME, to remaine there: where they did him the honour to receiue him into the number of the Senatours. After the death of *Numa*, *Martius* the father stoode against *Tullus Hostilius* for the succession of the Realme, and being ouercome, he killed him selfe for sorrow. But his sonne *Martius*, who maried *Pompilia*, continued still at ROME, where he begot *Ancus Martius*, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hostilius*, and was but fiue yeare old when *Numa* died. Whose death was not sodaine. For he died consuming by litle and litle, as well through age, as also through a lingring disease that waited on him to his end, as *Piso* hath written: and *Numa* at his death was litle more then foure score yeare old. But the pompe and honour done vnto him at his funeralles, made his life yet more happy and glorious. For all the people his neighbours, friendes, kinsemen, and allies of the ROMAINES came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publique contributions to honour his obsequies. The noble men selues of the citie (which were called *Patricians*) caried on their shoulders the very bed, on which the corse lay, to be conuaied to his graue. The Priestes attended also on his body, and so did all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his tumbe, all bewailing and lamenting his death, with teares, sighes, and mournings. Not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their dearest kinseman, and nearest friend that had died before he was old. They burnt not his body, because (as some say) he commaunded the contrary by his will and testament: but they made two coffines of stone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called *Ianiculum*. In the one they laide his body, and in the other the holy bookes which he had written himselfe, much like vnto those, which they that made the lawes among the GRECIANS did write in tables. But because in his life time he had taught the priestes, the substaunce of the whole contained in the same: he willed the holy tables which he had written, should be buried with his body. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners and exercises. And he followed herein they say, the *Pythagorians*, who would not put their workes in writing, but did printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy mē, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of person the hidden rules and secrets of Geometry, which had not bene worthy of them: then they saide the goddes by manifest tokens would threaten to reuenge such lacti-ledge and impiety, with some great destruction and misery. Therefore, seeing so many things agreable, and altogether like betwene *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, I easely pardon those which maintaine their opinion, that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* were familiarly acquainted and conuersant together. *Valerius Antias* the historian writeth, there were twelue bookes written concerning the office of Priestes, and twelue other containing the philosophy of the GRECIANS. And that foure hundred yeares after (in the same yeare when *Publius Cornelius*, and *Martius Bebius* were consuls,) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earth, and discouered these coffines: and the liddes and couers thereof being caried away, they found the one altogether voide, hauing no manner of likelyhood, or token of a body that had layen in it: and in the other they found these bookes, which were deliuered vnto one named *Petilius* (at that time *Praetor*) who had the charge to read them ouer, and to make the report of them. But he hauing perused them ouer, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not conuenient the matters contained in them should be published vnto the simple people: and for that cause they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and iust men, that

Pompilia maried to Caius Martius Coriolanus.

Martius the Sabine, made Senatour at Rome.

Ancus Martius the sonne of Caius Martius Coriolanus.

The death of Numa.

Numaes bookes.

Why the Pythagorians left nothing in writing.

Twelue bookes of Priesthood.

Twelue bookes of philosophy.

Good men prayſed after their death. they are far more prayſed and eſteemed after their death, then before: becauſe that enuy doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithſtanding, the misfortunes which chaunced afterwardes vnto the fiue Kings which raigned at ROME after *Numa*, haue made his honour ſhine, with much more noble glory then before. For the laſt of them was driuen out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very old. And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treaſon. *The misfortunes of Numaes ſucceſſours.* And *Tullus Hoſtilius* which raigned after *Numa*, deriding and contemning the moſt part of his good and holy inſtitutions, and chiefly his deuotion towardes the goddes, as a thing which made men lowly and faint hearted: did as ſoone as euer he came to be King, turne all his ſubiects hearts to the warres. *Hoſtilius.* But this mad humor of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a ſtraunge and moſt grieuous diſeaſe that followed him, which brought him to chaunge his mind, and did farre otherwiſe turne his contempt of Religion, into an ouer feareful ſuperſtition, which did nothing yet reſemble the true Religion and deuotion of *Numa*: & beſides, he infected others with his contagious errour, through the inconuenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was ſtriken and burnt with lightning.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lycurgus with Numa.*

THVS hauing written the liues of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, the matter requireth, though it be ſomewhat hard to doe, that we comparing the one with the other, ſhould ſet out the difference betweene them. For in thoſe things wherein they were like of condition, their deedes do ſhew it ſufficiently. *The vertues of Numa and Lycurgus were alike, but their deedes diuerſe.* As in their temperaunce, their deuotion to the goddes, their wiſedome in gouerning, and their diſcrete handling of their people, by making them beleeue that the goddes had reuealed the lawes vnto them, which they eſtabliſhed. And now to come vnto their qualities, which are diuerſely, & ſeuerally commended in either of them. Their firſt quality is, that *Numa* accepted the Kingdome, and *Lycurgus* gaue it vp. The one receiued it, not ſeeking for it: and the other hauing it in his handes did reſtore it againe. The one being a ſtraunger and a priuat man was by ſtrangers elected and choſen, their Lord and King. The other being in poſſeſſion a King, made himſelfe againe a priuat perſon. Sure it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iuſtice: but it is a goodlier thing to eſteeme iuſtice aboue a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in ſuch reputatiō, that he was iudged worthy to be choſen a King: and vertue bred ſo noble a mind in the other, that he eſteemed not to be a King. Their ſecond quality is, that like as in an inſtrumēt of muſicke, the one of them did tune and wreſt vp the ſlacke ſtrings which were in SPARTA: ſo the other ſlackened, and ſet them lower,

lower, which were too high mounted in Rome. Wherein *Lycurgus* difficulty was the greater. For he did not perswade his citizens, to plucke of their armour and cuirates, nor to lay by their swords, but only to laue their gold & siluer, to forsake their soft beds, their fine wrought tables, and other curious rich furniture, and not to leaue off the trauell of warres, to giue themselues only vnto feastes, sacrifices, and plaies. But to the contrary, to giue vp banquetting and feasting, and continually to take paines in the warres, yeelding their bodies to all kinde of paines. By which meanes the one for the loue and reuerence they did beare him, eamy perswaded all that he would: and the other, by putting him selfe in danger, and being hurt also, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpose and desire. *Numa* his muse was so gentle, louing and curteous, that the manners of his citizens, which before were furious and violent, were now so tractable and ciuill, that he taught them to loue peace and iustice. And to the contrary, if they will compell me to number amongest the lawes and ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, that which we haue written touching the Ilotes, which was a barbarous cruell thing, I must of force confesse that *Numa* was much wiser, more gentle, and ciuill in his lawes, considering that euen vnto those which in deede were borne slaues, he gaue some little tast of honor, and sweetnes of liberty, hauing ordained, that in the feasts of *Saturne*, they should sit down at meat at their masters own table. Some hold opinion, that this custome was brought in by king *Numa*: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, should haue some pleasure thereof to make good cheere with the first fruites of the same. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembraunce of the equality which was amongest men in the world in *Saturnes* time, when there was neither master nor seruant, but all men were a like equall, as brethren or kinsmen. To conclude, it seemeth either of them tooke a direct course, thought best to them selues, to frame their people vnto temperaunce, and to be contented with their own. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre best, and the other iustice: whether it were that men would say, that for the diuersity of the nature or customs of their people (which were almost contrary in manners) they were both compelled to vse also contrary and diuers meanes from other. For it was not of a faint heart, that *Numa* tooke from his people the vse of armes, and desire to be in warres: but it was to the end they should not doe any wrong to others. Neither did *Lycurgus* also study to make his people souldiers and warlike, to hurt others: but for feare rather that others should hurt them. And so, to cut off the excesse in the one, and to supply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a straunge manner of gouernment. Furthermore, touching their seuerall kind of gouernment, and diuiding of their people into states and companies: that of *Numa* was marueilous meane and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a body of a city, and a people compounded together of all sortes, as goldesmiths, minstrels, founders, shoemakers, and of all sortes of crafts men and occupations together. But that of *Lycurgus*, was directly contrary: for his was more seuere and tyrannicall, in gouerning of the nobility, casting all crafts and base occupations vpon bondmen and straungers, and putting into the handes of his citizens the shield and launce, suffering them to exercise no other art or science, but the art and discipline of warres, as the true ministers of *Mars*: which all their life time neuer knew other science, but only learned to obey their captaines, and to commaund their enemies. For to haue any occupation, to buy and sell, or to trafficke, free men were expressely forbidden: because they should wholly & absolutely be free. And all sciences to get money was lawfull for slaues, and the Ilotes: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dresse meate, and to be a scullian of a kitchin. *Numa* put not this difference amongst his people, but only tooke away couetous desire to be rich by warres: but otherwise, he did not forbid them to get goods by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regard to bring all to equality, and to be alike wealthy, but suffered euery man to get what he could, taking no order to preuent pouerty, which crept in, and spred far in his city. Which he should haue looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequality amongest them, and that his citizens for substaunce were in manner equall one with another: for then was the time whē he should haue made head against auarice, to haue stopped the mischeiues & inconueniences, which fell out afterwards, & they were not litle. For that only was

what things were hard to Lycurgus.

Slaues sat with their maisters at Saturnes feastes. Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1.

Diuers causes of the diuersity of institutions of Numa and Lycurgus.

Description of their people.

the fountaine and roote, of the most part of the greatest euils and mischieues, which happened afterwards in ROME. And as touching the diuision of goodes: neither ought *Lycurgus* to be blamed for doing it, nor *Numa* for that he did it not. For this equality to the one, was a ground and foundation of his common wealth, which he afterwards instituted: and vnto other it could not be. For this diuision being made not long before the time of his predecessour, there was no great need to change the first, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection.

Reason for mariages. As touching mariages, and their children to be in common, both the one and the other wisely sought to take away all occasion of iealousie: but yet they tooke not both one course. For the ROMAINE husband, hauing children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came vnto him, to pray him to lend him his wife, he might graunt her vnto him, and it was in him to giue her altogether, or to lend her for a time, and to take her afterwardes againe. But the LACONIAN keping his wife in his house, and the mariage remaining whole and vnbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to haue children by her. Furthermore, many (as we haue told you before) did them selues intreat men, by whom they thought to haue a trimme broode of children, and layed them with their wiues. What difference, I pray you was betweene these two customes: sauing that the custome of the LACONIANS shewed, that the husbands were nothing angry, nor grieued with their wiues for those things, which for sorrow and iealousie do turment the hearts of most maried men in the world. And that of the ROMAINS was a simplicity somewhat more shamefast, which to couer it, was shadowed yet with the cloke of matrimony, and contract of mariage: confessing that to vse wife and children by halfes together, was a thing most intollerable for him. Furthermore, the

Numaes order for maidens the better. keeping of maidens to be maried by *Numaes* order, was much straighter & more honorable for womanhood: and *Lycurgus* order hauing too much scope & liberty, gaue Poets occasion to speake, and to giue them surnames not very honest. As *Ibycus* called them *Phenomeridas*: to say, thigh shewers: and *Andromanes*: to say manhood. And *Euripides* saith also of them.

Good nurbrowne girles which left, their fathers house at large,
and sought for young mens company, and tooke their wiue in charge.
And shewed their thighes all bare, the rayment did them wrong,
on each side open were their cotes, the slits were all too long.

And in deede to say truely, the sides of their petticotes were not sowed beneath: so that as they went, they shewed their thighes naked and bare. The which *Sophocles* doth calely declare by these verses:

The song which you shall sing, shall be the sonnet saide,
by Hermony lusty lasse, that strong and sturdy maide:
VVhich trust her petticote, about her middle short,
and set to shew her naked hippes, in francke and friendly sort.

The Laconians were too manly. And therefore it is said, the LACON wiues were bold, manly, and stout against their husbands, namely the first. For they were wholly mistresses in the house, and abroad: yea they had law on their side also, to vtter their minds franckly concerning the chiefest maters. But *Numa* euer reserued the honor and dignity vnto the women, which was left them by *Romulus* in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them away perforce, disposed them selues to vse them as gently as possibly they could: neuertheless, he added otherwise thereto great honesty, and tooke away all curiosity from them, and taught them sobriety, and did inure them to speake litle. For he did vtterly forbid them wine, and did prohibite them to speak, although it were for things necessary, vnles it were in the presence of their husbands. In so much as it is reported, that a woman chaunciug one day to plead her cause in person, openly before the iudges: the Senate hearing of it, did send immediatly vnto the oracle of *Apollo*, to know what that did prognosticate to the city. And therefore *Numa* thought the memory of the naughty women, would much commend the great humility, gentleries, & obedience of the good. For like as our GRECIAN historiographers do note those which were the first that killed any of

The first diuorce at Rome. their citizens, or haue fought with their brethre, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: euen so the ROMAINS doe note that *Spurius Caruilius* was the first that forlooke his wife, two hundred and thirtie yeares after the first foundation of ROME, which was neuer done by any before.

fore. And that the wife of one *Pinarius*, called *Thalea*, was the firſt which euer brauled or quarrelled with her mother in law called *Gegania*, in the time when *Tarquine* ſurnamed the proud raigned: ſo well and honeſtly were the orders of *Numa* deuiſed concerning mariage. Moreouer, the age and time of marying of maydes, which both the one and the other ordeined: doth agree with the reſt of their education. For *Lycurgus* would not that they ſhould be maried, till they were of good yeres, and women growen: to the end that they knowing the company of man at ſuch time as nature requireth, it ſhould be a beginning of their pleaſure and loue, and not of griefe and hate, when ſhe ſhould be compelled vnto it before time agreeable by nature, and becauſe their bodies alſo ſhould be more ſtrong and able to beare children, and to indure the mothers painefull throwes and trauell in child bearing, conſidering they are maried to no other ende, but to beare children. But the ROMAINES to the contrary, doe marie them at twelue yeres of age and vnder: ſaying, that by this meanes their bodies and manners be wholy theirs, which doe marie them, being aſſured that no body els could touch them. By this reaſon it is manifeſt, that the one is more naturall, to make them ſtrong to beare children: & the other more morall, to giue them the forme and maner of conditions, which a man would haue thē to keepe all their life time. Moreouer touching orders for education of children, that they ſhould be brought vp, inſtructed, and taught, vnder the ſelfe ſame maſters & gouernors, which ſhould haue an eye to make them drinke, eate, play, & exerciſe themſelues honeſtly, and orderly together: *Numa* made no more prouiſion for the ſame, then the leaſt maker of lawes that euer was, and nothing in compariſon of *Lycurgus*. For *Numa* left the parents at libertie, to vſe their diſcretion (according vnto their couetouſneſſe or neceſſitie) to cauſe their children to be brought vp as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpenters, founders, or minſtrels. As if they ſhould not frame the manners of children, and faſhion them from their cradell all to one end: but ſhould be as it were like paſſengers in one ſhip, which being there, ſome for one buſineſſe, other for another purpoſe, but all to diuerſe ends, do neuer medle one with another, but in a rough ſtorme or tempeſt, when euery man is affraide of his owne life. For otherwiſe, no man careth but for himſelfe. And other makers of lawes alſo, are to be borne withall, if any thing hath ſcaped them through ignorance, or ſometime through lacke of ſufficient power and authoritie. But a wiſe philoſopher, hauing receiued a realme of people newly gathered together, which did contrary him in nothing: whereto ſhould he moſt plie his ſtudie and indeuour, but to cauſe children to be well brought vp, and to make young men exerciſe themſelues, to the end they ſhould not differ in manners, nor that they ſhould be troubleſome, by their diuerſe manner of bringing vp, but that they ſhould all agree together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood vnto one ſelfe trade, and faſhioned vnder one ſelfe patterne of vertue? That good education, beſides other commodities, did alſo ſerue to preſerue *Lycurgus* lawes. For the feare of their othe which they had made, had bene of ſmall effect, if he had not through inſtitution, and education (as it were) died in wolle the manners of children, and had not made them from their nurſes breaſts in manner, ſucke the iuice and loue of his lawes, and ciuill ordinaunces. And this was of ſuch force, that for the ſpace of fiue hundred years and more, *Lycurgus* chiefe lawes and ordinaunces remained in full perfection, as a deepe woded die, which went to the bottome, and pearced into the tender wolle. Contrariwiſe, that which was *Numaes* chiefe end and purpoſe, to continue ROME in peace and amity, died by and by with him. For he was no ſooner dead, but they opened both the gates of the temple of *Ianus*, which he ſo carefully had kept ſhut all his raigne, as if in deede he had kept in warres there, vnder locke and key, and they filled all ITALIE with murther and bloud: and this his godly, holy, and iuſt gouernment which his Realme enioyed all his time, did not laſt long after, becauſe it had not the bond of education, and the diſcipline of children which ſhould maintaine it. Why, may a man ſay to me here: hath not ROME excelled ſtill, and preuailed more and more in chiualry? This queſtion requireth a long anſwer, and ſpecially vnto ſuch men as place felicity in riches, in poſſeſſions, and in the greatnes of empire, rather then in the quiet ſafety, peace, and concord of a common weale: and in clemency and iuſtice, ioyned with contentation. Neuertheles, how ſoeuer it was, that maketh for *Lycurgus* alſo, that the ROMAINES after they had chaunged the ſtate which they had of *Numa*, did

How much education and diſcipline is worthe. Ariſt. polit. 8.

How Lycurgus lawes were ſtabliſhed.

Why Numaes orders died.

so marueilously increase and grow mightie: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS to the contrary, so soone as they beganne to breake *Lycurgus* lawes, being of great authoritie & sway, fell afterwardes to be of small account. So that hauing lost the soueraignte & commaundement ouer GREECE, they stood in great hazard also to be ouerthrowen for euer. But in troth it was some diuine thing in *Numa*, that he being a meere stranger, the ROMAINES did seeke him, to make him King, and that he could so chaunge all, and rule a whole citie as he listed (not yet ioyned together) without neede of any force or violence: as it was in *Lycurgus*, to be assisted with the best of the citie, in resisting the commõs of LACEDÆMON, but he could neuer otherwise haue kept them in peace, and made them loue together, but by his only wisedome and iustice.

why Numa is to be preferred before Lycurgus.

The end of Numa Pompilius life.

THE LIFE OF *Solon.*

DIDYMVS the Grammarian, in a litle booke that he wrote, & dedicated vnto *Asclepiades*, touching the tables of the lawes of *Solon*, alleageth the wordes of one *Philocles*, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that haue written, that *Solons* father was called *Euphorion*. For all other writers agree, that he was the sonne of *Execestides*, a man but reasonably to liue, although otherwise he was of the noblest and most auncient house of the city of ATHENS. For of his fathers side, he was descended of king *Codrus*: and for his mother, *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth, she was cosin germaine vnto *Pisistratus* mother. For this cause euen from the beginning there was great friendship betweene them, partly for their kindred, and partly also for the curtesie, and beauty of *Pisistratus*, with whom it is reported *Solon* on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of state and gouernment: yet this square bred no violent inconuenience betweene them, but they reserued in their hearts still their auncient amity, which continued the memory of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That *Solon* was no staied man to withstand beauty, nor any great doer to preuaile in loue, it is manifest to all, as well by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by a law of his owne: wherein he did forbid

Solons lineage.

Great friendship betwixt Solon and Pisistratus.

forbid bondmen to perfume themselues, or to be louers of children. Who placed this lawe among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better sort, and forbidding it to the basest. They say also that *Pisistratus* selfe was in loue with *Charmus*, and that he did set vp the litle image of loue, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candle. But *Solons* father (as *Hermippus* writeth) hauing spent his goods in liberalitie, and deedes of courtesie, though he might easily haue ben relieued at diuers mens hands with money, he was yet ashamed to take any, because he came of a house which was wont rather to giue & relieue others, then to take themselues: so being yet a young man, he deuised to trade marchandise. Howbeit other say, that *Solon* trauelled countries, rather to see the world, and to learne: then to traffick, or gaine. For sure he was very desirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifestly: for that being now old, he commonly vsed to say this verse:

A statute for bondmen.

Solon gaue him selfe in youth to trade marchandise.

I grow old, learning still.

Also he was not couetously bent, nor loued riches too much: for he said in one place:

VVho so hath goods, and gold enough at call,
great heards of beastes, and flockes in many a folde,
both horse and mule, yea store of corne and all,
that may content ech man aboue the moulde:
no richer is, for all those heapes and hoordes,
then he which hath, sufficiently to feede,
and clothe his corpes, with such as God afoordes.
But if his ioye, and chiefe delight do breede,
for to beholde the fayre and heauenly face,
of some sweete wife, which is adornde with grace:
or els some childe, of beautie faire and bright,
then hath he cause (in deed) of deepe delight.

Solons iudgement of riches.

And in another place also he saieth:

In deed I do desire, some wealth to haue at will:
but not vnlesse the same be got, by faithfull dealing still.
For sure who so desires by wickednesse to thriue:
shall finde that iustice from such goods, will iustly him deprriue.

There is no law forbiddeth an honest man, or gentleman, greedily to scrape goods together, and more then may suffice: & likewise to get sufficient to maintaine one withall, and to defray all needfull charges. In those dayes no state was discommended, as saith *Hesiodus*, nor any arte or science made any difference betweene men: but marchandise they thought an honorable state, as that which deliuered meanes, to traffick into strange and far countries, to get acquaintance with states, to procure the loue of princes, & chiefly to gather the experience of the world. So that there haue bene marchants, which heretofore haue bene founders of great cities: as he which first built MASSILIA, after he had obtained the friendship of the GAVLES, dwelling by the riuer of Rhosne. And they say also, that *Thales Milesius* the wise, did traffick marchandise, and that *Hippocrates* the mathematike did euen so: & likewise that *Plato* trauelling into Egypt, did beare the whole charges of his iourney, with the gaines he made of the sale of oile he caried thither. They remeber also that *Solon* learned to be lauish in expence, to fare delicatly, & to speake wantonly of pleasures in his Poems, somewhat more licentiously then became the grauity of a Philosopher: only because he was brought vp in the trade of marchandise, wherin for that men are maruellous subiect to great losses and daungers, they seeke otherwhiles good there to driue these cares away, and liberty to make much of themselues. Yet it appeareth by these verses, that *Solon* accounpted himselfe rather in the nũber of the poore, then of the rich.

The commodities of marchandise.

A marchaunt builded Massilia. Thales. Hippocrates. Plato. all marchaunts.

Rich men (oftimes) in lewdest liues do range,
and often seene, that vertuous men be poore:
Yet would the good, their goodnesse neuer chaunge
with lewd estate, although their wealth be more.
For vertue stands alwaies both firme and stable:
when riches roue, and seldome are durable.

Pouerty with vertue better than riches.

This Poetrie at the beginning he vſed but for pleaſure, and when he had leaſure, writing no matter of importance in his verſes. Afterwards he did ſet out many graue matters of philoſophie and the moſt part of ſuch things as he had deuiſed before, in the gouernment of a comon weale, which he did not for hiſtorie or memories ſake, but onely of a pleaſure to diſcourſe: for he ſheweth the reaſons of that he did, and in ſome places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproueth the ATHENIANS. And ſome affirme alſo he went about to write his lawes and ordinances in verſe, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

How Solon vſed his poetrie.

Vouchſafe o mighty Ioue, of heauen and earth high King:
to graunt good fortune to my lawes, and health in euery thing.
And that their glorie growe, in ſuch triumphant wiſe,
as may remaine in fame for aye, which liues and neuer dies.

Solon delighted in morall, but not in naturall philoſophie.

He chiefely delighted in morall philoſophie, which treated of gouernement and common weales: as the moſt part of the wiſe men did of thoſe times. But for naturall philoſophie, he was very groſſe and ſimple, as appeareth by theſe verſes.

The clattering hayle, and ſoftly falling ſnowe
doe breede in aire, and fall from cloudes on hie.
The dreadfull clappes, which thunderbolts doe throwe,
do come from heauen, and lightnings bright in skie,
The ſea it ſelfe by boiſterous blaſts dooth rore
which (were it not prouoked ſo full ſore)
Would be both calme and quiet for to paſſe,
as any element that euer was.

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the ſeuen wiſe men of GREECE, who ſearched further the contemplation of things in common vſe among men, than he. For ſetting him a parte, all the others got the name of wiſdome, onely for their vnderſtanding in matters of ſtate and gouernment. It is reported that they met on a day all ſeauen togither in the citie of DELPHES, and another time in the citie of CORINTH, where *Periander* got them togither at a feaſt that he made to the other ſixe. But that which moſt increaſed their glorie, and made their fame moſt ſpoken of, was the ſending backe againe of the three footed ſtoole when they all had refuſed it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, how certaine fiſher men of the Ile of Co, caſt their nettes into the ſea, and certaine ſtrangers paſsing by, that came from the citie of MILETVM, did buie their draught of fiſhe at aduenture, before the net was drawne. And when they drue it vp there came vp in the net a three footed ſtoole of maſſy gold, which men ſay, *Helen* (as ſhe did retutne from TROYE) had throwne in in that place, in memory of an auncient oracle ſhe called then vnto her minde. Thereupon the ſtrangers and fiſher men firſt fell at ſtrife about this three footed ſtoole, who ſhould haue it: but afterwardes the two cities tooke part of both ſides, on their citizens behalfe. In ſo much as warres had like to haue followed betweene them, had not the propheteſſe *Pythia* giuen a like oracle vnto them both. That they ſhould giue this three footed ſtoole vnto the wiſeſt man. Whereupon the men of Co, ſent it firſt to *Thales* in the city of MILETVM, as being willing to graunt that vnto a priuate perſon, for which they had made warres with all the MILESIANS before. *Thales* ſaide, he thought *Bias* a wiſer man then him ſelfe: and ſo it was ſent vnto him. He likewiſe ſent it again vnto another, as to a wiſer man. And that other, ſent it alſo vnto another. So that being thus poſted from man to man, and through diuerſe handes, in the end it was brought backe againe vnto the city of MILETVM, and deliuered into the handes of *Thales* the ſecond time: and laſt of all was caried vnto THEBES, and offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo Iſmenian*. Howbeit *Theophraſtus*, writeth, that firſt it was ſent to the city of PRIENA, vnto *Bias*: and then vnto *Thales*, in the city of MILETVM, by *Bias* conſent. And after that it had paſſed through all their hands, it was brought againe vnto *Bias*: and laſtly it was ſent to the city of DELPHES. And thus much haue the beſt and moſt auncient writers written: ſauing that ſome ſay in ſteade of a three footed ſtoole, it was a cuppe that king *Cræſus* ſent vnto the city of DELPHES. Other ſay, it was a peece of

Helens three footed ſtoole of gold drawne vp in a draught net.

The rare modeſty of the wiſe men.

plate

plate which *Bathycles* left there. They made mention also of another priuate meeting betwixt *Anacharsis* and *Solon*, and of another betweene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharsis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, saying that he was a straunger which came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquaintance and friendship. *Solon* answered him, that it was better to seeke friendship in his owne countrie. *Anacharsis* replyed againe: thou then that art at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to shew me friendship. Then *Solon* wondering at his bolde readie wit, entertained him verie courteously: and kept him a certain time in his house, and made him very good cheere, at the selfe same time wherein he was most busie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the state thereof. Which when *Anacharsis* vnderstoode, he laughed at it, to see that *Solon* imagined with written lawes, to bridle mens couetousnes and iniustice. For such lawes, sayde he, doe rightly resemble the spyders cobwebbes: because they take holde of little flies and gnattes which fall into them, but the rich and mightie will breake and runne through them at their will. *Solon* answered him, that men do iustly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, because it is to the hinderance of either partie to breake them: & euen so, he did so temper his lawes, that he made his citizens knowe, it was more for their profite to obey law and iustice, then to breake it. Neuertheless afterwards, matters proued rather according to *Anacharsis* comparison, then agreeable to the hope that *Solon* had conceiued. *Anacharsis* being by happe one daye in a common assembly of the people at ATHENS, saide that he maruelled much, why in the consultations and meetings of the GRECIANS, wise men propounded matters, and fooles did decide them. It is said moreouer, that *Solon* was sometime in the citie of MILETVM at *Thales* house, where he saide that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marrie to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a word at that present: but within fewe dayes after he suborned a straunger, which said that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but ten dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, What newes there? This stranger whom *Thales* had schooled before, answered: none other there, sauing that they carried a young man to buriall, whom all the citie followed: for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the citie, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they saide) abroade. O poore vnfortunate father, then said *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard him named, said the stranger, but I haue forgotten him nowe: sauing that they all saide, he was a worthy wise man. So *Solon* still trembling more and more for feare, at euery answer of this stranger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name himselfe vnto the stranger, and asked him againe, if he were not the sonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very same, said the stranger. *Solon* with that, like a mad man straight began to beate his head, and to say, and doe, like men impatient in affliction, and ouercome with sorrow. But *Thales* laughing to see this pageant, staid him, and said. Loe, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of such a violence, that thou seest it hath now ouercome thee, although otherwise thou art strong, aud able to wrestle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath said vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it is but a tale, and nothing so. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patæcus* (he which sayd he had *Esops* soule) reciteth this story thus. Neuertheless it lacketh iudgement, and the courage of a man also, to be afraid to get things necessary, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckonning, he should neither esteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lose them. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can haue, decayeth oft times through sickenes, or els by phisicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* selfe, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, vnlesse he would confesse that he neither loued friends, kinsmen, nor countrey: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted sonne, called *Cybistus*, which was his sisters sonne. For our soule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne as well to loue, as to feele, to reason, or vnderstand, and to remember: hauing nothing of her owne whereupon she might bestow that naturall loue, borroweth of other. As where there is a house or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times straungers, and base borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

Anacharsis & Solons meeting.

Anacharsis saying of Solons written lawes.

Solons talke with Thales at Miletum, about marriage, for hauing of children.

We should not let to get things necessary, fearing to lose them.

Cybistus Thales adopted sonne.

The instinct of naturall loue.

haue once wonne and possessed his loue, they make him euer after to be kinde and tender ouer them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that moue them to marie, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwardes are readie to die for feare and sorow, when they see their bastardes (that they haue gotten of their slaues or concubines) fall sicke or die, and doe vtter wordes farre vnmeete for men of noble courage. And some such there be, that for the death of a dogge, or their horse, are so out of heart, and take such thought, that they are readie to goe into the ground, they looke so pittifully. Other some are cleane contrarie, who though they haue lost their children, forgone their frendes, or some gentleman deare vnto them, yet no sorowfull worde hath commen from them, neither haue they done any vnseemely thing: but haue passed the rest of their life like wise, constant, and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weakenesse, which breedeth these extreme sorowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they loue and desire, by reason of the continuall trouble, feare and griefe they feele, by thinking how in time they may be depriued of it. Nowe we must not arme our selues with pouertie, against the griefe of losse of goods: neither with lacke of affection, against the losse of our friendes: neither with want of mariage, against the death of children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus haue we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIANS hauing now susteined a long and troublesome warre against the MEGARIANS, for the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA: were in the ende wearie of it, and made proclamation straightly commaunding vpon paine of death, that no man should presume to preferre any more to the counsaile of the citie, the title or question of the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA. *Solon* could not beare this open shame, and seeing the most part of the lustiest youthes desirous still of warre though their tongues were tyed for feare of the proclamation: he fained himselfe to be out of his wits, and caused it to be giuen out that *Solon* was become a foole, & secretly he had made certain lamentable verses, which he had cunned without booke, to sing abroad the citie. So one day he ranne sodainely out of his house with a garland on his head, and got him to the market place, where the people straight swarmed like Bees about him: and getting him vp vpon the stone where all proclamations are vsually made, out he singeth these Elegies he had made, which began after this sort.

Proclamation vpon paine of death no man to moue the counsell for the title of Salamina.

Solon fained madnesse to recouer Salamina.

I here present my selfe (an Herauld) in this case,
which come from Salamina land, that noble worthy place.
My mind in pelting prose, shall neuer be expresst,
But song in verse Heroicall, for so I thinke it best.

Solons Elegies of the Salaminians.

This Elegie is intituled SALAMINA, & conteineth a hundred verses, which are excellently well written. And these being sung openly by *Solon* at that time, his friendes incontinently praysed them beyond measure, and specially *Pisistratus*: and they went about perswading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongst them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they beganne to follow the warres with greater fury then before, appointing *Solon* to be generall in the same. But the common tale and report is, that he went by sea with *Pysistratus* vnto the temple of *Venus*, surnamed *Coliade*: where he found all the women at a solemne feast and sacrifice, which they made of custome to the goddesse. He taking occasion thereby, sent from thence a trusty man of his owne vnto the MEGARIANS, which then had SALAMINA: whom he instructed to faine himselfe a reuolted traytour, and that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but goe with him, they might take all the chiefe ladies and gentlewomen of ATHENS on a sodaine. The MEGARIANS easely beleeued him, and shipped forthwith certaine souldiers to goe with him. But when *Solon* perceyued the shippe vnder saile comming from SALAMINA, he commaunded the women to depart, and in stead of them he put lusly beardlesse springalles into their apparell, and gaue them litle short daggers to conuay vnder their clothes, commaunding them to play and daunce together vpon the sea side, vntill their enemies were landed, and their shippe at anker; and so it came to passe. For the MEGARIANS being deceyued by that they saw a farre off, as soone as euer they came to the shore side, did land in heapes,

Of the temple of Venus Coliad. Strab. lib. 4. & Pausan. of the Athenians.

Solons stratagem.

heapes, one in another necke, euen for greedines, to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slaine euery mothers sonne. This strategeme being finely handled, and to good effect, the ATHENIANS tooke sea straight, and coasted ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA: which they tooke vpon the sodaine, and wanne it without much resistance. Other say that it was not taken after this sort: but that *Apollo Delphicus* gaue *Solon* first such an oracle. *Solon wanne Salamina.*

Thou shalt first winne by vowes and sacrifice, *of whose dead bones, the dust engraued lies,*
the helpe of lordes and demy gods full bright: *in weste rne soyle, Asopia that hight.*

By order of this oracle, he one night passed ouer to SALAMINA, & did sacrifice to *Peripheimus*, and to *Cichris*, demy gods of the country. Which done, the ATHENIANS deliuered him fiue hundreth men, who willingly offered themselues: and the citie made an accord with them, that if they tooke the Ile of SALAMINA, they should beare greatest authoritie in the common weale. *Solon* imbarked his soldiers into diuers fisher boates, and appointed a galliot of thirtie owers to come after him, & he ankered hard by the citie of SALAMINA, vnder the poynt which looketh towards the Ile of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA, hauing by chaunce hard some inckling of it, but yet knew nothing of certaintie: ranne presently in hurly burly to arme them, and manned out a shippe to descry what it was. But they fondly comming within danger, were taken by *Solon*, who clapped the MEGARIANS vnder hatches fast bound, and in their roomes put aborde in their shippe the choysest souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commaunding them to set their course direct vpon the citie, and to keepe themselues as close out of sight as could be. And he himself with al the rest of his souldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the field. Now whilest they were fighting together, *Solons* men whom he had sent in the MEGARIANS shippe, entred the hauen and wan the towne. This is certainly true, & testified by that which is shewed yet at this day. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a shippe of ATHENS arriueth quietly at the first, & by & by those that are in the shippe make a great showte, and a man armed leaping out of the shippe, runneth showting towards the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme land: and hard by the same is the temple of *Mars*, which *Solon* built there after he had ouercome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whence he sent back againe those prisoners that he had taken (which were saued from the slaughter of the battell) without any ransome paying. Neuertheles, the MEGARIANS were sharply bent still, to recouer SALAMINA againe. Much hurt being done and suffered on both sides: both partes in the end made the LACEDÆMONIANS indges of the quarrell. But vpon iudgment giuen, common report is, that *Homers* authoritie did *Solon* good seruice, because he did adde these verses to the number of shippes, which are in the Iliades of *Homer*, which he rehearsed before the iudges, as if they had bene indeede written by *Homer*. *Great strife betwixt the Megarians & Athenians for Salamina Iliad. lib 2.*

Aiax that champion stowt, did leade with him in charge.
twelue shippes from Salamina soyle, which he had left at large,
and euen those selfsame shippes, in battell did he cast,
and place in order for to fight, with enemies force at last.
In that same very place, whereas it seemed then,
the captaines which from Athens came, imbatteld had their men.

Howbeit the ATHENIANS selues thinke, it was but a tale of pleasure: and say that *Solon* made it appeare to the iudges, that *Philaus*, and *Eurysaces* (both *Aiax* sonnes) were made free denizes of ATHENS Whereupon they gaue the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, & one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of ATTICA: & the other in a towne called MELITVM. And for due proofe thereof, they say there is yet a certen canton or quarter of the country of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the *Philaides*, after the name of this *Philaus*, where *Pisistratus* was borne. And it is sayed moreouer, that *Solon* (because he would throughly conuince the MEGARIANS) did alleage that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in MEGARA they burie the dead with their faces to the East: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the West. Yet *Hereas* the *Megarian* denieth it saying that the MEGARIANS did burie them

The manner of buriall with the Megarians & the Athenians.

also with their faces towards the West: alleadging moreouer, that at ATHENS euery corse had his owne beere or coffin by it selfe, & that at MEGARA they did put three or foure corses together. They say also there were certeine oracles of *Apollo Pythias*, which did greatly helpe *Solon*, by which the god called SALAMINA, IONIA. Their strife was iudged by fiue Arbitrators, all SPARTANS borne: that is to say, *Critolaidas*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas*, & *Cleomenes*. *Solon* vndoutedly wonne great glory & honour by this exployte, yet was he much more honoured & esteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the temple of *Apollo*, in the citie of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be suffered, that the CYRRHÆIANS should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuarie of the oracle, & that they should ayde the DELPHIANS in honour and reuerence of *Apollo*. Whereupon the counsell of the *Amphictyons*, being moued with his words and persuasions, proclaymed warres against the CYRRHÆIANS: as diuers others do witnesse, and especially *Aristotle*, in the storie he wrote of those that wanne the *Pythian* games, where he ascribeth vnto *Solon* the honour of that determination. Neuertheless *Hermippus* sayeth, *Solon* was not made generall of their armie, as *Euanthes* Samian hath written. For *AEschines* the Orator wrote no such thing of him: & in the chronicles of the DELPHIANS they find, that one *Alcmæon*, & not *Solon*, was the generall of the ATHENIANS. Now the citie of ATHENS had a long time beene vexed and troubled through *Cylons* haynous offence, euer since the yere that *Megacles* (gouernour of the citie of ATHENS) did with fayre words handle so the confederats of the rebellion of *Cylon*, which had taken sanctuarie within the liberties of the temple of *Minerua*: that he perswaded them to be wise, and to present themselues before the iudges, holdinge by a threed, which they should tye about the base of the image of the goddesse where shee stoode, because they should not lose their libertie. But when they were come to the place of the honorable goddesses so called (which be the images of the furies) comming downe to present themselues before the iudges, the threed brake of it selfe. Then *Megacles*, and other officers his companions, layed hold on them presently, saying that it was a manifest signe that the goddesse *Minerua* refused to saue the. So those they tooke, and all they could lay hands on, were immediately stoned to death without the citie: the rest which tooke the altars for refuge, were slaine there also. And none were saued, but such as had made meanes to the gouernours wiues of the cittie, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were euer hated of the people, and commonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who being the issues of the rebelles that rose with *Cylon*, chanced to rise againe in credit, & growing to great authoritie, they neuer left quarelling & fighting continually with the offspring of *Megacles*. These factiõs were greatest & highest in *Solons* time: who being of authoritie, & seeing the people thus diuided in two partes, he stepped in betweene them, with the chiefest men of ATHENS, & did so persuade, & intreate those whom they called the abiects & excõmunicates, that they were contented to be iudged. So three hundreth of the chiefest citizens were chosen iudges to heare this matter. The accuser was *Myron Phlyeian*. This matter was heard and pleaded, & by sentence of the iudges, the excommunicats were condemned. Those that were aliue, to perpetuall exile: & the bones of them that were dead, to be digged vp, & throwẽ out of the confines of the territorie of ATHENS. But whilest the cittie of ATHENS was occupied with these vprores, the MEGARIANS wisely caught holde of the occasion deliuered, and set vpon the ATHENIANS, tooke frõ them the hauen of NISÆA & recouered againe out of their handes the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the cittie was possessed with a certaine superstitious feare: for some sayed, that sprites were come againe, and straunge sightes were seene. The prognosticators also sayed, they perceiued by their sacrifices the cittie was defiled with some abhominable & wicked things, which were of necessitie to be purged and throwen out. Hereupon, they sent into CRETA for *Epimenides Phæstian*, whom they reckoned the seuenth of the wise men, at the least such as will not alowe *Periander* for one of the number. He was a holy and deuoute man, and very wise in celestiall thinges, by inspiration from aboue: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the new *Curetes*, that is to say, Prophet: and he was thought the sonne of a Nimphe called *Balté*. When he was come to ATHENS, and growen in friendshippe with *Solon*: he did helpe him much, and made his waye for establishing of his lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their sacrifices much lighter, and of

Solon defendeth the cause of the temple of Delphes.

Epimenides Phæstius taken for one of the 7 sages, excluding Periander.

lesse

leſſe coſt: and brought the citizēs to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting off certaine ſeuere and barbarous ceremonies, which the moſt parte of women obſerued in their mourning, and he ordeined certen ſacrifices which he would haue done immediately after the obſequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the reſt was, that by vſing the citizens vnto holines & deuotion, daily ſacrifices, prayers vnto the godds, purging of themſelues, & humble offerings: he wan mens hartes by litle & litle, to yeeld them more cōfirmable to iuſtice, and to be more inclined to cōcord & vnitie. It is reported alſo that *Epimenides* whē he ſaw the hauen of Munychia, & had long conſidered of it: told thoſe about him, that men were very blind in foreſeing things to come. For if the ATHENIANS, (ſayd he) knew what hurt this hauē would bring thē: they would eate it as (they ſay) with their teeth. It is ſayed alſo that *Thales* did prognoſticate ſuch alike thing, who after his death commaunded they ſhould burie his bodie, in ſome vile place of no reckoning, within the territorie of the MILESIANS, ſaying that one day there ſhould be the place of a citie. *Epimenides* therefore being maruelouſly eſteemed of euerie man for theſe cauſes, was greatly honoured of the ATHENIANS, and they offered him great preſents of mony and other things, but he would take nothing, and only prayed them to giue him a bough of the holy oliue: which they graunted him, and ſo he returned ſhortely home into CRETA. Now that this ſedition of *Cylon* was vtterly appeaſed in ATHENS, for that the excommunicates were baniſhed the country: the citie fell againe into their olde troubles and diſſentions about the gouernment of the common weale: & they were deuided into ſo diuers partes and factions, as there were people of ſundry places & territories within the coūtrie of ATTICA. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and the people of the ſea coaſt. Thoſe of the mountaines, tooke the cōmon peoples part for their liues. Thoſe of the valley, would a few of the beſt citizens ſhould carie the ſway. The coaſte men would that neither of them ſhould preuaile, becauſe they would haue had a meane gouernmēt & mingled of them both. Furthermore, the faction betwene the poore & rich, proceeding of their vnequalitie, was at that time very great. By reaſon whereof the citie was in great daunger, and it ſeemed there was no way to pacifie or take vp theſe controuerſies, vnles ſome tyrant happened to riſe, that would take vpon him to rule the whole. For all the cōmon people were ſo ſore indebted to the rich, that either they plowed their lands, and yeelded them the ſixt part of their croppe: (for which cauſe they were called *Hectemori*, and ſeruants) or els they borowed mony of them at vſurie, vpon gage of their bodies to ſerue it out. And if they were not able to pay them, then were they by the law deliuered to their creditours, who kept them as bondmen and ſlaues in their houſes, or els they ſent them into ſtraunge coūtries to be ſold: and many euen for very pouertie were forced to ſel their owne children (for there was no law to forbid the contrarie) or els to forſake their citie & country, for the extreame cruelty & hard deling of theſe abominable vſurers their creditors. Inſomuch that many of the luſtieſt & ſtowteſt of thē, banded together in cōpanies, & incouraged one another, not to ſuffer & beare any longer ſuch extremitie, but to chooſe them a ſtoute & truſty captaine, that might ſet them at libertie, and redeeme thoſe out of captiuity, which were iudged to be bondmen & ſeruants, for lacke of paying of their debts at their dayes appoynted: & ſo to make againe a new diuiſion of all landes and enements, and wholy to chaūge and turne vp the whole ſtate and gouernment. Then the wiſeſt men of the citie, who ſaw *Solon* only neither partner with the rich in their oppreſſion, neither partaker with the poore in their neceſſitie: made ſute to him, that it would pleaſe him to take the matter in hand and to appeaſe and pacifie all theſe broyles and ſedition. Yet *Phanias* Leſbian writeth, that he vſed a ſubtiltie, whereby he deceiued both the one and the other ſide, concerning the cōmon weale. For he ſecretly promiſed the poore to deuide the lands againe: & the rich alſo, to confirme their couenants & bargaines. How ſoeuer it fell out, it is very certain that *Solon* frō the beginning made it a great matter, & was very ſcrupulous to deale betwene them: fearing the couetouſnes of the one, & arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in the end he was choſen gouernour after *Philōbrotus*, & was made reformer of the rigour of the lawes, & the tēperer of the ſtate & cōmō weale, by cōſent & agreemēt of both parties. The rich accepted him, becauſe he was no begger: the poore did alſo like him, becauſe he was an honeſt man. They ſay moreouer, that one word & ſentēce which he ſpake (which at that preſent was

Solon pacified the ſedition at Athens.

The miſerie of debt, & vſury.

Solons equitie & vprightnes.

Solon by ſubtiltie ſet order betwixt the poore & rich.

Solon choſen reformer of the lawe, and chiefe gouernour.

rise in euery mans mouth) that equalitie did breede no strife: did aswell please the rich and wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one sort conceiued of this word equalitie, that he would measure all things according to the qualitie of the man: and the other tooke it for their purpose, that he would measure all things by the number, and by the polle only. Thus the captaines of both factions perswaded and prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that soueraigne authoritie, sithence he had the whole citie now at his commaundement. The netters also of euery parte, when they saw it very hard to pacifie these things with law and reason, were well content that the wisest, and honestest man, should alone haue the royall power in his handes. Some say also that there was such an oracle of *Apollo*:

Sitt thou at helme, as gouernour to steere
to guide our course, and rule the rowling shippe,
for thou shalt see, full many Athenians there,
will take thy parte, and after thee will trippe.

Solon refuseth to be a tyrant. Tymondas, & Pittacus tyrants.

But his familiar friendes aboue all rebuked him, saying he was to be accompted no better then a beast, if for feare of the name of tyrant, he would refuse to take vpon him a Kingdome which is the most iust and honorable state, if one take it vpon him that is an honest man. As in olde time, *Tinnondas* made himselfe King of those of *Negrepont*, with their consent: and as *Pittacus* was then presently of those of Metelin. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they say that he answered his friendes, that principalitie and tirannie, was indeede a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, when he was once entered into it. And in certaine verses that he wrote to *Phocus*, thus he sayde:

Solons answer for tyranny.

I neither blush, nor yet repent my selfe,
that haue preserude, my natiue soyle alwaies,
and that therin (to hourde vp trash and pelfe)
no tyrants thought, could once eclypse my praise.
No might could moue, my mind to any wrong,
which might beblot, the glory of my name:
for so I thought, to liue in honour long,
and farre excell all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was chosen reformer of the state, to stablish new lawes: he was then of great countenance and authoritie. But he himselfe writeth, that many sayed of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of vsurping of this tyranne:

Sure Solon was a foole, and of a bashfull mind
that would refuse the great good happe, which godds to him assignde.
The praye was in his handes, yet darst hee neuer draw,
the net therefore: but stood abasht, and like a dastard dawe.
For had not that so bene, he would (for one dayes reigne,
to be a kinge in Athens towne) himselfe (all quicke) haue slaine.
And eke subuerted quite, his familie withall,
So sweete it is to rule the rost, yclad in princely pall.

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Now, notwithstanding he had refused the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remisse nor soft therefore in gouerning, neither would he bow for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their likeing, that had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischiefe was tollerable, he did not straight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither did he so change the state, as he might haue done, least if he should haue attempted to turne vpside down the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue bene neuer able to settle and stablish the same againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reason he would persuade his citizens vnto, or els by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he sayd, sowre with sweet, and force with iustice. And herewith agreeth his answer that he made afterwards vnto one that asked him, if he had made the best lawes he could for the Athenians? yea sure, sayth he, such as they were to receiue. And this that followeth also, they haue euer since obserued in the Athenian tong: to make certe things

Excellent temperature.

pleasaunt

pleasant, that be hatefull, finely conueying them vnder colour of pleasing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garrisons, gardes: prisons, houses. And all this came vp first by *Solons* inuētiō, who called cleering of debts, *Seisachtheian*: in English, discharge. For the first change & reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordeined that all manner of debts past should be cleere, and nobody should aske his debtor any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth lend money out to vsurie, vpon couenants for the body to be bound, if it were not repayed. Howbeit some write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were cōtēted that the interest onely for vsury should be moderated, without taking away the whole debt: & that *Solon* called this easie & gentle discharge, *Seisachtheian* with crying vp the value of mony. For he raysed the pound of siluer, being before but three score and thirteene Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: so they which were to pay great summes of money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse number of peeces then the debt could haue bene payed when it was borrowed. And so the detters gained much, & the creditours lost nothing. Neuertheles the greater part of them which haue written the same, say, that this crying vp of money, was a generall discharge of all debts, conditions, & couenantes vpon the same: whereto the very poemes themselues, which *Solon* wrote, do seeme to agree. For he glorieth, & breaketh forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bawks & markes that separated mens lands through the country of ATTICA: & that now he had set at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the cittizens of ATHENS, which for lack of payment of their debts had bene condēned for slaues to their creditours, he had brought many home againe out of strange cōtries, where they had bene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall tongue: & other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had now set them all at good libertie. But while he was in doing this, men say a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruellously. For hauing framed an Edict for clearing of al debts, and lacking only a litle to grace it with words, and to giue it some pretie preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaymed: he opened him selfe some what to certaine of his familiars whom he trusted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*) & told them how he would not medle with lands and possessions, but would onely cleere and cut off all maner of debts. These men before the proclamatiō came out, went presently to the mony men, & borrowed great summes of mony of them, & layed it out straight vpon land. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchased, but restored not the mony they had borrowed. This fowle part of theirs made *Solon* very ill spoken of, & wrōgfully blamed: as if he had not only suffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong & iniustice. Notwithstanding he cleared himselfe of this slaunderous report, losing fiue talents by his owne law. For it was well knowne that so much was due vnto him, & he was the first that following his owne proclamation, did clearly release his debtors of the same. Other say he was owing fifteene talents: and among the same, *Polyxēlus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they euer after called *Solons* friendes, *Greocopides*, cutters of debts. This law neither liked the one nor the other sort. For it greatly offended the rich, for cancelling their bonds: and it much more misliked the poore, because all landes and possessions they gaped for, were not made againe common, and euery body a like rich and wealthie, as *Lycurgus* had made the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuēth descended of the right line from *Hercules*, & had many yeres bene king of LACEDÆMON, where he had gotten great authoritie, and made himself many friends: all which things together, did greatly help him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet also, he vsed more persuasion then force, a good witnes thereof the losse of his eye: preferring a law before his priuate iniurie, which hath power to preserue a citie long in vnion and concorde, and to make cittizens to be neither poore nor rich. *Solon* could not attaine to this, for he was borne in a popular state, & a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one seeking to win no credit with his cittizēs, but onely by his counsaile. Now, that he got the ill will of the greater part of the cittie, by his proclamation which he made: he himselfe doth witnesse it saying:

Euen those which earst, did beare me frendly face,
and spake full fayer, where euer I them met:

Things hateful made pleasant with sweete wordes.

Cleering of debts, Solons first law.

Vsurie forbidden vpon gage of the bodie.

The value of money cryed vp by Solon.

Lawes would be kept secret till they be published.

Ill consciences by craft preuent lawe.

A good lawmaker, beginneth to do iniustice in himself.

gan new beginne, to looke full grim of grace,
and were (like foes) in force against me set.
As if I had done them, some spite or scorne,
or open wrong, which were not to be borne,

Neuertheles he sayeth immediatly after, that with the same authoritie and power he had, a man possibly

Could not controll, the peoples mindes:
nor still their braynes, which wrought like windes.

But shortly after, hauing a feeling of the benefite of his ordinance, and euery one forgetting his priuate quarrell: they altogether made a common sacrifice, which they called the sacrifice of *Seisachthia*, or discharge, and chose *Solon* generall reformer of the law, and of the whole state of the cõmon weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common assemblies, voyces in election, iudgments in iustice, and the bodie of the Senate. And they gaue him also full power and authoritie, to sesse and taxe any of thẽ, to appoint the number, what time the sesse should continue, and to keepe, confirme, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the auncient lawes and customes then in being. To begin withall, he first tooke away all *Dracons* blouddie lawes, sauing for murther, and manslaughter, which were too seuere & cruel. For almost he did ordaine but one kind of punishment, for all kind of faultes and offences which was death. So that they which were condemned for idlenes, were iudged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens hortyards, & gardens of frute, or herbes, was as seuerely punished: as those who had committed sacriledge or murder. *Demades* therefore encountered it pleasantly, when he sayed: that *Dracons* lawes were not written with inck, but with bloud. And *Draco* himselfe being asked one day, why his punishmẽts were so vnequall, as death for all kind of faultes: he answered. Because he thought the least offence worthie so much punishment: and for the greatest: he found none more grieuous. Then *Solon* being desirous to haue the chiefe offices of the citie to remaine in rich mens handes, as already they did, and yet to mingle the authoritie of gouernment in such sort, as the meaner people might beare a litle sway, which they neuer could before: he made an estimate of the goodes of euery priuate cittizen. And those which he found yerely worth fiue hundreth bushells of corne, and other liquide frutes and vpwardes, he called *Pentacosiomedimnes*. as to say, fiue hundreth bushell men of reuenue. And those that had three hundred bushells a yere, and were able to keepe a horse of seruice, he put in the second degree, and called them knightes. They that might dispend but two hundreth bushells a yere, were put in the third place, & called *Zeugites*. All other vnder those, were called *Thetes*, as ye would say, hierlings, or craftes men liuing of their labour: whome he did not admit to beare any office in the citie, neither were they taken as free citizens, sauing they had voyces in elections, and assemblies of the citie, and in iudgments, where the people wholy iudged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpose, for hereby the most part of priuate quarrelles and strifes that grew among them, were in the end layed open before the people. For he suffered those to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong iudgment in their cause. Furthermore because his lawes were written somewhat obscurely, and might be diuersely taken and interpreted: this did giue a great deale more authoritie and power to the iudges. For, considering all their controuersies could not be ended, and iudged by expresse lawe: they were driuen of necessitie alwaies to runne to the iudges, and debated their maters before them. In so much as the iudges by this meanes came to be somewhat aboue the lawe: for they did euen expound it as they would themselues. *Solon* selfe doth note this equall diuision of the publicke authoritie, in a place of his poesies, where he sayeth.

Such power haue I giuen, to common peoples hand,
as might become their meane estate, with equitie to stande:
and as I haue not pluckt, from them their dignitie,
so haue I not too much increast, their small authoritie.
Vnto the rich likewise, I haue allowed no more,
then well might seeme (in iust conceit) sufficient for their store.

Solons absolute authoritie in the common weale.

Solon tooke away all Dracons lawes.

Solon rateth euerie cittizen at a certen summe.
Pentacosiomedimni.
Zeugite.
Thetes.

The darknes of the law increased, the authoritie of the iudge.

And

And ſo I haue for both prouided in ſuch wiſe,
that neither ſhall each other wrong, nor ſeeme for to deſpiſe.

Yet conſidering it was meete to prouide for the pouertie of the common ſorte of people: he ſuffered any man that would, to take vpon him the defence, of any poore mans caſe that had the wrong. For if a man were hurt, beaten, forced, or otherwiſe wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully ſue the offendour, and proſecute lawe againſt him. And this was a wiſe lawe ordeined of him, to accuſtome his citizens to be ſorie one for anothers hurt, and ſo to feele it, as if any part of his owne body had bene iniured. And they ſay he made an anſwer on a time agreeable to this law. For, being asked what citie he thought beſt gouerned: he anſwered. That citie where ſuch as receiue no wrong, do as earneſtly defend wrong offered to other, as the very wrong and iniury had bene done vnto themſelues He erected alſo the counſell of the *Areopagites*, of thoſe magiſtrates of the citie, out of which they did yeerely chooſe their gouernour: and he himſelfe had bin of that number, for that he had bin gouernour for a yeare. Wherfore perceiuing now the people were growne to a ſtomack, and haughtineſſe of minde becauſe they were cleare diſcharged of their debts: he ſet one vp for matters of ſtate, another counſell of an hundred choſen out of euery tribe, whereof foure hundred of them were to conſult and debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great counſell of the people at large ſhould be aſſembled, no matters ſhould be put forth, vnles it had bin before well conſidered of, & digeſted, by the counſell of the foure hundred. Moreouer, he ordeined the higher court ſhould haue the chiefe authoritie and power ouer all things, and chiefly to ſee the lawe executed and maintained: ſuppoſing that the common weale being ſetled, and ſtayed with theſe two courts (as with two ſtrong anker holdes) it ſhould be the leſſe turmoiled and troubled, and the people alſo better pacified and quieted. The moſt part of writers hold this opinion, that it was *Solon* which erected the counſaile of the *Areopagites*, as we haue ſaid, and it is very likely to be true, for that *Dracon* in all his lawes and ordinances made no manner of mention of the *Areopagites*, but alwayes ſpeaketh to the *Ephetes* (which were iudges of life and death) when he ſpake of murther, or of any mans death. Notwithſtanding, the eight law of the thirteenth table of *Solon* ſaith thus, in theſe very words. All ſuch as haue bene baniſhed or detected of naughty life, before *Solon* made his lawes, ſhalbe reſtored againe to their goods and good name, except thoſe which were condemned by order of the counſaile of the *Areopagites*, or by the *Ephetes*, or by the Kings in open courte, for murther, and death of any man, or for aſpiring to vſurpe tyrannie. Theſe words to the contrarie ſeeme to proue and teſtifie, that the counſell of the *Areopagites* was, before *Solon* was choſen reformer of the lawes. For how could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counſell of the *Areopagites* before *Solon*, if *Solon* was the firſt that gaue it authoritie to iudge? vnleſſe a man will ſay peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obſcure and darke, and would ſupply that they lacked, with expounding of the ſame by them. Thoſe which ſhall be found attainted and conuicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the counſell of the *Areopagites*, the *Ephetes*, or the gouernours of the citie when this law ſhall come forth: ſhall ſtand condemned ſtill, and all other ſhall be pardoned, reſtored, and ſet at libertie. Howſoeuer it is, ſure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore amongſt the reſt of his lawes, one of them indeed was of his owne deuiſe: for the like was neuer ſtabliſhed elſe where. And it is that lawe, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnhoneſt, who in a ciuill vprore among the citizens, ſitteth ſtill a looker on, and a neuter, and taketh part with neither ſide. Whereby his minde was as it ſhould appeare, that priuate men ſhould not be only carefull to put themſelues and their cauſes in ſafetie, nor yet ſhould be careleſſe for other mens matters, or thinke it a vertue not to medle with the miſeries and miſfortunes of their countrie, but from the beginning of euery ſedition that they ſhould ioyne with thoſe that take the iuſteſt cauſe in hand, and rather to hazard themſelues with ſuch, then to tarie looking (without putting themſelues in daunger) which of the two ſhould haue the victorie. There is another lawe alſo, which at the firſt ſight me thinketh is very vnhoneſt and fond. That if any man according to the lawe hath matched with a riche heire and inheritour, and of himſelfe is impotent, and vnable to do the office of a husband, ſhe may law-

The counſell of the Areopagites.

3 Counſils erected in Athens.

Other lawes of Solon.

A law againſt neuters.

An acte for matching with inheritours.

fully lie with any whom ſhe liketh, of her husbands neareſt kinſemen. Howbeit ſome affirme, that it is a wiſe made lawe for thoſe, which knowing themſelues vnmeete to entertaine wedlocke, will for couetouſneſſe of lands, mary with riche heires and poſſeſsioners, and minde to abuſe poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of lawe: and will thinke to force and reſtraine nature. For, ſeeing the lawe ſuffereth an inheritour or poſſeſſioner thus ill beſtowed, at her pleaſure to be bolde with any of her husbands kinne: men will either leaue to purchaſe ſuch mariages, or if they be ſo careleſſe that they will needs mary, it ſhalbe to their extreame ſhame and ignominie, and ſo ſhall they deſeruedly pay for their greedie couetouſneſſe. And the lawe is well made alſo, becauſe the wife hath not ſcope to all her husbands kinſemen, but vnto one choice man whome ſhe liketh beſt of his houſe: to the ende that the children that ſhall be borne, ſhalbe at the leaſt of her husbands bloud and kindred. This alſo confirmeth the ſame, that ſuch a new maried wife ſhould be ſhut vp with her husband, and eate a quince with him: and that he alſo which marieth ſuch an inheritour, ſhould of duetie ſee her thriſe a moneth at the leaſt. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honeſt woman, that he loueth her, and that he eſteemeth of her. Beſides, it taketh away many miſlikings and diſpleaſures which oftentimes happen in ſuch caſes, and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it dye not vtterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke away all ioynters and dowries in other mariages, and willed that the wiues ſhould bring their husbands but three gownes onely, with ſome other litle moueables of ſmall value, and without any other thing as it were: vtterly forbidding that they ſhould buie their husbands, or that they ſhould make marchandiſe of mariages, as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman ſhould marrie together for vſhe, for pleaſure, and for loue, but in no caſe for money. And for proofe hereof, *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SICILE, one day anſwered his mother (which would needes be maried to a young man of SYRACVSA) in this ſort. I haue power (ſaieth he) to breake the lawes of SYRACVSA, by hauing the Kingdome: but to force the lawe of nature, or to make mariage without the reaſonable compaſſe of age, that paſſeth my reache and power. So is it not tollerable, and much leſſe allowable alſo, that ſuch diſorder ſhould be in well ordered cities, that ſuch vncomely and vnfit mariages ſhould be made, betweene couples of ſo vnequall yeares: conſidering there is no meete nor neceſſarie ende of ſuch matches. A wiſe gouernour of a citie, or a iudge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well ſaye to an olde man that ſhould marie with a young maide, as the Poet ſaieth of *Philoctetes*:

Solon forbiddeth iointers and dowries.

Dionyſius ſaying of mariages.

Ah ſillie wretche, how trim a man art thou,
at theſe young yeares, for to be maried now?

And finding a young man in an olde riche womans houſe, getting his liuing by riding of her errants, and waxing fat as they ſay the Partridge dooth by treading of the hennes: he may take him from thence, to beſtowe him on ſome young maide that ſhall haue neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another lawe of *Solons*, which forbiddeth to ſpeake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touche the dead, no more than to touche holy things: and men ſhould take great heed to offend thoſe that are departed out of this world, beſides it is a token of wiſedome and ciuilitie, to beware of immortall enemies. He commanded alſo in the ſelfe ſame lawe, that no man ſhould ſpeake ill of the liuing, ſpecially in Churches, during diuine ſeruice, or in counſell chamber of the citie, nor in the Theaters whileſt games were a playing: vpon paine of three ſiluer *Drachmes to be paied to him that was iniured, and two to the common treaſurie. For he thought it too much ſhamleſſe boldneſſe, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreouer, that ſuch lacked ciuilitie and good manners: and yet altogether to ſuppreſſe and ſmother it, he knew it was not onely a harde matter, but to ſome natures vnpoſſible. And he that maketh lawes, muſt haue regarde to the common poſsibilitie of men, if he will puniſh litle, with profitable example, and not much without ſome profit. So was he maruelouſlie well thought of, for the lawe that he made touching wils and teſtaments. For before, men might not lawfully make their heyres whom they would, but the goods came to the children or kindred of the teſtatour. But he leauing it at libertie, to diſpoſe their goods where they

A law forbidding to ſpeake euill of the dead.

**Drachme.*

A lawe for willes and teſtaments.

they thought good, ſo they had no children of their owne: did therein preferre friendſhip before kindred, and good will and fauour before neceſſitie and conſtrainte, and ſo made euery one lorde and maiſter of his owne goods. Yet he did not ſimply and a like allowe all ſorts of giftes, howſoeuer they were made: but thoſe onely which were made by men of ſound memorie, or by thoſe whoſe wittes failed them not by extreame ſickneſſe, or through drinkes, medicines, poyſonings, charmes, or other ſuch violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither yet through the intiſements and perſwaſions of women. As thinking very wiſely, there was no difference at all betweene thoſe that were euidently forced by conſtraint, and thoſe that were compaſſed and wrought by ſubornation at length to do a thing againſt their will, taking fraude in this caſe equall with violence, and pleaſure with ſorrow, as paſſions with madneſſe, which commonly haue as much force the one as the other, to drawe and driue men from reaſon. He made another lawe alſo, in which he appointed women their times to go abroade into the fields, their mourning, their feaſts and ſacrifices, plucking from them all diſorder and wilfull libertie, which they vſed before. For he did forbid that they ſhould carie out of the citie with them aboue three gownes, and to take victuals with them aboue the value of an halfe pennie, neither basket nor pannier aboue a cubite high: and ſpecially he did forbid them to go in the night, other then in their coche, and that a torche ſhould be caried before them. He did forbid them alſo at the buriall of the dead, to teare and ſpoile themſelues with blowes, to make lamentations in verſes, to weepe at the funerals of a ſtranger not being their kinſeman, to ſacrifice an oxe on the graue of the dead, to burie aboue three gownes with the corſe, to go to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corſe: all which or the moſt part of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this day. Moreouer, thoſe lawes appoint a penaltie vpon ſuch women as offend in the ſame, to be diſtrained for, by certaine officers expreſſely named, to controll and reforme the abuſes of women, as womaniſh perſons and fainte harted, which ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome with ſuch paſſions and fondneſſe in their mourning. And perceiuing that the citie of ATHENS began to repleniſh dayly more and more, by mens repairing thither from all parts, and by reaſon of the great aſſured ſafetie, and libertie that they found there: and alſo conſidering howe the greateſt parte of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffequing the ſeas, are not wonte to bring any marchandiſe to thoſe, which can giue them nothing againe in exchange: he began to practiſe that his citizens ſhould giue themſelues vnto crafts and occupations, and made a lawe, that the ſonne ſhould not be bound to relieue his father being olde, vnleſſe he had ſet him in his youth to ſome occupation. It was a wiſe part of *Lycurgus* (who dwelt in a citie where was no reſorte of ſtrangers, and had ſo great a territorie, as could haue furniſhed twiſe as many people, as *Euripides* ſaith, and moreouer on all ſides was enuironed with a great number of ſlaues of the ILOTES, whom it was needfull to keepe ſtill in labour and worke continually) to haue his citizens alwaies occupied in exerciſes of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other ſcience, but diſcharged them of all other miſerable occupations and handy crafts. But *Solon* framing his lawes vnto things and not things vnto lawes, when he ſaw the countrie of ATTICA ſo leane and barren, that it could hardly bring forth to ſuſtaine thoſe that tilled the ground onely, and therefore much more impoſſible to keepe ſo great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requiſite to ſet vp occupations, and to giue them countenance and eſtimation. Therefore he ordeined, that the counſell of the *Areopagites*, ſhould haue full power and authoritie to enquire how euery man liued in the citie, and alſo to puniſh ſuch as they found idle people, and did not labour. But this was thought too ſeuere and ſtraight a lawe, which he ordained (as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth) that the children borne of common harlots and ſtrumpets ſhould not be bound to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainely ſheweth that he tooke not a wife to haue children, but onely to ſatiſfie his luſt and pleaſure: and ſo ſuch an one hath his luſt reward, and is diſappointed of the reuerence that a father ought to haue of his children, ſince through his owne faulte the birth of his childe falleth out to his reproche. Yet to ſay truly, in *Solons* lawes touching women, there are many abſurdities, as they fall out ill fauoredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an

A lawe for womens going abroade.

Craftes and occupations aduaunced.

The authoritie of the court & counſell of the Areopagites.

*Drachma.

adulterer taking him with the fact. But he that rauiſheth or forciblie taketh away a free woman, is onely condemned to pay a hundred ſiluer *drachmes. And he that was the *Pandor* to procure her, ſhould only pay twentie drachmes. Vnleſſe ſhe had bene a common ſtrumpet or curtiſan: for ſuch do iuſtifie open acceſſe, to all that will hire them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any perſon to ſell his daughters or ſiſters, vnleſſe the father or brother had taken them, abuſing themſelues before mariage. Me thinketh it is farre from purpoſe and reaſon with ſeueritie to puniſh a thing in one place, and ouer lightly to paſſe it ouer in another: or to ſet ſome light fine on ones head for a great fault, and after to diſcharge him, as it were but a matter of ſporte. Vnleſſe they will excuſe it thus, that money being very hard and ſcante at that time in ATHENS, thoſe fines were then very great and grieuous to pay. For in ſetting out the charges of offerings which ſhould be made in ſacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a conuenient offering, and he ſetteth a buſſhell of corne at a ſiluer drachme. More he ordained, that they which wunne any of the games at ATHENS, ſhould pay to the common treaſurie an hundred drachmes. And thoſe that wunne any of the games *Olympicall*, fiue hundred drachmes. Alſo he appointed that he which brought a he woolfe, ſhould haue fiue drachmes, & him one drachme for reward of a ſhe woolfe. Wherof as *Demetrius Phalerian* writeth: the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordained in the ſixteenth table of his lawes meete for burnt ſacrifices, it is likely he did rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarily they were worth: and yet notwithſtanding, the price which he ſetteth, is very litle in compariſon of that which they are worth at this day. Now it was a cuſtome euer amongſt the ATHENIANS to kill their woolues, becauſe all their countrie laye for paſture, and not for tillage. Some there be that ſay, the tribes of the people of ATHENS haue not bene called after the names of the children of *Ion*, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their diuers trades and manners of liuing, which they tooke themſelues vnto from the beginning. For, ſuch as gaue themſelues vnto the warres, were called *Oplites*: as who would ſay, men of armes. Thoſe that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to ſay, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, & followed the plough, were called *Teleontes*: as you would ſay, labouring men. And thoſe that kept beaſts and cattell, were called *Ægicores*: as much to ſay, as heard men. Now, foraſmuch as the whole prouince of ATTICA was very drye, and had great lack of water, being not full of riuers, running ſtreames, nor lakes, nor yet ſtored with any great number of ſprings, in ſo much as they are driuen there to vſe (through the moſt part of the countrie) water drawne out of welles made with mens hands: he made ſuch an order, that where there was any Well within the ſpace of an Hippicon, that euery body within that circuite, might come and draw water only at that Well, for his vſe and neceſſitie. Hippicon is the diſtaunce of foure furlongs, which is halfe a mile: and thoſe that dwelt further off, ſhould go ſeeke their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged ten yardes deepe in their ground, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this caſe, they might lawfully go to their next neighbours well, and take a pot full of water containing ſixe gallons, twiſe a day: iudging it great reaſon that neceſſitie ſhould be holpen, but not that idleneſſe ſhould be cheriſhed. He appointed alſo the ſpaces that ſhould be kept and obſerued by thoſe, that would ſet or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very skilfull in theſe matters. For he ordained, that whoſoeuer would plante any kinde of trees in his ground, he ſhould ſet them fiue foote a funder one from another: but for the figge tree and olyue tree ſpecially, that they ſhould in any caſe be nine foote a ſunder, becauſe theſe two trees do ſpread out their branches farre off, and they cannot ſtand neere other trees, but they muſt needs hurt them very much. For beſides that they drawe away the ſame that doth nouriſh the other trees, they caſt alſo a certaine moiſture and ſteame vpon them, that is very hurtfull and incommodious. More he ordained, that whoſoeuer would digge a pit or hole in his ground, he ſhould digge it as farre off from his neighbours pit, as the pit he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would ſet vp a hiue of bees in his ground, he ſhould ſet them at the leaſt three hundred foote from other hiues ſet about him before. And of the frutes of the earth, he was contented they ſhould tranſporte and ſell onely oyle out of the Realme to ſtrangers, but no other frute or graine. He ordained that the gouernour

The tribes of the Athenians how they were called.

An acte for welles.

An acte for planting and ſetting of trees.

uernour of the citie ſhould yearely proclaime open curſes againſt thoſe that ſhould doe to the contrarie, or elſe he himſelfe making default therein, ſhould be fined at a hundred drachmes. *Drachma.* This ordinance is in the firſt table of *Solons* lawes, and therefore wee may not altogether diſcredite thoſe which ſay, they did forbid in the olde time that men ſhould carie figges out of the countrie of ATTICA, and that from thence it came that theſe picke thankes, which bewray and accuſe them that tranſported figges, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another law alſo againſt the hurt that beaſtes might doe vnto men. Wherein he ordeined, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him ſhould deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tyed to a logge of timber of foure cubites long: and this was a very good deuiſe, to make men ſafe from dogges. But he was very ſtraight in one lawe he made, that no ſtranger might be made denizen and free man of the citie of ATHENS, vnleſſe he were a baniſhed man for euer out of his countrie, or elſe that he ſhould come and dwell there with all his family, to exerciſe ſome craft or ſcience. Notwithſtanding, they ſay he made not this lawe ſo much to put ſtraungers from their freedome there, as to drawe them thither, aſſuring them by this ordinance, they might come and be free of the citie: and he thought moreouer, that both the one & the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of ATHENS. The one of them, for that againſt their wils they were driuen to forſake their countrie: and the other ſort, for that aduiſedly and willingly they were contented to forſake it. This alſo was another of *Solons* lawes, which he ordeined for thoſe that ſhould feaſt certaine dayes at the towne houſe of the citie, at other mens coſt. For he would not allow, that one man ſhould come often to feaſts there. And if any man were inuited thither to the feaſt, and did refuſe to come: he did ſet a fine on his head, as reproouing the miſerable niggardlineſſe of the one, and the preſumptuous arrogancie of the other, to contemne & deſpiſe common order. *Feaſtes for townes men in the towne hall of Athens.* After he had made his lawes, he did ſtabliſh them to continue for the ſpace of one hundred yeares, and they were written in tables of wood called *Axones*, which were made more long then broad, in the which they were grauen: whereof there remaine ſome monuments yet in our time, which are to be ſeene in the towne hall of the citie of ATHENS. *Ariſtotle* ſayth, that theſe tables were called *Cyrbes*. And *Cratinus* alſo the Comicall poet ſayth in one place, of *Solon* and *Dracon*: that *Cyrbes* was a veſſell or pan wherin they did frie millet or hirſe. Howbeit others ſay, that *Cyrbes* properly were the tables, which conteined the ordinances of the ſacrifices: and *Axones* were the other tables, that concerned the common weale. So, all the counſels & magiſtrates together did ſweare, that they would keepe *Solons* lawes themſelues, and alſo cauſe them to be obſerued of others throughly & particularly. *Axones.* *Cyrbes.* Then euery one of the *Theſmothetes* (which were certaine officers attendant on the counſell, and had ſpeciall charge to ſee the lawes obſerued) did ſolemnly ſweare in the open market place, neere the ſtone where the proclamations are proclaimed: and euery of them both promiſed, and vowed openly to keepe the ſame lawes, and that if any of them did in any one point breake the ſaid ordinances, then they were content that ſuch offender ſhould pay to the tẽple of *Apollo*, at the citie of DELPHES, an image of fine golde, that ſhould waigh as much as himſelf. *Theſmothetes.* Moreouer, *Solon* ſeeing the diſorder of the moneths, and the mouing of the moone, which followed not the courſe of the ſunne, and vſed not to riſe & fal when the ſunne doth, but oft times in one day, it doth both touch and paſſe the ſunne: he was the firſt that called the chaunge of the moone, Ene caì néa, as much to ſay, as olde and new moone. Allowing that which appeared before the coniunction, to be of the moneth paſt: and that which ſhewed it ſelfe after the coniunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the firſt alſo (in my opinion) that vnderſtoode *Homer* rightly, when he ſayd: then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the chaunge, he called *Neomenia*, as much to ſay, as the new moneth, or the newe moone. After the twenty day of the moneth which they called *Icada*, he reckoned not the reſt of the moneth, as increaſing, but as in the wane: & gathered it by ſeeing the light of the moone decreaſing vntill the thirtie day. Now after his lawes were come abroad, and proclaimed, there came ſome daily vnto him, which either praiſed them, or miſliked them: & praied him either to take away, or to adde ſome thing vnto them. Many againe came and asked him, how he vnderſtoode ſome ſentence of his lawes: and requeſted him to declare his meaning, and how it ſhould be taken. Wherfore conſidering how it were to no purpoſe to refuſe to do it, & againe

how it would get him much enuie and ill will to yeelde thereunto: hee determined (happen what would) to wind himselfe out of these bryers, and to flie the gronings, complaints, and quarrels of his citizens. For he sayth himselfe:

Full hard it is, all mindes content to haue,
and specially in matters hard and graue.

So, to conuey himselfe a while out of the way, he tooke vpon him to be master of a shippe in a certaine voyage, and asked licence for ten yeares of the ATHENIANS to goe beyonde sea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his lawes. So went he to the seas, & the first place of his arriuall was in EGYPT, where he remained a while, as he himselfe sayth.

Solons trauell.

Euen there where Nylus, with his crooked crancks
by Canobe, falles into the sea bancks.

He went to his booke there, and did conferre a certaine time with *Psenophis Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis Saitan*, two of the wisest priestes at that time that were in EGYPT: whom when he heard rehearse the storie of the Iles ATLANTIDES as *Plato* writeth, he proued to put the same into verse, and did send it abroad through GREECE. At his departure out of EGYPT he went into CYPRVS, where he had great courtesie and friendship of one of the princes of that countrie, called *Philocyprus*, who was lord of a pretie litle citie which *Demophon* (*Theseus* son) caused to be built vpon the riuer of Clarie, and was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane and barren countrie. Whereupon *Solon* told him, it would do better a great deale to remoue it out of that place, into a very fayre and pleasant valley that lay vnderneath it, and there to make it larger and statelier then it was: which was done according to his perswasion. And *Solons* selfe being present at it, was made ouerseer of the buildings, which he did helpe to deuise and order in good sort, aswell in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lordes of the countrie did follow the example of this *Philocyprus*, who to honour *Solon*, called his citie SOLES, which before was called ÆPIA. *Solon* in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words vnto *Philocyprus*, as followeth.

Clarius fl.

ÆPia called Soles.

So graunt the goddes, that thou, and thine offspring
may clyme to great and passing princely state:
long time to liue, in Soles flourishing.
And that they graunt, my shippe and me good gate
when I from hence, by seas shall take my way:
that with her harpe, dame Venus doe vouchsafe
to waft me still, vntill she may conuey
my selfe againe, into my countrie safe.
Since I haue bene, the onely meane and man,
which here to build, this citie first began.

And as for the meeting and talke betwixt him & king *Cræsus*, I know there are that by distance of time will proue it but a fable, and deuised of pleasure: but for my part I wil not reiect, nor condemne so famous an historie, receiued & approued by so many graue testimonies. Moreouer it is very agreeable to *Solons* maners & nature, and also not vnlike to his wisdom & magnanimity: although in all points it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they haue busily noted the order and course of times which euen to this day, many haue curiously sought to correct, and could yet neuer discusse it, nor accord all contrarieties & manifest repugnances in the same. *Solon* at the desire and request of *Cræsus*, went to see him in the citie of SARDIS. When *Solon* was come thither, he seemed to be in the selfe same taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne and bred vp on the maine land, and had neuer seene the sea neither farre nor neere, did imagine euery riuer that he sawe had bene the sea. So *Solon* passing alongst *Cræsus* palace, and meeting by the way many of the lordes of his Court richly apparelled, and carying great traines of seruing men, and souldiers about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill hee was brought vnto *Cræsus* selfe. Who was passing richly arrayed, what for precious stones and iewels, and for rich colloured

Solon saw king Cræsus in the citie of Sardis.

silkes,

silkes, layd on with curious goldsmithes worke,& all to shew himselfe to *Solon* in most stately, sumptuous, and magnificent manner. Who perceiuing by *Solons* repayre to his presence, that he shewed no manner of signe,nor countenance of wondring, to see so great a state before him, neither had giuen out any worde neere or likely to that which *Cræsus* looked for in his owne imagination,but rather had deliuered speeches for men of iudgement & vnderstanding to know, how inwardly he much did mislike *Cræsus* foolish vanitie & base mind: then *Cræsus* commanded all his treasuries to be opened where his gold and siluer lay,next that they should shewe him his rich and sumptuous wardroppes, although that needed not: for to see *Cræsus* selfe,it was enough to discerne his nature and condition. After he had seene all ouer and ouer, being brought againe vnto the presence of the King:*Cræsus* asked him,if euer he had seene any man more happy than himselfe was? *Solon* answered him,I haue: and that was one *Tellus* a citizen of ATHENS, who was a maruellous honest man,and had left his children behind him in good estimation,and wel to liue,& lastly,was most happy at his death,by dying honorably in the field,in defence of his countrie. *Cræsus* hearing this answere, began to iudge him a man of litle wit,or of grosse vnderstanding, because he did not thinke that to haue store of gold & siluer,was the only ioy & felicitie of the world, and that he would preferre the life & death of a meane & priuate man as more happie,than all the riches & power of so mightie a King. Notwithstanding all this,*Cræsus* yet asked him againe: What other man beside *Tellus* he had seene happier than himselfe? *Solon* answered him,that he had seene *Cleobis* & *Biton*,which were both brethren, and loued one another singularly well, and their mother in such sort: that vpon a solemne festiual day,when she should go to the temple of *Iuno* in her couch drawen with oxen: because they taried too long ere they could be brought, they both willingly yoaked themselues by the neckes,& drue their mothers couch in stead of the oxen,which maruellously reioyced her,and she was thought most happy of all other,to haue borne two such sonnes. Afterwards when they had done sacrifice to the goddesse, & made good cheere at the feast of this sacrifice, they went to bed: but they rose not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurt or sorow,after they had receiued so much glorie and honour. *Cræsus* then could no longer bridle in his patience, but breaking out in choller,said vnto him: why, doest thou recken me than in no degree of happie men? *Solon* would neither flatter him,nor further increase his heate, but aunswered him thus: O King of LYDIANS, the goddes haue giuen vs GRECIANS all things in a meane, and amongst other things chiefly, a base and popular wisedome, not princely nor noble: which, considering how mans life is subiect to infinite chaunges,doth forbid vs to trust or glorie in these worldly riches. For time bringeth daily misfortunes vnto man,which he neuer thought of,nor looked for.But when the goddes haue continued a mans good fortune to his end,then we thinke that man happy & blessed,and neuer before. Otherwise, if we should iudge a man happie that liueth, considering he is euer in danger of chaunge during life: we should be much like to him, who iudgeth him the victory before hand,that is still a fighting,and may be ouercome,hauing no suertie yet to carie it away. After *Solon* had spoken these wordes, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned backe againe, leauing King *Cræsus* offended, but nothing the wiser, nor amended. Now *AEsope* that wrote the fables,being at that time in the citie of SARDIS,& sent for thither by the King,who entertained him very honorably: was very sory to see that the King had giuen *Solon* no better entertainment: so by way of aduise he said vnto him. O *Solon*, either wee must not come to princes at all, or else we must seeke to please and content them.But *Solon* turning it to the contrarie, aunswered him: either we must not come to princes, or els wee must needes tell them truely, and counsell them for the best. So *Cræsus* made light account of *Solon* at that time. But after he had lost the battell against *Cyrus*, and that his citie was taken, him selfe became prisoner, and was bound fast to a gibbet, ouer a great stake of wood, to be burnt in the sight of all the PERSIANS, and of *Cyrus* his enemie: he then cryed out as lowde as he could, thrise together. O *Solon*. *Cyrus* being abashed, sent to aske him, whether this *Solon* he onely cryed vpon in his extreme miserie, was a god or man. *Cræsus* kept it not secret from him, but said: he was one of the wise men of GRECE, whom I sent for to come vnto me on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I stood in neede of, but only that he might witnes my felicitie,

Cræsus question to Solon touching happinesse.

Solon esteemed Tellus a happie man.

Cleobis and Biton,happy men.

Solon commendeth the meane

No man happy before his end.

AEsops saying to Solon.

Solons answere to AEsope.

King Cræsus wordes of Solon hanging vpon a gibbet to be burnt.

Riches are but wordes and opinion.

which then I did enioy: the loſſe whereof is now more hurtfull, than the enioying of the ſame was good or profitable. But now (alas) too late I knowe it, that the riches I poſſeſſed then, were but words and opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter ſorrow, and to preſent & remedileſſe calamitie. Which the wiſe GRECIAN conſidering then, and foreſeeing a farre off by my doings at that time, the inſtant miſerie I ſuffer now: gaue me warning I ſhould marke the end of my life, and that I ſhould not too farre preſume of my ſelfe, as puffed vp then with vaine glorie of opinion of happines, the ground thereof being ſo ſlipperie, and of ſo litle ſuertie. Theſe words being reported vnto *Cyrus*, who was wiſer than *Cræſus*, & ſeeing *Solons* ſaying confirmed by ſo notable an example: he did not only deliuer *Cræſus* from preſent perill of death, but euer after honoured him ſo long as he liued. Thus had *Solon* glorie, for ſauing the honor of one of theſe Kings: and the life of the other, by his graue & wiſe counſell. But during the time of his abſence, great ſeditions roſe at ATHENS amongeſt the inhabitantes, who had gotten them ſeuerall heads amongſt them: as thoſe of the vallie had made *Lycurgus* their head. The coaſt men, *Megacles*, the ſonne of *Alcmæon*. And thoſe of the mountaines, *Piſiſtratus*: with whom all artificers & crafts men liuing of their handie labour were ioyned, which were the ſtowteſt againſt the rich. So that notwithſtanding the citie kept *Solons* lawes & ordinances, yet was there not that man but gaped for a chaunge, and deſired to ſee things in another ſtate: either parties hoping their condition would mend by chaunge, and that euery of them ſhould be better than their aduerſaries. The whole common weale broyling thus with troubles, *Solon* arriued at ATHENS, where euery man did honour and reuerence him, howbeit hee was no more able to ſpeake alowde in open aſſembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, becauſe his age would not ſuffer him: & therefore he ſpake with euery one of the heads of the ſeuerall factions a part, trying if he could agree & reconcile them together againe. Whereunto *Piſiſtratus* ſeemed to be more willing then any of the reſt, for he was courteous, and maruellous fayre ſpoken, and ſhewed him ſelfe beſides, very good & pitifull to the poore, and temperate alſo to his enemies: further, if any good qualitie were lacking in him, he did ſo finely counterfeate it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in thoſe that naturally had it in them in deede. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aſpiring no higher, and hating thoſe which would attempt to chaunge the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and would practiſe any innouation. By this art and fine manner of his, hee deceiued the poore common people. Howbeit *Solon* found him ſtraight, and ſaw the marke he ſhot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and ſought ſtill to winne him, and bring him to reaſon, ſaying oft times, both to him ſelfe, and to others. That who ſo could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which hee aſpired to be the chiefeſt, and could heale him of his greedie deſire to rule: there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better citizen than hee would proue. About this time began *Theſpis* to ſet out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the people for the rareneſſe thereof, being not many Poets yet in number, to ſtriue one againſt another for victorie, as afterwards there were. *Solon* being naturally deſirous to heare and learne, and by reaſon of his age ſeeking to paſſe his time away in ſportes, in muſicke, and making good cheere more then euer he did: went one day to ſee *Theſpis*, who playd a part himſelfe, as the old faſhion of the Poets was, and after the play was ended, he called him to him, & asked him: if he were not aſhamed to lye ſo openly in the face of the world. *Theſpis* anſwered him, that it was not materiall to doe or ſay any ſuch things, conſidering all was but in ſport. Then *Solon* beating the ground with his ſtaffe he had in his hand: but if we cõmend lying in ſport (quoth he) we ſhall finde it afterwards in good earneſt, in all our bargaines and dealings. Shortly after *Piſiſtratus* hauing wounded himſelfe, and bloudied all his bodie ouer, cauſed his men to carie him in his couch into the market place, where he put the people in an vproare, and told them that they were his enemies that thus traiterouſly had handled and arraied him, for that he ſtood with them about the gouerning of the common weale: inſomuch as many of them were maruellouſly offended, and mutined by & by, crying out it was ſhamefully done. Then *Solon* drawing neere ſaid vnto him, O thou ſonne of *Hippocrates*, thou doeſt ill fauouredly counterfeate the perſon of *Homers Vlyſſes*: for thou haſt whipped thy ſelfe to deceiue thy citizens, as he did teare & ſcratch him ſelf, to deceiue his enemies. Nothwithſtanding this,

Sedition at Athens in Solons abſence.

Solon returneth to Athens.

Piſiſtratus wicked craft and ſubtiltie

Theſpis a maker of tragedies

Solon reproued Theſpis for lying.

this, the common people were ſtill in vprore, being ready to take armes for *Piſiſtratus*: and there was a generall counſell aſſembled, in the which one *Ariſton* ſpake, that they ſhould graunt fifty men, to cary holdbers and maſes before *Piſiſtratus* for guard of his perſon. But *Solon* going vp into the pulpit for orations, ſtoutly inuayed againſt it: and perſwaded the people with many reaſons, like vnto theſe he wrote afterwards in verſe.

Ech one of you (ô men) in priuate actes,
can play the foxe, for ſlie and ſubtill craft:
But when you come, yfore (in all your factes)
then are you blinde, dull witted and bedaft,
For pleaſaunt ſpeach, and painted flatterie,
beguile you ſtill, the which you neuer ſpie.

But in the end, ſeeing the poore people did tumult ſtill, taking *Piſiſtratus* part, and that the rich fled here and there, he went his way alſo, ſaying: he had ſhewed him ſelfe wiſer then ſome, and hardier then other. Meaning, wiſer then thoſe which ſaw not *Piſiſtratus* reach and fetch: and hardier then they which knew very well he did aſpire to be King, and yet neuertheleſſe durſt not reſiſt him. The people went on with the motion of *Ariſton*, and authoriſed the ſame, touching the graunt of holbelders: limiting no number, but ſuffered him to haue about him and to aſſemble, as many as he would, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Then the city was maruellouſly affraide and amazed: and preſently *Megacles*, and all thoſe which were of the houſe of the *Alcmeonides* did flie. *Solon*, who for yeares was now at his laſt caſt, and had no man to ſticke vnto him: went notwithſtanding into the market place, and ſpake to the citizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beaſtlineſſe, and faint cowardly harts, and encouraged them not to loſe their liberty. He ſpake at that time notably, and worthy memory, which euer after was remembred. Before, ſaid he, you might more eaſely haue ſtaide this preſent tyranny: but now that it is already faſhioned, you ſhal winne more glory, vtterly to ſuppeſſe it. But for all his goodly reaſons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all ſo amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his houſe, and laid them before his gate in the middeſt of the ſtreete, ſaying. For my part, I haue done what I can poſſible, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my countrey. So from that time he betooke him ſelfe vnto his eaſe, and neuer after dealt any more in matters of ſtate, or common weale. His friends did counſell him to flie: but all they could not perſwade him to it. For he kept his houſe, and gaue him ſelfe to make verſes: in which he ſore reproued the ATHENIANS faults, ſaying: *Solons liberty and conſtancy.*

If preſently, your burden heauy be,
yet murmur not againſt the goddes therefore.
The fault is yours, as you your ſelues may ſee,
which graunted haue of mighty Mars the lore
to ſuch as now, by your direction
doe hold your neckes, in this ſubiection.

His friends hereupon did warne him, to beware of ſuch ſpeaches, and to take heede what he ſaid: leaſt if it came vnto the tyrants eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherin he truſted, that he ſpake ſo boldly. He aunſwered them, in my age. Howbeit *Piſiſtratus* after he had obtained his purpoſe, ſending for him vpon his worde and faith, did honour and entertaine him ſo well, that *Solon* in the end became one of his counſell, and approoued many things which he did. For *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe did ſtraightly keepe, and cauſed his friends to keepe *Solons* lawes. Inſomuch as when he was called by proces into the court of the *Areopagites* for a murther, euen at that time when he was a tyrant: he preſented him ſelfe very modeſtly to aunſwer his accuſation, and to purge him ſelfe thereof. But his accuſer let fall the matter, and followed it no further. *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe alſo did make new lawes: as this. That he that had bene maymed, and made lame of any member in the warres, ſhould be maintained all his life long, at the common charges of the city. The ſelfe ſame was before decreed by *Therſippus* (as *Heraclides* writeth) by *Solons* perſwaſion: who did preferre it to the counſell. *Piſiſtratus* afterwards tooke hold of the motion, and from thence *A good law for reward of ſeruice.*

forth made it a generall law. *Theophraſtus* ſaith alſo, it was *Piſiſtratus*, and not *Solon*, that made the law for idleneſſe: which was the only cauſe that the countrey of ATTICA became more frutefull, being better manured: and the city of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But *Solon* hauing begon to write the ſtory of the Iles ATLANTIDES in verſe (which he had learned of the wiſe men of the city of SAIS in EGYPT, and was very neceſſary for the ATHENIANS) grew weary, and gaue it ouer in mid way: not for any matters or buſines that trobled him, as *Plato* ſaid, but only for his age, and becauſe he feared the tediouſneſſe of the worke. For otherwiſe he had leyſure enough, as appeareth by theſe verſes where he ſaith:

I grow old, and yet I learne ſtill.

And in another place where he ſaieth,

Now Venus yeelds me ſweete delights,
and Bacchus lends me comfort ſtill:
the Muſes eke, refresh my ſprights,
and much relieue my weary will.
Theſe be the pointes of perfect eaſe,
which all mens mindes oft times do pleaſe.

Plato afterwards for beautifying of the ſtory and fables of the Iles of ATLANTIDES, was deſirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by way of ſpeach haue broken vp a field or lay land of his owne, or that this gift had deſcended to him of right from *Solon*. He began to raiſe vp a ſtately front vnto the ſame, and encloſed it with high walles, and large ſquared courts at the entry thereof: ſuch was it, as neuer any other worke, fable or poeticall inuention had euer ſo notable, or the like. But becauſe he began a litle too late, he ended his life before his work, leauing the readers moſt ſorrowfull for that was left vnwritten, then they toke pleaſure in that they found written. For euen as in the city of ATHENS, the temple of *Iupiter Olympian* only remained vnperfect: ſo the wiſedome of *Plato* (amongeſt many goodly matters of his that haue come abroad) left none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Iles ATLANTIDES. *Solon* liued long time after *Piſiſtratus* had vſurped the tyranny, as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth. Howbeit *Phanias Epheſian* writeth, that he liued not aboue two yeares after. For *Piſiſtratus* vſurped tyrannicall power in the yeare that *Comias* was chiefe gouernour in ATHENS. And *Phanias* writeth, that *Solon* died in the yeare that *Hegeſtratus* was gouernour, which was the next yeare after that. And where ſome ſay, the aſhes of his body were after his death ſtrawed abroade through the Ile of SALAMINA: that ſeemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuertheleſſe it hath bene written by many notable authors, and amongeſt others, by *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher.

The end of Solons life.

THE

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS

Valerius Publicola.

NOW we haue declared what *Solon* was, we haue thought good to compare him with *Publicola*, to whom the ROMAINE people for an honour gaue that ſurname: for he was called before *Publius Valerius*, deſcended from that auncient *Valerius*, who was one of the chiefeſt workers and meanes, to bring the ROMAINES and the SABINES that were mortall enemies, to ioyne together as one people. For it was he that moſt moued the two Kings to agree, and ioyne together. *Publicola* being deſcended of him, whileſt the Kings did rule yet at ROME, was in very great eſtimation, as well for his eloquence as for his riches: vſing the one rightly and freely for the maintenaunce of iuſtice, and the other liberally and curteouſly, for the reliefe of the poore. So that it was manifeſt, if the Realme came to be conuerted into a publicke ſtate, he ſhould be one of the chiefeſt men of the ſame. It chanced that King *Tarquine* ſurnamed the proude, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarily by indirect and wicked waies, and behauing him ſelfe not like a King, but like a cruell tyrant; the people much hated and deteſted him, by reaſon of the death of *Lucretia* (which killed her ſelfe for that ſhe was forcibly rauiſhed by him) and ſo the whole city roſe and rebelled againſt him. *Lucius Brutus* taking vpon him to be the head and captaine of this inſurrection and rebellion, did ioyne firſt with this *Valerius*: who did greatly fauour and aſſiſt his enterpriſe, and did helpe him to driue out king *Tarquine* with all his houſe and family. Now whileſt they were thinking that the people would chooſe ſome one alone to be chiefe ruler ouer them, in ſtead of a king: *Valerius* kept him ſelfe quiet, as yelding willingly vnto *Brutus* the firſt place, who was meeteſt for it, hauing bene the chiefe authour and worker of their recouered liberty. But when they ſaw the name of *Monarchy* (as much to ſay, as ſouerainty alone) was diſpleaſant to the people, and that they would like better to haue the rule deuided vnto two, and how for this cauſe they would rather chooſe two Conſuls: *Valerius* then beganne to hope, he ſhould be the ſecond perſon with *Brutus*. Howbeit this hope failed him: For againſt *Brutus* will, *Tarquinius Collatinus* (the husband of *Lucretia*) was choſen Cõſul with him: not becauſe he was a man of greater vertue, or of better eſtimation then *Valerius*. But the

The houſe of P. Valerius.

Tarquinius Superbus.

Valerius, Brutus companion in expulſing the Kings.

Lucius Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus Conſuls.

noble men of the city fearing the practises of the Kings abroade, which sought by all the faire and flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the citie: did determine to make such a one Consull, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heauie enemie, perswading themselues that *Tarquinius Collatinus* would for no respect yeeld vnto thē. *Valerius* tooke this matter grieuously, but they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not do any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: notwithstanding he had neuer any priuate iniurie offered him by the tyrants. Wherefore, he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for priuate men, and wholy gaue vp to meddle in matters of state: in so much as he gaue many occasion to thinke of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared least vpon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings side, and so bring all the citie in an vprore, considering it stoode then but in very tickle termes. But when *Brutus*, who stood in iealousie of some, would by oth be assured of the Senate, and had appointed them a day solemnely to take their othes vpon the sacrifices: *Valerius* then with a good cheerefull countenaunce came into the market place, and was the first that tooke his oth he would leaue nothing vndone that might preiudice the *Tarquines*, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the liberty of the city. This oth of his maruellously reioyced the Senate, and gaue great assuraunce also to the Consuls, but specially, because his deedes did shortly after performe his wordes. For there came ambassadours to ROME which brought letters from king *Tarquine*, full of sweete and lowly speaches to win the fauour of the people, with commission to vse all the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardened harts of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pride & cruelty, and ment to aske nought but reasonable things. The Consuls thought best to giue them open audience, and to suffer them to speake to the people. But *Valerius* was against it, declaring it might perill the state much, and deliuer occasion of new sturre vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more affraide of warres, then of tyranny. After that, there came other ambassadours also, which saide that *Tarquine* would from thenceforth for euer giue ouer and renounce his title to the kingdome, and to make any more warres, but besought them only, that they would at the least deliuer him and his friends their money and goods, that they might haue wherwithall to keepe them in their banishment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeeld to this request, and specially *Collatinus*, one of the Consuls who did fauour their motion. But *Brutus* that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his heart, ranne immediatly into the market place, crying out that his fellow Consull was a traytour, and contented to graunt the tyraunts matter, and meanes to make warre vpon the city, where in deede they deserued not so much, as to be relieued in their exile. Hereupon the people assembled together, and the first that spake in this assembly, was a priuat man called *Gaius Minutius*, who speaking vnto *Brutus*, and to the whole assembly, said vnto them. O noble Consul and Senate, handle so the matter, that the tyraunts goods be rather in your custody to make warre with them, then in theirs, to bring warre vpon your selues. Notwithstanding the ROMAINS were of opinion, that hauing gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrants: they should not disappoint the offered peace, with keeping backe their goods, but rather they should throw their goods out after them. Howbeit this was the least part of *Tarquines* intent, to seeke his goods againe: but vnder pretence of that demaund, he secretly corrupted the people, and practised treason, which his ambassadours followed, pretending only to get the Kings goods and his fauourers together, saying, that they had already sold some part, and some part they kept, and sent them daily. So as by delaying the time in this sort with such pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and auncientest houses of the city: to wit, the family of the *Aquilians*, whereof there were three Senatours: and the family of the *Vitellians*, whereof there were two Senatours: all which by their mothers, were Consul *Collatinus* nephewes. The *Vitellians* also were allied vnto *Brutus*, for he had maried their own sister, and had many children by her. Of the which the *Vitellians* had drawen to their string, two of the eldest of them, because they familiarly frequented together, being cosin germains: whom they had intised to be of their conspiracy, allying them with the house of the *Tarquines*, which was of great power, & through the which they might perswade themselues to rise to great honour and preferment by meanes of the Kings, rather then to trust

The first ambassiate of king Tarquine for recouering his Realme.

Another ambassiate from Tarquine demaunding his goods.

Good counsell of Minutius.

Tarquines ambassadours practise treason.

The Aquilij and Vitellij with Brutus sonnes, traytours to their country.

to truſt to their fathers wilfull hardneſſe. For they called his ſeueritie to the wicked, hardneſſe: for that he would neuer pardon any. Furthermore *Brutus* had fained himſelfe madde, and a foole of long time for ſafetie of his life, becauſe the tyrantes ſhould not put him to death: ſo that the name of *Brutus* onely remained. After theſe two young men had giuen their conſent to be of the confederacie, and had ſpoken with the *Aquilians*: they all thought good to be bound one to another, with a great and horrible othe, drinking the bloude of a man, and ſhaking hands in his bowels, whom they would ſacrifice. This matter agreed vpon between them, they met together to put their ſacrifice in execution, in the houſe of the *Aquilians*. They had fitly pickt out a darke place in the houſe to do this ſacrifice in, and where almoſt no body came: yet it happened by chaunce, that one of the ſeruants of the houſe called *Vindicius*, had hidden him ſelfe there, vnknowing to the traitours, and of no ſet purpoſe, to ſpie and ſee what they did, or that he had any manner of inckling thereof before: but falling by chaunce vpon the matter, euen as the traitours came into that place with a countenance to do ſome ſecret thing of importance, fearing to be ſeene, he kept him ſelfe cloſe, and lay behinde a coffer that was there, ſo that he ſawe all that was done, and what they ſaid and determined. The concluſion of their counſell in the ende was this, that they would kill both the Conſuls: and they wrote letters to *Tarquinius* aduertiſing the ſame, which they gaue vnto his ambaſſadours, being lodged in the houſe of the *Aquilians*, & were preſent at this concluſion. With this determination they departed from thence, and *Vindicius* came out alſo as ſecretly as he could, being maruellouſly troubled in minde, and at a maze how to deale in this matter. For he thought it dangerous (as it was in deed) to go and accuſe the two ſonnes vnto the father (which was *Brutus*) of ſo wicked and deteſtable a treaſon, and the nephewes vnto their vncle, which was *Collatinus*. On the other ſide alſo, he thought this was a ſecret, not to be imparted to any priuate perſon, and not poſſible for him to conceale it, that was bounde in duetie to reueale it. So he reſolued at the laſt to go to *Valerius* to bewraye this treaſon, of a ſpeciall affection to this man, by reaſon of his gentle and courteous vſing of men, giuing eaſie acceſſe and audience vnto any that came to ſpeake with him, and ſpecially for that he diſdained not to heare poore mens cauſes. *Vindicius* being gone to ſpeake with him, and hauing tolde him the whole conſpiracie before his brother *Marcus Valerius*, and his wife, he was abaſhed and fearefull withall: whereupon he ſtaied him leaſt he ſhould ſlip away, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watche the doore, that no body went in nor out vnto him. And willed his brother alſo, that he ſhould go and beſet the Kings palace round about, to intercept theſe letters if it were poſſible, and to ſee that none of their ſeruants fled. *Valerius* ſelfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friends and people that waited on him, went ſtraight vnto the houſe of the *Aquilians*, who by chaunce were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he found the letters in the chamber, where king *Tarquines* ambaſſadours laye. Whileſt he was thus occupyed, the *Aquilians* hauing intelligence thereof, ranne home immediatly, and found *Valerius* comming out at their gate. So they would haue taken thoſe letters from him by force and ſtrong hand. But *Valerius* and his company did reſiſt them, and moreouer hudded them with their gownes ouer their heads, and by force brought them (do what they could) into the market place. The like was done alſo in the Kings palace, where *Marcus Valerius* found other letters alſo wrapt vp in certaine fardels for their more ſafe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings ſeruants he found there. There the Conſuls hauing cauſed ſilence to be made, *Valerius* ſent home to his houſe for this bondman *Vindicius*, to be brought before the Conſuls: then the traytours were openly accuſed, and their letters redde, and they had not the face to anſwer one worde. All that were preſent, being amazed, hung downe their heads, and beheld the ground, and not a man durſt once open his mouth to ſpeake, excepting a fewe, who to gratifie *Brutus*, began to ſay that they ſhould baniſh them: and *Collatinus* alſo gaue them ſome hope, becauſe he fell to weeping, and *Valerius* in like manner for that he held his peace. But *Brutus* calling his ſonnes by theyr names: come on (ſaid he) *Titus* and thou *Valerius*, why do you not aunſwer to that you are accuſed off? and hauing ſpoken thryſe vnto them to aunſwer, when he ſawe they ſtood

The confederacie confirmed with drinking of mans bloud.

Vindicius heareth all their treaſon.

The concluſion of their treaſon

Vindicius bewrayeth the treaſon vnto Valerius.

Titus & Valerius, Brutus ſonnes.

mute, and said nothing: he turned him to the sergeants, and said vnto them. They are now in your hands, do iustice. So soone as he had spoken these words, the sergeants layde holde immediately vpon the two young men, and tearing their clothes off their backs, bound their hands behinde them, and then whipped them with roddes: which was such a pittifull sight to all the people, that they could not finde in their hearts to behold it, but turned them selues another waye, because they would not see it. But contrariwise, they say that their owne father had neuer his eye off them, neither did chaunge his austere and fierce countenance, with any pittie or naturall affection towards them, but stedfastly did beholde the punishment of his owne children, vntill they were laied flat on the ground, and both their heads striken off with an axe before him. When they were executed, *Brutus* rose from the benche, and left the execution of the rest vnto his fellow Consull. This was such an acte, as men cannot sufficiently prayse, nor reproue enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde so quiet, or else the greatnesse of his miserie that tooke away the feeling of his sorowe: whereof neither the one nor the other was any small matter, but passing the common nature of man, that hath in it both diuinenesse, and somtime beastly brutishnesse. But it is better the iudgement of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their iudgements should diminish his vertue. For the ROMAINES holde opinion, it was not so great an acte done of *Romulus* first to build ROME: as it was for *Brutus* to recouer ROME, and the best liberty thereof, and to renew the auncient gouernment of the same. When *Brutus* was gone, all the people in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wonder, and a great while without speaking to see what was done. The *Aquilians* straight grew bold, for that they sawe the other Consul *Collatinus* proceede gently, and mildely against them: and so made petition they might haue time giuen them to aunswer to the articles they were accused of, and that they might haue their slaue and bondman *Vindicius* deliuered into their hands, because there was no reason he should remaine with their accusers. The Consull seemed willing to yeeld thereto, and was ready to breake vp the assembly therevpon. But *Valerius* said, he would not deliuer *Vindicius* (who was among the assembly that attended vpon his person) and stayed the people besides for departing away, least they should negligently let those escape that had so wickedly sought to betray their countrie. Vntill he himselfe had layed handes vpon them, calling vpon *Brutus* to assist him, with open exclamation against *Collatinus*, that he did not behaue himselfe like a iust and true man, seeing his fellow *Brutus* was forced for iustice sake to see his owne sonnes put to death: and he in contrarie manner, to please a few women, sought to let go manifest traitours, and open enemies to their countrie. The Consull being offended herewith, commanded they should bring away the bondman *Vindicius*. So the sergeants making way through the prease, layde hands vpon him to bring him away with them, and began to strike at them which offered to resist them. But *Valerius* friends stept out before them, and put them by. The people showted straight, & cried out for *Brutus*: who with this noise returned againe into the market place, and after silence made him, he spake in this wise. For mine owne children, I alone haue bene their sufficient iudge, to see them haue the law according to their deseruings: the rest I haue left freely to the iudgement of the people. Wherefore (said he) if any man be disposed to speake, let him stand vp, and persuade the people as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more words, but onely to hearken what the people cried: who with one voice and consent condemned them, & cried execution, & accordingly they had their heads striken off. Now was Consull *Collatinus* long before had in some suspition, as allied to the Kings, and disliked for his surname, because he was called *Tarquinius*: who perceiuing himselfe in this case much hated and mistrusted of the people, voluntarilye yeelded vp his Consulship, and departed the citie. The people assembling then themselues, to place a successour in his roome: they chose *Valerius* in his roome, without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull trauaile and diligence bestowed in this great matter. Then *Valerius* iudging that *Vindicius* the bondman had well deserued also some recompence, caused him not only to be manumissed by the whole graunt of the people, but made him a free man of the citie besides: and he was the first bondman manumissed, that was made citizen of ROME, with permission also to giue his voice in all elections of officers,

Brutus seeth his owne sonnes punished & executed.

Brutus, praised & reproued for the death of his sonnes.

Collatinus softnesse perilous.

Valerius bolde. ly arpeacheth Collatinus of iniustice.

Collatinus resigneth his Consulship, and departeth Rome. Valerius chosen Consull in his place. Vindicius the first bondman manumissed.

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in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, *Appius* to currie fauour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumisſed, to giue their voices alſo in elections, as other citizens did: and vnto this day the perfect manumiſſing and freeing of bondmen, is called *Vindicta*, after the name of this *Vindicius*, that was then made a free man. Theſe things thus paſſed ouer, the goods of the Kings were giuen to the ſpoile of the people, and their palaces were raced and ouerthrowne. Now amongſt other lands, the goodlieſt part of the field of *Mars* was belonging vnto king *Tarquine*: the ſame they conſecrated forthwith vnto the god *Mars*, and not long before they had cut downe the wheat thereof. The ſheaues being yet in ſhocks in the field, they thought they might not grinde the wheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherfore they threw both corne & ſheaues into the riuer, & trees alſo which they had hewen downe & rooted vp, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god *Mars*, ſhould be left bare, without bearing any frute at all. Theſe ſheaues thus throwne into the riuer, were caried downe by the ſtreame not far from thence, vnto a forde and ſhallowe place of the water, where they firſt did ſtaye, and did let the other which came after, that it could go no further: there theſe heapes gathered together, and lay ſo cloſe one to another, that they began to ſincke and ſettle faſt in the water. Afterwards the ſtreame of the riuer brought downe continually ſuch mud and grauell, that it euer increaſed the heape of corne more and more in ſuch ſorte, that the force of the water could no more remoue it from thence, but rather ſoftly preſſing and driuing it together, did firme and harden it, and made it growe ſo to land. Thus this heape riſing ſtill in greatneſſe and firmneſſe, by reaſon that all that came downe the riuer ſtaied there, it grewe in the end, and by time to ſpred ſo farre, that at this day it is called the holy Iland in Rome: in which are many goodly temples of diuerſe gods, and ſundry walkes about it, and they call it in Latine, *Inter duos pontes*: in our tongue, betweene the two bridges. Yet ſome write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the *Tarquines* was conſecrated vnto *Mars*: but that it happened afterwards, when one of the *Veſtall Nunnes*, called *Tarquinia*, gaue a field of hers vnto the people, which was hard adioyning vnto *Tarquines* field. For which liberalitie and bountie of hers, they did graunt her in recompence many priuiledges, and did her great honour beſides. As amongſt others, it was ordained, that her word and witneſſe ſhould ſtand good, and be allowed, in matters iudiciall: which priuiledge, neuer woman beſides her ſelf did enioy. By ſpecial grace of the people alſo, it was granted her, that ſhe might mary if ſhe thought it good: but yet ſhe would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the report how this thing happened. *Tarquinius* then being paſt hope of euer entring into his kingdome againe, went yet vnto the Thvscans for ſuccour, which were very glad of him: and ſo they leauied a great armie together, hoping to haue put him in his kingdome againe. The Conſuls alſo hearing thereof, went out with their armie againſt him. Both the armies preſented themſelues in battell raye, one againſt another, in the holy places conſecrated to the gods: whereof the one was called the wood *Arſia*, and the other the meadowe *Æſuuia*. And as both armies began to giue charge vpon each other, *Arruns* the eldeſt ſonne of king *Tarquine*, and the Conſull *Brutus* encountered together, not by chance, but ſought for of ſet purpoſe to execute the deadly fode and malice they did beare each other. The one, as againſt a tyraunt and enemie of the libertie of his countrie: the other, as againſt him that had bene chiefe authour and worker of their exile and expulſion. So they ſet ſpurres to their horſes, ſo ſoone as they had ſpyed each other, with more furie then reaſon, and fought ſo deſperately together, that they both fell ſtarke dead to the ground. The firſt onſet of the battell being ſo cruell, the end thereof was no leſſe bloudie: vntill both the armies hauing receiued and done like damage to each other, were parted by a maruellous great tempeſt that fell vpon them. Now was *Valerius* marueloully perplexed, for that he knew not which of them wanne the field that day: ſeeing his ſouldiers as ſorowfull for the great loſſe of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the ſlaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to viewe the multitude of the ſlaine bodies of either ſide, the number was ſo equall in fight, that it was very hard to iudge, of which ſide fell out the greateſt ſlaughter: ſo that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were perſwaded in their opinion, that they had rather loſt then wun,

Vindicta ſo called, by reaſon of Vindicius.

Tarquines field conſecrated to Mars.

Whereof the holy Iland came in Rome, that lyeth betweene both bridges.

Tarquine commeth with a great power of the Thuſcans to wage battell with the Romaines.

Arſia ſilua.

Arruns & Brutus encountered and ſlue each other.

coniecturing a farre off the fall of their enemies. The night being come, such things fell out, as may be looked for after so terrible a battell. For when both campes were all laied to rest, they say the wood wherein they lay incamped, quaked and trembled: and they heard a voyce say, that onely one man more was slaine on the THSCANS side, than on the ROMAINES part. Out of doubt this was some voice from heauen: for the ROMAINES thereupon gaue a shrill shout, as those whose hearts receiued a new quickening spirit or courage. The THVSCANS on the contrarie part were so afraide, that the most part of them stole out of the campe, and scattered here and there: and there remained behinde about the number of fiue thousand men, whom the ROMAINES tooke prisoners euery one, & had the spoile of their campe. The carkasses were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were slaine in that battell, eleuen thousand and three hundred of the THVSCANS: and of the ROMAINES, so many lacking one. This battell was fought (as they say) the last day of Februarie, and the Consull *Valerius* triumphed, being the first of the Consuls that euer entered into ROME triumphing vpon a charret drawne with foure horses, which sight the people found honorable and goodly to behold, and were not offended withall (as some seeme to report) nor yet did enuie him for that he began it. For if it had bin so, that custome had not bin followed with so good acceptation, nor had continued so many yeares as it did afterwards. They much commended also the honor he did to his fellow Consul *Brutus*, in setting out his funerals and obsequies, at the which he made a funerall oration in his praise. They did so like and please the ROMAINES, that they haue euer since continued that custome at the buriall of any noble man, or great personage, that he is openly praised at his buriall, by the worthiest man that liueth among them. They report this funerall oration is far more ancient then the first, that was made in GREECE in the like case vnlesse they will confirme that which the orator *Anaximenes* hath written, that the manner of praising the dead at their funerals, was first of all instituted by *Solon*. But they did most enuie *Valerius*, and beare him grudge, because *Brutus* (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their liberty) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twise, that they should appoint *Valerius* fellow consul with him. This man in contrariwise (said the people) taking vpon him alone the rule and soueraignty, sheweth plainly he wil not be *Brutus* successour in his Consulship, but *Tarquinius* self in the kingdom. For to great purpose was it to praise *Brutus* in words, and to follow *Tarquinius* in deeds: hauing borne before him selfe only all the maces, the axes and the rods, when he commeth abroade out of his owne house, which is far greater, & more stately, then the kings palace which he himselfe ouerthrew. And to say truly, *Valerius* dwelt in a house a little too sumptuously built and seated, vpon the hanging of the hill called mount Velia: & because it stood high, it ouerlooked all the market place, so that any man might easily see from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he came out of his house, it was a maruellous pompe and state to see him come downe from so high a place, and with a traine after him, that caried the maiestie of a Kings courte. But herein *Valerius* left a noble example, shewing how much it importeth a noble man and magistrate, ruling weighty causes, to haue his eares open to heare, and willingly to receiue free speache in steed of flatteries, and plaine troth in place of lyes. For, being enformed by some of his friends how the people misliked and complained of it, he stood not in his owne conceit, neither was angry with them: but forthwith set a world of workmen vpon it, early in the morning before breake of day, and commanded them to pluck downe his house, and to race it to the ground. Insomuch as the next day following, when the ROMAINES were gathered together in the market place, and saw this great sodaine ruine, they much commended the noble acte and minde of *Valerius*, in doing that he did: but so were they angry, and sory both, to see so faire and stately a built house (which was an ornament to the citie) ouerthrowne vpon a sodaine. Much like in comparison to a man, whom through spite and enuie they had vniustly put to death and to see their chiefe magistrate also, like a stranger and a vagabond, compelled to seeke his lodging in another mans house. For his friends receiued him into their houses, vntill such time as the people had giuen him a place, where they did build him a newe house, farre more orderly, and nothing so stately and curious as the first was, and it was in the same place, where the temple called *Vicus Publicus* standeth at this day. Now because he would not onely

The victory of the Romaines against the Thuscans.

Valerius the first Consull that euer triumphed vpon a charret.

The first beginning of funerall oration among the Romaines.

Anaximenes saieth, Solon was the first that instituted praises for the dead.

Valerius stately house standing on mount Velia.

Valerius a good example for magistrates.

Valerius ouerthrew his stately house.

The temple called Vicus Publicus.

reforme

reforme his perſon, but the office of his Conſulſhippe, and alſo would frame himſelfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before hee ſeemed vnto them to be fearefull, he put away the carying of the axes from the roddes, which the ſergeants vſed to beare before the Conſull. Moreouer when he came into the market place, where the people were aſſembled, he cauſed the roddes to be borne downewardes, as in token of reuerence of the ſoueraigne maieſtie of the people: which all the magiſtrates obſerue yet at this day. Now in all this humble ſhewe and lowlineſſe of his, hee did not ſo much imbaſe his dignitie and greatneſſe, which the common people thought him to haue at the firſt: as he did thereby cut off enuie from him, winning againe as much true authoritie, as in ſemblance hee would ſeeme to haue loſt. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to ſubmit themſelues vnto him: inſomuch as vpon this occaſion he was ſurnamed *Publicola*, as much to ſay, as the people pleaſer. Which ſurname he kept euer after, and we from henceforth alſo writing the reſt of his life, will vſe no other name: for he was contented to ſuffer any man that would, to offer him ſelfe to aske the Conſulſhippe in *Brutus* place. But he yet not knowing what kinde of man they would ioyne fellowe Conſull with him, and fearing leaſt through enuie or ignorance, the party might thwart his purpoſe and meaning: employed his ſole power and authoritie whileſt he ruled alone, vpon high and noble attempts. For firſt of all he ſupplyed vp the number of Senatours that were greatly decayed, becauſe King *Tarquine* had put ſome of them to death not long before, and other alſo had bene lately ſlaine in the warres: in whoſe places he had choſen new Senatours, to the number of a hundred three ſcore and foure. After that, he made newe decrees and lawes, which greatly did aduance the authoritie of the people. The firſt lawe gaue libertie to all offenders, condemned by iudgement of the Conſuls, to appeale vnto the people. The ſecond, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould take vpon him the exerciſe of any office, vnleſſe he had come vnto it by the gift of the people. The third was, and all in fauour of the poore, that the poore citizens of ROME ſhould pay no more cuſtome, nor any impoſt whatſoeuer. This made euery man the more willing to giue himſelfe to ſome craft or occupation, when he ſawe his trauell ſhould not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the law that he made againſt thoſe that diſobeyed the Conſuls, it was found to be ſo fauourable to the cōmunaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the poore, than for the rich and great men. For the offenders and breakers of that law, were condemned to pay for a penaltie, the value of fiue oxen, and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, ten oboles, and of an oxe, a hundred oboles. For in thoſe dayes, the ROMAINES had no ſtore of coined money, otherwiſe, they lacked no ſheepe, nor other rother beaſts. Hereof it came, that to this day they call their riches or ſubſtance, *Peculium*, becauſe *Pecus* ſignifieth ſheepe and muttons. And in the olde time the ſtampe vpon their money was an oxe, a mutton, or a hogge: & ſome of them called their childrē *Bubulci*, which ſignifieth cowheards: others *Caprarij*, to ſay goateheards: and others *Porcij*, as you would ſay, ſwineheardes. Now though in all his other lawes, he was very fauourable and temperate toward the people: yet in that moderation, ſometimes he did ſet grieuous paines and puniſhments. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accuſation, that did aſpire to the kingdome, and he did ſet the murderer free of all puniſhment: ſo he brought forth manifeſt proofe, that the partie ſlaine, had practiſed to make himſelfe King. As being impoſſible a man ſhould pretend ſo great a matter, and no man ſhould find it: and contrariwiſe being poſſible, albeit he were ſpyed, that otherwiſe he might attempt it, by making himſelfe ſo ſtrong, that he needed not paſſe for the law. In this caſe he gaue euery man libertie by ſuch act or meane, to preuent him if he could of diſcretion: who by ſtrength otherwiſe ſought to aſpire to reigne. They greatly commended him alſo for the law that he made touching the treaſure. For being very neceſſarie that euery priuate citizen ſhould according to his abilitie, bee contributer to the charges and maintenance of the warres: he himſelfe would neither take ſuch collection into his charge, nor ſuffer any man of his to meddle with the ſame, nor yet that it ſhould be laide in any priuate mans houſe, but he did ordeine that *Saturnes* temple ſhould be the treaſurie thereof. This order they keepe to this preſent day. Furthermore, he graunted the people to chuſe two young men *Queſtores* of the ſame, as you would ſay the treaſurers, to take the charge of this money:

Why Valerius was ſurnamed Publicola.

Publicolaes actes & lawes.

Whereof Peculium was called.

The firſt Queſtores.

Publius Veturius, Marc. Minutius.

and the two first which were chosen, were *Publius Veturius*, and *Marcus Minutius*, who gathered great summes of money together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were found a hundred and thirtie thousande persons which had payde subsidie, not reckoning in this account, orphans, nor widowes, which were excepted from all payments. After he had established all these things, he caused *Lucretius* (the father of *Lucretia*) to be chosen fellowe Consull with him, vnto whom, for that he was his auncient, hee gaue the vpper hande, and commaunded they should carrie before him the roddes, which were the signes of the chiefe magistrate: and euer since they haue giuen this honour vnto age. But *Lucretius* dying not long after his election, they chose againe in his place *Marcus Horatius*, who helde out the Consulshippe with *Publicola* the rest of the yeare. Nowe about that time King *Tarquine* remained in the countrie of THVSCANE, where he prepared a seconde armie against the ROMAINES, and there fell out a maruellous straunge thing thereupon. For when hee raigned king of ROME, he had almost made an ende of the building of the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and was determined (whether by any oracle receiued, or vpon any fantasie it is not knowen) to set vp a couch of earth baked by a potter, in the highest place of the temple, and hee put it out to be done by certaine THVSCAN workemen of the citie of VEIES: but whilest they were in hand with the worke, he was driuen out of his Realme. When the workemen had formed this couch, and that they had put it into the furnace to bake it, it fell out contrarie to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worke put into the furnace. For the earth did not shut and close together in the fire, nor dryed vp all the moisture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it did swell to such a bignesse, and grew so hard and strong withall, that they were driuen to breake vp the head and walles of the furnace to get it out. The soothsayers did expound this, that it was a celestiall token from aboue, and promised great prosperitie and increase of power vnto those, that should enioy this couch. Whereuppon the VEIANS resolued not to deliuer it vnto the ROMAINES that demaunded it, but aunswered that it did belong vnto King *Tarquine*, and not vnto those that had banished him. Not manie dayes after, there was a solemne feast of games for running of horses in the citie of VEIES, where they did also many other notable actes, worthy sight according to their custome. But after the game was playde, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie as they did vse at that time, brought his couch & horses faire and softly out of the shew place and sodainely the horse being affrayde vpon no present cause or occasion seene, whether it was by chance, or by some secret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their couch to the citie of ROME. The couch driuer did what he could possible at the first to stay them, by holding in the raynes, by clapping them on the backes, and speaking gently to them: but in the ende, perceiuing he could doe no good, and that they would haue their swinge, he gaue place to their furie, and they neuer linne running, till they brought him neere to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrewe him and his couch, not farre from the gate called at this present, *Ratumena*. The VEIANS wondering much at this matter, and being affrayde withall: were contented the workmē should deliuer their couch made of earth vnto the ROMAINES.

Lucretius & Publicola Consuls.

Publicola and Marcus Horatius Consuls.

Now concerning *Iupiter Capitolins* temple, king *Tarquine* the first (which was the sonne of *Demaratus*) vowed in the warres that he made against the SABYNES, that he would build it. And *Tarquine* the proude, being the sonne of him that made this vowe did build it: howbeit he did not consecrate it, because he was driuen out of his Kingdome before hee had finished it. When this temple was built and throughly finished, and set forth with all his ornaments: *Publicola* was maruellously desirous to haue the honour of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours enuying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content himselfe with all those honours that he had receiued in peace, for the good lawes he had made, & in warres for the victories he had obteined and well deserued, but further that he would seeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing did pertaine vnto him: they then did egge *Horatius*, and perswaded him to make sute for the same. Occasion fell out at that time, that *Publicola* must haue the leading of the ROMAINES armie into the fielde: in the meane time, while *Publicola* was absent, it was procured that the people gaue their voyces to *Horatius*, to consecrate the temple, knowing they could not so well haue brought it to passe he being present.

ſent. Other ſay, the Conſuls drewe lots betweene them, and that it lighted vpon *Publicola* to leade the armie againſt his will, and vpon *Horatius* to conſecrate this temple, which may be coniectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being aſſembled together in the Capitoll with great ſilence, on the fifteenth day of the moneth of September, which is about the new moone of the moneth which the GRECIANS call *Metagitnion*: *Horatius* hauing done all the ceremonies needefull in ſuch a caſe, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the vſe was euen to vtter the ſolemne wordes of dedication: *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, hauing ſtoode a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to ſpeake, beganne to ſay a lowde in this wiſe. My lorde Conſull, your ſonne is dead of a ſickeneſſe in the Campe. This made all the aſſembly ſorie to heare it, but it nothing amaſed *Horatius*, who ſpake onely thus much. Caſt his bodie then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to ende his conſecration. This was but a deuiſe and nothing true, of *Marcus Valerius*, onely to make *Horatius* leaue off his conſecration. *Horatius* in this ſhewed him ſelfe a maruellous reſolute man, were it that hee ſtreight found his deuiſe, or that he beleeued it to be true: for the ſodaineneſſe of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in conſecrating of the ſecond temple. For this firſt which *Tarquine* had built and *Horatius* conſecrated, was conſumed by fire in the ciuill wars: and the ſecond was built vp againe by *Sylla*, who made no dedication of it. For *Catulus* ſet vp the ſuperſcription of the dedication, becauſe *Sylla* died before he could dedicate it. The ſecond temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumultes which were at ROME, vnder *Vitellius* the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by *Veſpaſian*, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had aboue other: to ſee his worke perfected and finiſhed before his death, & not ouerthrowen as it was immediatly after his death. Wherein he did farre paſſe the happineſſe of *Sylla*, who dyed before he could dedicate that he had built: and the other deceaſed before hee ſawe his worke ouerthrowen. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the onely foundations of the firſt temple, coſt *Tarquinius* fortie thouſand *Pondos* of ſiluer. And to gilde onely the temple which we ſee now in our time, they ſay all the goods and ſubſtance that the richeſt citizen of ROME then had, will come nothing neere vnto it: for it coſt aboue twelue thouſand talents. The pillers of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of marble, called pentlike marble, and they were ſquared parpine, as thicke as long: theſe I ſaw at ATHENS. But afterwardes they were cut againe, and poliſhed in ROME, by which doing they got not ſo much grace, as they loſt proportion: for they were made too ſlender, and left naked of their firſt beautie. Now he that would wonder at the ſtately building of the Capitoll, if he came afterwardes vnto the palace *Domitian*, and did but ſee ſome galerie, porch, hall, or horte houſe, or his concubines chambers: he would ſay (in my opinion) as the Poet *Epicharmus* ſayd of a prodigall man.

How oft Iupiter Capitolins temple was burnt and built againe.

How much was ſpent in building the Capitoll.

It is a fault, and folly both in thee
to laſh out giftes, and prodigall rewardes:
For fond delights, without all rule that be,
regarding not what happens afterwardes.

So might they iuſtly ſay of *Domitian*. Thou art not liberall, nor deuout vnto the goddes: but it is a vice thou haſt to loue to build, and deſireſt (as they ſay of olde *Midas*) that all about thee were turned to gold, and precious ſtones. And thus much for this matter. *Tarquine* after that great foughten battell wherein he loſt his ſonne (that was ſlaine by *Brutus* in fighting together hand to hande) went to the citie of CLVSIVM, vnto king *Claras Porſena*: the mightieſt prince that raigned at that time in all ITALIE, and was both noble & a courteous prince. *Porſena* promiſed him aide: and firſt of all he ſent to ROME to ſummone the citizens to receiue their King againe. But the ROMAINES refuſing the ſummones, he ſent forthwith an Herauld to proclaime open warres againſt them, and to tell them where, and when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwardes immediatly with a great armie. *Publicola* now being abſent, was choſen Conſull the ſecond time, and *Titus Lucretius* with him. When he was returned home againe to ROME, becauſe he would exceede king *Porſena* in greatneſſe of mind,

Domitians mad building humor.

Porſena proclaimeth wars with Rome.

Publicola and Titus Lucretius Conſuls.

he began to build a citie called SIGLIVRIA, euen when the King with all his armie was not farre from ROME: and hauing walled it about to his maruellous charge, he sent thither seuen hundred citizens to dwell there, to shew that he made litle account of this war. Howbeit *Porsena* at his comming did giue such a lustie assault to the mount *Ianiculum*, that they draue out the souldiers which kept the same: who flying towards ROME, were pursued so harde with the enemies, that with them they had entered the town, had not *Publicola* made a saly out to resist them. Who began a hotte skirmish hard by the riuer of Tyber, & there sought to haue staied the enemies to follow any further: which being the greater nũber, did ouerlay the ROMAINES, and did hurt *Publicola* very sore in this skirmish, so as he was caried away into the citie in his souldiers armes. And euen so was the other Consull *Lucretius* hurt in like case: which so discouraged and frayed the ROMAINES, that they all tooke them to their legges, & fled towards the citie. The enemies pursued them at their heeles as far as the wodden bridge: so that the citie was in maruellous hazard of taking vpon the sodaine. But *Horatius Cocles*, and *Herminius*, and *Lucretius*, two other of the chiefest noble young men of the citie, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, and made head against the enemie. This *Horatius* was surnamed *Cocles* (as much to say, as one eye) because he had lost one of them in the warres. Howbeit other writers say, it was because of his flat nose which was so suncke into his head, that they saw nothing to part his eyes, but that the eye browes did meete together: by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him *Cyclops*, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they say) *Cocles*. But howsoeuer it was, this *Horatius Cocles* had the courage to shew his face against the enemy, and to keepe the bridge, vntil such time as they had cut & broken it vp behind him. When he saw they had done that, armed as he was, & hurt in the hippe with a pike of the THVSCANS, he leaped into the riuer of Tyber, and saued himselfe by swimming vnto the other side. *Publicola* wondring at this manly act of his, perswaded the ROMAINES straight, euery one according to his abilitie, to giue him so much as he spent in a day,: & afterwards also he caused the common treasurie to giue him as much lande as he could compasse about with his plow in a day. Furthermore he made his image of brasse to be set vp in the temple of *Vulcane*, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after. Now whilest King *Porsena* was hottely bent, very straightly to besiege ROME, there begane a famine among the ROMAINES: and to encrease the danger, there came a new armie out of THVSCANE, which ouerranne, burnt, and made waste, all the territorie of ROME. Whereupon *Publicola* being chosen Consull, then the third time, thought he should neede to doe no more to resist *Porsen* brauely, but to be quiet only, and to looke well to the safe keeping of the citie. Howbeit spying his oportunitie, he secretly stole out of ROME with a power, and did set vpon the THVSCANS that destroyed the countrie about: and ouerthrew & slew of them, fiue thousand men. As for the historie of *Mutius*, many do diuersely report it: but I will write it in such sort, as I thinke shall best agree with the trueth. This *Mutius* was a worthie man in all respectes, but specially for the warres. He deuising how he might come to kill King *Porsena*, disguised himselfe in THVSCANS apparell, and speaking Thuscan very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kinges chayre, in the which he gaue audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durst not aske which was he, least he should be discouered, but drew his sworde at aduenture, and slew him whom he tooke to be King. Vpon that they layde holde on him, and examined him. And a panne full of fire being brought for the King that entended to doe sacrifice vnto the goddes, *Mutius* held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whileste the flesh of his hand did frye off, he neuer chaunged hewe nor countenance: the King wondering to see so straunge a sight, called to them to withdrawe the fire, and he himselfe did deliuer him his sword againe. *Mutius* tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they say afterwardes, he had giuen him the surname of *Sceuola*, as much to say, as left handed, and tolde him in taking of it. Thou couldest not *Porsena* for feare haue ouercomed me, but now through courtesie thou hast wonne me. Therefore for good will I will reueale that vnto thee, which no force, nor extremitie could haue made mee vtter. There are three hundred ROMAINES dispersed through thy campe, all which are prepared with like minds to followe that I haue begunne, only gaping for opportunitie to put it in practise.

Horatius Cocles why so called.

Good seruice rewarded.

Publicola Consull.

The noble acts of Mutius Sceuola.

How Mutius came by the name of Sceuola.

The

The lot fell on me to be the first to breake the Ise of this enterprise: and yet I am not sory my hand failed to kill so worthy a man, that deserueth rather to be a friend then an enemy vnto the ROMAINES. *Porsena* hearing this, did beleeue it, and euer after he gaue the more willing eare to those that treated with him of peace: not so much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in wait to kill him, as for the admiration of the ROMAINES noble minde and great courage. All other writers call this man, *Mutius Scæuola*: howbeit *Athenodorus* surnamed *Sandon*, in a booke he wrote vnto *Octauia*, *Augustus* sister, saieth that he was also called *Opsigonus*. But *Publicola* taking king *Porsena* not to be so daungerous an enemy to ROME, as he should be a profitable friend and allie to the same: let him vnderstand that he was contented to make him iudge of the controuersie betweene them & *Tarquine*. Whom he did many times prouoke to come and haue his cause heard before king *Porsena*, where he should iustifie to his face, that he was the naughtiest and most wicked man of the world, and that he was iustly driuen out of his countrey. *Tarquine* sharpely answered, that he would make no man his iudge, and *Porsena* least of all other, for that hauing promised him to put him again in his Kingdome, he was now gone from his word, and had changed his minde. *Porsena* was very angry with this aunswer, iudging this a manifest token that his cause was ill. Wherefore *Porsena* being sollicited againe by his owne sonne *Aruns*, who loued the ROMAINES, did easily grant them peace vpon condition: that they should redeliuer backe againe to him the lands they had gotten before within the country of THVSCAN, with the prisoners also which they had taken in this war, and in lieu thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the ROMAINS, that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the ROMAINS deliuered him hostages, tenne of the noblest mens sonnes of the city, and so many of their daughters: among which was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, *Porsena* brake his army, and withdrew his strengh, trusting to the peace concluded. The ROMAINES daughters deliuered for hostages, came down to the riuers side to wash them, in a quiet place where the streame ran but gently, without any force or swiftnes at all. When they were there, and saw they had no guard about them, nor any came that way, nor yet any botes going vp nor downe the streame: they had a desire to swim ouer the riuer, which ran with a swift streame, and was marueilous deepe. Some say, that one *Clelia* swam the riuer vpon her horse backe, and that she did imbolden and incorage the other to swim hard by her horse side: and recouering the other bancke, and being past all daunger, they went and presented them selues before *Publicola* the Consul. Who neither commended them, nor liked the part they had plaid, but was marueilous sory, fearing least men would iudge him lesse carefull to kepe his faith, then was king *Porsena*: and that he might suspect the boldnesse of these maidens, was but a crafty sleight deuised of the ROMAINES. Therefore he tooke them all againe, and sent them immediatly vnto King *Porsena*. Whereof *Tarquine* hauing intelligence, he laide an ambush for them, that had the conduction of them. Who so soone as they were past the riuer, did shew them selues, & brake vpon the ROMAINES: they being farre fewer in number then the other, did yet very stoutly defend thē selues. Now whilest they were in earnest fight together, *Valeria Publicolaes* daughter, and three of her fathers seruaunts, escaped through the middest of them, and saued them selues. The residue of the virgines remained in the middest among their swords, in great daunger of their liues. *Aruns* king *Porsenaes* sonne aduertised hereof, ranne thither incontinently to the rescue: but when he came the enemies fled, and the ROMAINES held on their iourney to redeliuer their hostages. *Porsena* seeing them againe, asked which of them it was that beganne first to passe the riuer, and had encouraged the other to follow her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was *Clelia*. He looked vpon her very earnestly, and with pleasaunt countenaunce, and commaunded they should bring him one of his best horses in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gaue it vnto her. Those which hold opinion that none but *Clelia* passed the riuer a horse backe, doe alledge this to proue their opinion true. Other doe deny it, saying that this THYSCAN king, did only honor her noble courage. Howsoeuer it was, they see her image a horse backe in the holy streets, as they goe to the pallace: and some say it is the statue of *Valeria*, other of *Clelia*. After *Porsena* had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking vp his campe, he shewed his noble

Publicola maketh Porsena iudge, betwixt them and the Tarquines.

Peace graunted the Romaines by Porsena.

The boldnes of Clelia and other Romaine virgines.

The liberality of king Porsena to the Romaines.

minde vnto them in many other things, and specially in that he commaunded his souldiers they should cary nothing but their armour and weapon onely, leauing his campe full of corne, victuals, and other kinde of goods. From whence this custome came, that at this day when they make open sale of any thing belonging to the common weale, the sergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king *Porsenas* goods, and taken of thankefulnesse and perpetuall memory of his bounty and liberality towardes them. Further, *Porsenas* image standeth adioyning to the pallace where the Senate is vsed to be kept, which is made of great antique worke. Afterwardes the SABINES inuading the ROMAINES territory with a great force, *Marcus Valerius Publicolaes* brother, was then chosen Consul, with one *Posthumius Tubertus*. How-beit all matters of waight and importaunce passed by *Publicolaes* counsell and authority, who was present at any thing that was done: and by whose means *Marcus* his brother wanne two great battells, in the last whereof he slew thirteene thousand of his enemies not losing one of his owne men. For which his victories, besides the honour of triumphe he had, the people also at their owne charges, built him a house in the streete of mount Palatine, and graunted him moreouer that his doore should open outwardes into the streete, where all other mens doores did open inwards into their house: signifying by grant of this honour and priuiledge, that he should alwaies haue benefit by the common weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doores of their houses in olde time, did all open outwards after that fashion, and they do coniecture it by the comedies that are played. Where those that would goe out of their houses, did first knocke at their doores, and make a noise within the house, least in opening their doore vppon a sodaine, they might ouerthrow or hurt him that taried at the streete doore or passed by the way: who hearing the noyse, had warning straight to auoide the daunger. The next yeare after that, *Publicola* was chosen Consul the fourth time, because they stood in great doubt that the SABINES and LATINES would ioyne together to make warres vpon them: besides all this, there was a certaine superstitious feare ranne through the city, of some ill happe toward it, because most part of the women with childe were deliuered of vnperfect children, lacking some one limme or other, and all of them came before their time. Wherefore *Publicola* looking in some of *Sybillues* bookes, made priuat sacrifice vnto *Pluto* and did set vp againe some feasts and solemne games that were left off, and had bene commaunded before time to be kept by the oracle of *Apollo*. These meanes hauing a litle reioyced the citie with good hope, because they thought that the anger of the goddes had bene appeased: *Publicola* then began to prouide for the daungers that they were threatned withall by men, for the newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in all places, and made great preparation to inuade them. Now there was at that time amongst the SABINES, a great rich man called *Appius Clausus*, very strong and actiue of body, and otherwise a man of great reputation and eloquence, aboue all the rest of his countrey men: but notwithstanding he was much enuied, he could not auoide it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to stay those intended warres against the ROMAINES. Whereupon, many which before tooke occasion to murmur against him, did now much more increase the same: with saying he sought to maintain the power of the ROMAINES, that afterwards by their aide he might make him selfe tyrant and King of the countrey. The common people gaue easie eare vnto such speaches, and *Appius* perceiuing well enough how the souldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complaine and accuse him. Wherfore being well backed and stood to by his kinsemen, friends, and followers, he practised to make a sturre among the SABINES, which was the cause of staying the warres against the ROMAINES. *Publicola* also for his part was very diligent, not only to vnderstand the originall cause of this sedition, but to feed on further and encrease the same, hauing gotten men meete for the purpose, which caried *Appius* such a message from him. The *Publicola* knew very well he was a iust man, and one that would not be reuenged of his citizens to the generall hurt of his countrey, although the iniuries he receiued at their hands, did giue him iust occasion to doe it: neuertheless if he had any desire to prouide for his safetie and to repaire to ROME, leauing them which causeles wished him so much euill, they would both openly and priuatly receiue him with that due honour which his vertue deserued, and the worthinesse of the ROMAINE people required. *Clausus* hauing long and many times con-

Marcus Valerius, Posthumius Tubertus Consuls.

Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, triumpheth of the Sabines.

sider

sidered this matter with himself, resolued that it was the best way he could take, making vertue of necessity; and therefore being determined to do it, he did procure his friends to do as he did, and they got other also vnto them, so that he brought away with him out of the countrey of the SABINES, fiue thousand families with their wiues and children (of the quietest & most peaceable people among the SABINES) to dwell at ROME. *Publicola* being aduertised thereof before they came, did receiue them at their comming to ROME with great ioy, and all maner of good curteous entertainement. For at their first comming, he made them all and their families free citizens, and assigned vnto euery person of them two *iugera* of land, (which contained one acre, one roode, eleuen pole, and 69. parts of a pole) by the riuer of Tyber: and vnto *Appius* selfe he gaue 25. *iugera* (to wit, 16. acres and a half, 4. pole and 76. parts of a pole) and receiued him into the number of the Senatours. And this came he first vnto the gouernment of the common weale in ROME, where he did so wisely behaue himselfe, that in the end he came to be the chiefest man of dignity and authority in ROME, so long as he liued. After his death, he left behind him the family of the *Claudians*, descending from him: which for honor, and worthines, gaue no place to the noblest family in ROME. But now the sedition amongst the SABINES being pacified, by the departure of those that were gone to ROME: the seditious gouernors would not suffer those that remained to liue in peace, but still cried out, it were too much shame for them, that *Clausus* being a fugitiue, and become an enemy, should honor their enemies abroad, that being present durst not shew so much at home, and that the ROMAINES should escape vnreuenged, who had done them such apparaunt wrongs. So they raised great force and power, and went and encamped with their army neare the city of FIDENES, and laid an ambush hard by ROME, in certaine hidden and hollow places, where they put a two thousand choise footmen, very well armed, and did appoint the next morning to send certaine light horsemen to runne and pray to ROME gates: commaunding them, that when the ROMAINES came out of the city to charge them, they should seeme leysurely to retire, vntill they had drawen them within daunger of their ambush. *Publicola* receiuing full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priuy ambush, and so deuided his army in two parts: for he gaue his son in law *Posthumius Balbus*, three thousand foootemen, whom he sent away by night, commaunding them the same night to take the hilles, in the bottome whereof the SABINES were laid in ambush. *Lucretius*, fellow Consull with *Publicola*, hauing the lightest and lustiest men of the city, was appointed to make head against the vauncurriers of the SABINES that minded to approch the gates. And *Publicola* with the rest of the army, marched a great compasse about to inclose his enemies behind. The next morning betimes, by chaunce it was a thicke miste, and at that present time *Posthumius* comming downe from the hilles, with great shouts, charged them that lay in ambush. *Lucretius* on the other side, set vppon the light horsemen of the SABINES: and *Publicola* fell vpon their campe. So that of all sides the SABINES enterprise had very ill successe, for they had the worst in euery place, & the ROMAINS killed them flying, without any turning again to make resistance. Thus the place which gaue them hope of best safety, turned most to their deadly ouerthrow. For euery one of their companies supposing the other had bene whole and vnbroken, when a charge was giuen vpon them, did straight breake, and neuer a company of them turned head toward their enemy. For they that were in the campe, ran toward them which lay in ambush: and those which were in ambush on the contrary side, ran towards them that were in campe. So that in flying, the one met with the other, & found those, towards whom they were flying to haue bene safe, to stand in as much neede of helpe as themselues. That which saued some that were not slaine, was the city of FIDENES, which was neare the campe, and specially saued those which fled thither. But such as came short of the city, and could not in time recouer it, were all slaine in the field, or taken prisoners. As for the glory of this honourable victory, albeit the ROMAINES were wont to ascribe all such great notable matters to the speciall prouidence and grace of the goddes, yet at that time notwithstanding, they did iudge that this happy successe fell out by the wise foresight and valiantnesse of the captaine. For euery man that had serued in this iourney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that *Publicola* had deliuered their enemies into their handes, lame, and blinde, and

Appius Claudius & his kinsfolke dwell at Rome.

The family of the Claudians.

The Sabines slaine.

as a man might say, bound hand and feete to kill them at their pleasure. The people were marueilously enriched by this victory, aswell for the spoile, as for the raunsome of the prisoners that they had gotten. Now *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the gouernment of the city to those, which were chosen Consuls for the yere following: died incontinently, hauing liued as honorably and vertuously all the daies of his life, as any man liuing might doe. The people then tooke order for his funerals, that the charges thereof should be defrayed by the city, as if they had neuer done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene still debters vnto him for the noble seruice he had done vnto the state and common weale whilest he liued. Therfore towards his funerall charges, euery citizen gaue a peece of money called a Quatrine. The women also for their part to honour his funerals, agreed among them selues to mourne a whole yeare in blacke for him, which was a great and honourable memoriall. He was buried also by expresse order of the people, within the city, in the streete called Velia; and they graunted priuiledge also vnto all his posterity, to be buried in the selfe same place. Howbeit they doe no more bury any of his there. But when any die, they bring the corse vnto this place, and one holding a torch burning in his hand, doth put it vnder the place, and taketh it straight away againe, to shew that they haue liberty to bury him there, but that they willingly refuse this honour: and this done, they cary the corse away againe.

The death of Publicola.

His funerals.

THE COMPARISON OF *Solon with Publicola.*

NOW presently to compare these two personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not found in any other of their liues which we haue written of before. And the same is that the one hath bene a witnes, and the other a follower of him, vnto whom he was like. So as the sentence that *Solon* spake to king *Croesus*, touching *Tellus* felicity and happines, might haue better bene applied vnto *Publicola*, then to *Tellus*: whom he iudged to be very happy, because he died honourably, he had liued vertuously, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet *Solon* speaketh nothing of his excellency or vertue in any of his poems: neither did he euer beare any honorable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowme after his death. Whereas *Publicola* so long as he liued, was alwaies the chiefe man among the ROMAINS, of credit and authority: and afterwards since his death, certaine of the noblest families, and most auncient houses of ROME, in these our daies, as the PVBLICOLES, the MESSALES, and the VALERIANS, for six hundred yeares continuance, doe referre the glory of the nobility and auncientry of their house vnto him. Furthermore, *Tellus* was slain by his enemies, fighting valiantly

Publicola happy.

liantly like a worthy honeſt man. But *Publicola* died after he had ſlaine his enemies: which is farre more great good hap, then to be ſlaine. For after he as generall had honourably ſerued his countrie in the wars, and had left them conquerers, hauing in his life time receiued all honours and triumphes due vnto his ſeruice: he attained to that happy end of life, which *Solon* accompted and eſteemed, moſt happie and bleſſed. Alſo in wiſhing manner, he would his end ſhould be lamented to his praiſe, in a place where he confuteth *Mimnermus*, about the continuance of mans life, by ſaying:

Let not my death without lamenting paſſe,
but rather let my friends bewaile the ſame:
VVhoſe grieuous teares, and cries of out alas,
may oft reſound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good hap, then moſt happy maketh he *Publicola*: for at his death, not only his friends and kinſfolks, but the whole city alſo, and many a thouſand perſons beſides, did bitterly bewaile the loſſe of him. For all the women of ROME did mourne for him in black, and did moſt pitifully lament his death, as euery one of thē had loſt either father, brother or husband.

True it is, that I couet goods to haue:
but yet ſo got as may me not depraue.

Solon ſaieth this, becauſe vengeance followed ill gotten goods. And *Publicola* tooke great heed, not onely to get his goods moſt iuſtly, but had regarde that thoſe which he had, he ſpent moſt honeſtly in helping the needie. So that if *Solon* was iuſtly reputed the wiſeſt man, we muſt needs confeſſe alſo that *Publicola* was the happieſt. For what the one deſired for the greateſt and moſt perfect good, a man can haue in this world: the other hath wunne it, kept it, and vſed it all his life time, vntill the hower of his death. And thus hath *Solon* honoured *Publicola*, and *Publicola* hath done like vnto *Solon*, ſhewing himſelfe a perfect example and looking glaſſe, where men may ſee how to gouerne a popular ſtate: when he made his Conſulſhip voide of all pride and ſtately ſhew, and became himſelfe affable, courteous, and beloued of euerie body. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes. As when he ordained, that the people only ſhould haue authoritie to chooſe and create all common officers and magiſtrates, and that they might appeale from any iudge to the people: as *Solon* when he ſuffered them to appeale vnto the iudges of the people. In deed *Publicola* did not create any new Senate, as *Solon* did: but he did augment the firſt number, with as many perſons almoſt as there were before. He did alſo firſt erect the office of *Quæſtores*, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Becauſe the chiefeſt magiſtrate, if he were an honeſt man, ſhould not for ſo light an occaſion be taken, from the care of better and more waighty affaires: and if he were wickedly giuen and ill diſpoſed, that he ſhould haue no ſuch meane or occaſion to worke his wicked will, by hauing the treaſure of the citie in his hands, and to command what he liſt. Moreouer in hating the tyrantes, *Publicola* therein was farre more ſharpe and terrible. For *Solon* in his lawes puniſhed him that went about to make himſelfe a tyrant, yet after he was conuicted thereof by lawe: but *Publicola* ordained that they ſhould kill him, before the lawe did paſſe on him, that ſought to be King. And where *Solon* iuſtly and truly vaunteth himſelfe, that being offered to be King and Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole conſent of the citizens: yet he did notwithſtanding refuſe it. This vaunte and glorie is as due vnto *Publicola*: who finding the dignitie of a Conſull tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauourable for the people, not taking vpon him all the authoritie he might lawfully haue done. And it ſeemeth that *Solon* knew before him, what was the true and direct way to gouerne a common weale vprightly. For he ſaieth in one place:

Both great and ſmall of power, the better will obaye:
if we too litle or too much, vpon them do not lay.

Publicola reuiued the office of Quæſtores.

The diſcharging of debts was proper to *Solon*, which was a full confirmation of libertie. For litle preuaileth lawe to make equalitie among citizens, when debts do hinder the poore people to enioy the benefit thereof. And where it ſeemeth that they haue moſt libertie, as in that they may be choſen iudges and officers, to ſpeake their opinion in the counſell, and giue their voices alſo: there in deed are they moſt bound and ſubiect, becauſe they do but obaye

the rich, in all they doe commaund. But yet in this acte there is a thing more wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly discharging of debts, was wont to breed great tumults and seditions in common weales. And *Solon* hauing vsed it in a very good time (as the Phisitian ventring a dangerous medecine) did appease the sedition already begun, and did vtterly quenche through his glory, and the common opinion they had of his wisdome and vertue, all the infamie and accusation that might haue growne of that acte. As for their first entrie into the gouernment, *Solons* beginning was farre more noble. For he went before, and followed not another: and himselfe alone without any others helpe, did put in execution the best, and more part of all his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was *Publicolaes* end and death much more glorious and happie. For *Solon* before he dyed, saw all his commonwealth ouerthrowne: but *Publicolaes* commonweale continued whole as he left it, vntill the broile of ciuill warres began againe among them. *Solon*, after he had made his lawes, and written them in wodden tables, leauing them without defence of any man, went his way immediatly out of the citie of ATHENS. *Publicola* abiding continually in ROME gouerning the state, did throughly stablish and confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore *Solon* hauing wisely foreseene *Pisistratus* practises, aspiring to make him selfe King: he could neuer let him for all that, but was himselfe ouercome and oppressed with the tyranny he saw stablished in his owne sight, and in despight of him. Where *Publicola* ouerthrew and did put downe a mightie Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was throughly stablished: his vertue and desire being equall with *Solons*, and hauing had besides fortune fauourable, and sufficient power to execute his vertuous and well disposed minde. But as for warres and marshall deedes, there is no comparison to be made betweene them. For *Daimachus Plataian*, doth not attribute the warres of the MEGARIANS vnto *Solon*, as we haue written it: where *Publicola* being generall of an army, and fighting himselfe in person, hath wonne many great battels. And as for matters of peace and ciuill gouernment, *Solon* neuer durst present himselfe openly to persuade the enterprise of SALAMINA, but vnder a counterfait madnesse, and as a foole to make sport. Where *Publicola*, taking his aduenture from the beginning, shewed himselfe without dissimulation, an open enemie to *Tarquine*, and afterwards he reuealed all the whole conspiracie. And when he had herie the only cause and author of punishing the traitours, he did not only driue out of ROME their persons themselues in person, but tooke from them also all hope of returne againe. Who hauing alwaies thus nobly and valiantly behaued himselfe, without shrinking back, or flying from ought that required force, a manly courage, or open resistance: did yet shew himselfe discreet, where wisedome was requisite, or reason and perswasion needfull. As when he cunningly wanne king *Porsena*, who was a dreadfull enemie vnto him, and inuincible by force: whom he handled in such good sort, that he made him his friend. Peraduenture some might stand in this and say, that *Solon* recouered the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, which they would haue lost. *Publicola* to the contrary, restored the lands vnto *Porsena* againe, which the ROMAINES had conquered before, within the countrie of THVSCAN. But the times in which these things were done, are alwaies to be considered of. For a wise gouernour of a Realme, and politike man, doth gouerne diuersely according to the occasions offred, taking euery thing in his time wherein he will deale. And many times, in letting go one thing, he saueth the whole: and in losing a litle, he gaineth much. As *Publicola* did, who losing a litle peece of another mans country which they had vsurped, saued by that meanes all that was assuredly his owne. And when as the ROMAINES thought he should do very much for them, to saue their citie onely, he gaue them moreouer, all the goods that were in their enemies campe, which did besiege them. And in making his enemie iudge of his quarrell, he wanne the victorie: winning that moreouer which he would gladly haue giuen to haue ouercome, and haue sentence passe on his side. For the king their enemy did not only make peace with them, but did also leaue them all his furniture, prouision, and munition for the warres: euen for the vertue, manhood, and iustice, which the great wisedome of this Consull perswaded *Porsena* to beleeue to be in all the other ROMAINES.

A politick precept.

The end of Publicolaes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Themistocles.

THEMISTOCLES parentage did little aduaunce his glorie: for his father *Neocles* was of small reputation in ATHENS, being of the hundred of *Phrear*, & tribe of *Leontis*: of his mother an alien or stranger: as these verses do witnesse,

Abrotonon I am, yborne in Thracia,
and yet this high good hap I haue, that into Grecia:
I haue brought forth a sonne, Themistocles by name,
the glory of the Greekish blouds, and man of greatest fame.

Howbeit *Phanias* writeth, that his mother was not a THRACIAN, but borne in the countrie of CARIA: and they do not call her *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpé*. And *Neanthes* saieth furthermore, that she was of HALICARNASSVS, the chiefest citie of all the Realme of CARIA. For which cause when the strangers did assemble at *Cynosargos* (a place of exercise without the gate dedicated to *Hercules*, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) *Themistocles* perswaded diuers youthes of the most honorable houses, to go downe with him, and to annoint themselues at *Cynosargos*, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right & alien sort. But setting a part all these circumstances, he was no doubt allied vnto the house of the *Lycomedians*: for *Themistocles* caused the chappell of this family, which is in the village of PHLYES, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built vp againe at his owne charges: and as *Simonides* saieth, he did set it forth and enriche it with pictures. Moreouer euery man doth confesse it, that euen from his childhood they did perceiue he was giuen to be very whote headed, sturring, wise, and of good spirite, and enterprising of him selfe to do great things, and borne to rule weighty causes. For at such dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leaue to play, he neuer plaied, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they alwayes found him conning some oration without booke, or making it alone by himselfe, and the ground of his matter was euer commonly, either to defend, or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his schoolemaister obseruing him, oft said vnto him: sure some great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boy, for it cannot be chosen but that one day thou shalt do some notable

Cynosargos, a place of exercise, dedicated to Hercules.

Themistocles youthfulnesse.

good thing, or some extreame mischiefe. Therefore when they went about to teache him any thing, only to checke his nature, or to fashion him with good maner and ciuilitie, or to studie any matter for pleasure or honest pastime: he would slowly and careleslie learne of them. But if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state: they sawe he would beate at it maruellously, and would vnderstand more then any could of his age and carriage, trusting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cause, that being mocked afterwards by some that had studied humanitie, and other liberall sciences, he was driuen for reuenge and his owne defence, to aunswer with great and stoute words, saying, that in deed he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to play of a psalterion: but if they did put a citie into his hands that was of small name, weake, and litle, he knew wayes enough how to make it noble, strong, and great. Neuertheless, *Stesimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Anaxagoras* schoole, and that vnder *Melissus* he studied naturall Philosophie. But herein he was greatly deceaued, for that he tooke no great heed vnto the time. For *Melissus* was captaine of the SAMIANS against *Pericles*, at what time he did lay siege vnto the citie of SAMOS. Now this is true, *Pericles* was much younger then *Themistocles*, & *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles* in his owne house. Therefore we haue better reason and occasion to beleeue those that write *Themistocles* did determine to follow *Mnesiphilus Phrearian*. For he was no professed Orator, nor naturall Philosopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profession of that which then they called wisedome. Which was no other thing, but a certaine knowledge to handle great causes, and an indeuour to haue a good wit and iudgement in matters of state and gouernement: which profession beginning in *Solon*, did continue, and was taken vp from man to man, as a secte of Philosophie. But those that came sithence, haue mingled it with arte of speache, and by litle and litle haue translated the exercise of deeds, vnto bare and curious wordes: whereupon they were called *Sophisters*, as who would say, counterfaite wise men. Notwithstanding, when *Themistocles* began to medle with the gouernment of the commonweale, he followed much *Mnesiphilus*. In the first part of his youth, his behauiour and doings were very light and vnconstant, as one caried away with a rash head, and without any order or discretion: by reason whereof his manners and conditions seemed maruellously to change, and oftimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as himselfe did afterwards confesse by saying: that a ragged colt oft times prooues a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As that his father did disinherite him, and that his mother for very care and sorow she tooke to see the lewde life of her sonne, did kill her selfe. For there are that write to the contrarie, that his father being desirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, did go and shewe him all alongst the sea shore, the shipwracks and ribbes of old gallyes cast here and there, whereof the reckoning was made, and said to him: thus the people vse their gouernours, when they do serue no longer. Howsoeuer it was, it is most true that *Themistocles* earnestly gaue himselfe to state, and was suddenly taken with desire of glory. For euen at his first entry, because he would set foote before the proudest, he stood at pike against the greatest and mightiest persons, that vsurpe the sway and gouernment, and specially against *Aristides*, *Lysimachus* sonne, who euer encountered him, and was still his aduersarie opposite. Yet it seemeth the euill will he conceiued toward him, came of a very light cause. For they both loued *Stesilaus*, that was borne in the citie of TEOS, as *Ariston* the Philosopher writeth. And after this iealousie was kindled betweene them, they alwaies tooke contrarie part one against another, not onely in their priuate likings, but also in the gouernment of the commonweale. Yet I am perswaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions, did much encrease the grudge and discorde betwixt them. For *Aristides* being by nature a very good man, a iust dealer, and honest of life, one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, not serue his owne glorie, but rather to the contrary would do, would say, and counsell alwaies for the most benefit & commodity of the commonweale: was oft times enforced to resist *Themistocles*, & disappoint his ambition, being euer busily mouing the people, to take some new matter in hand. For they report of him, that he was so inflamed with desire of glory, & to enterprise great matters, that being but a very young man at the battel of *Marathon* where there was no talke but of the worthines[s] of the captai[ns]

Themistocles was Anaxagoras & Melissus scholler.

Mnesiphilus Phrearian.

What wisedome was in olde time.

How the name of Sophisters came vp.

Themistocles youth.

The prime grudge betwixt Themistocles and Aristides.

Aristides a iust man.

Themistocles ambition.

captaine *Miltiades* that had wonne the battell: he was found many times solitarily there alone deuising with himself: besides, they say he could then take no rest in the night, neither would go to playes in the day time, nor would keepe cõpany with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wondred to see him so in his muses, & changed, and asked him what he ayled that *Miltiades* victory would not let him sleepe, because other thought this ouerthrow at MARATHON, would haue made an end of all wars. Howbeit *Themistocles* was of a contrary opinion, & that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daily studied how to preuent them, and how to see to the safetie of GREECE, and before occasion offered, he did exercise his citie in feates of warre, foreseeing what should folow after. Wherfore, where the citizens of ATHENS before did vse to deuide among themselues the reuenue of their mines of siluer, which were in a part of ATTICA called LAVRION: he alone was the first that durst speake to the people, & perswade them, that frõ thenceforth they should cease that distribution among themselues, & employ the money of the same in making of gallyes, to make wars against the ÆGYNETES. For their warres of all GREECE were most cruell, because they were lords of the sea, & had so great a number of ships. This perswasion drue the citizens more easily to *Themistocles* mind, than the threatning the with King *Darius*, or the *Persians* would haue done: who were farre from them, and not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this opportunitie taken of the hatred & iealousie between the ATHENIANS and the ÆGINETES, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an hundred gallies, with which they fought against king *Xerxes*, and did ouercome him by sea. Now after this good beginning & successe, he wan the citizes by degrees to bend their force to sea, declaring vnto them, how by land they were scant able to make head against their equals, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defend themselues from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to command all GREECE. Hereupon he made them good mariners, & passing sea men, as *Plato* sayth, where before they were stout and valiant souldiers by land. This gaue his enemies occasion to cast it in his teeth afterwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike & the target, and had brought them to the banke & the ower: and so he got the vpper hand of *Miltiades*. Who inueyed against him in that, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this seruice to passe, whether therby he did ouerthrow the iustice of the cõmon weale or not, I leaue that to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preseruation of all GREECE stood at that time vpon the sea, & that the gallies only were the cause of setting vp ATHENS againe, *Xerxes* himself is a sufficient witnes, besides other proofes that might be brought therof. For his armie by land being yet whole, & vnfought on, when he saw his armie by sea broken, dispeopled, & sunke, he fled straight vpon it, counselling as it were that he was now too weake to deale any more with the GRECIANS, & left *Mardonius* his lieutenãt in GREECE, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the GRECIANS should not follow him, then for any hope he had to ouercome them. Some write of *Themistocles*, that he was a very good husband for his owne profit, & carefull to looke to his things: for he did spend liberally, & loued oft to make sacrifices, and honorably to receiue & entertaine straungers: wherfore he had good reason to be careful to get, to defray his charges. Other to the contrary, blame him much, that he was too neere, & miserable. For some say, he would sel presents of meat that were giuen him. He did aske one *Philides* on a time, which had a breed of mares, a colt of gift: who denying him flatly, he was so angry, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his houle the herle of wood, with the which PHILIP was taken. Meaning couertly to let him vnderstand, that he would shortly festrike & quarrell betwixt him, & his peareles kinsmen & familiar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a young man, and scarcely known, he carried by intreatie one EVRIPIDES borrue at HERMIONA, an excellent player of the cithrine, & counted at that time the cunningest man in all Artes: to the intent that he would come and teach his art at his house: and all was, no more, but that many people being desirous to heare him play, would aske for his house, & come thither to him. And one yeare when he went vnto the feast & assembly of the playes Olympicall, he would needes keepe open house for all commers, haue his tents richly furnished, and a great number of seruants & all other furniture, only to ouercome with *Cimon*. This was doubtly

Themistocles perswaded his countriemen to make gallyes.

The Athenians bent their force to sea, by Themistocles perswasion.

Themistocles a good husband to looke for his profites.

Themistocles extremely ambitious.

spighted the GRECIANS, who thought *Themistocles* expences fit for *Cimons* countenance, and abilitie, because he was a young gentleman, and of a noble house: but for him that was but a new come man, & would beare a greater port, then either became his calling or abilitie, they thought it not onely vnallowable in him, but meere presumption and vaine glorie. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedie which was playd openly: and being set out therein to haue won the prise, and the ATHENIANS being maruellous desirous of the honour in such playes, he caused this victorie of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate and set vp in a temple, with this inscription. *Themistocles Phrearian defrayed the charges: Phrynicus made it: Adimantus was chiefe ruler.* Yet notwithstanding he was well taken of the common people, partly because he would speake to euery citizen by his name, no man telling him their names: and partly also because he shewed himselfe an vpright iudge in priuate mens causes. As one day he aunswered the Poet *Simonides*, borne in CHIO, who did request an vnreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was gouernor of the citie. Thou couldest be no good Poet, *Simonides*, if thou diddest sing against the rules of musicke: neither my selfa good gouernour of a citie, if I should do any thing against the law. And mocking the same *Simonides* another time, he told him he was but a foole to speake ill of the CORINTHIANS, considering they were lords of so great & strõg a city. Likewise he was not wise to make himself to be drawen, being so deformed & ill fauoured. But being growen in credite, and hauing won the fauour of the people, he was such an enemie to *Aristides*, that in the end he made him to be expulsed and banished ATHENS, for 5. yeres. When newes were brought that the king of PERSIA was onwards on his iourney & comming downe to make wars vpon the GRECIANS: the ATHENIANS consulted whom they should make their generall. And it is reported, that all their cõmon counsellers which were wont to speake in matters, fearing the daunger, did draw backe, saue an orator called *Epicydes*, *Euphemides* sonne, very eloquent in speech, but somewhat womanish, faint hearted, and gredie of money, offred himselfe to sue for this charge, and had some hope to obtaine it. Wherefore *Themistocles* fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this man to be general of the armie, he bought out *Epicydes* ambitiõ with ready money, & so made him let fall his sute. It fell out *Themistocles* was greatly cõmended, about that was done to the interpreter, that came with the king of PERSIANS ambassadours, & demanded the empire of the GRECIANS both by sea & land, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken, & put to death by a cõmon consent, for vsing the Greeke tongue in the seruice & commandement of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion, *Arthmius* borne at ZELEA, was noted of infamy, both he, his children, & all his posterine after him, because he brought gold from the king of PERSIA, to corrupt & win the GRECIANS. But the greatest & worthiest act he did in those parts, was this; that he pacified all ciuill wars among the GRECIANS, perswading the cities to leaue off their quarrels vntill the warre were done in the which they say *Chilenus Arcadian* did helpe him more then any other man. He being now chosen generall of the ATHENIANS, went about presently to imbarke his citizens into gallyes, declaring to them they should leaue their citie, and go meete with the barbarous King by sea, so farre from the coast of GREECE as they could: but the people did not thinke that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of souldiers by land, into the countries of THESSALIA with the LACEDÆMONIANS, to keepe the passage & entry into THESSALIA, against the barbarous people, which countries stood yet sound to GREECE, and not reuolted to the MEDES. Afterwards the GRECIANS comming from thence without any act done, and the THESSALIANS also being won somewhat on the Kings side, for that all the whole countrie vnto BOEOTIA was at the deuotion & goodwill of the barbarous people: then the ATHENIANS began to find, how *Themistocles* opinion to fight by sea was very good. Wherupon they sent him with their nauie to the citie of ARTEMISIUM, to keepe the straight. There the other GRECIANS would haue had the LACEDÆMONIANS, and their admirall *Eurybiades* to haue had the authoritie & commandement of the rest. But the ATHENIANS would not set sayle vnder any other admirall then their owne, because their's were the greatest number of ships in the armie, and aboue all the other GRECIANS. *Themistocles* foreseeing the danger that was likely to fall out amongst themselues, did willingly yeeld the whole authoritie vnto *Eurybiades*, & got the

A wise saying of Themistocles

Themistocles made Aristides to be banished.

Epicydes an orator sued to be generall.

Arthmius defamed for bribing.

Themistocles generall of the Athenians against Xerxes.

ATHI-

ATHENIANS to agree vnto it: assuring them, that if they behaued themselues valiantly in these wars, the other GRECIANS of their owne accord would afterwards submit themselues vnto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the originall cause of the sauing of GREECE, and did most aduance the honor & glory of the ATHENIANS, by making them to ouercome their enemies by force, and their friends & allyes with liberalitie. In the meane time, *Eurybiades* seeing the barbarous fleete riding at anker, all alongest the Ile of APHETES, with such a great number of ships in the vaward, he began to be affraid. And vnderstanding moreouer, there were other 200. sayle that went to cast about the Ile of SCIATHE, & so to come in: he presently would haue retyred further into GREECE, & would haue drawen neerer vnto PELOPONNESVS, to the end their armie by sea might be neere their armie by land, as thinking it vnpossible to fight with king *Xerxes* power by sea. Whereupon the inhabitants of the Ile of EVBOEA, fearing least the GRECIANS would to the spoile of the enemy, they caused *Themistocles* secretly to be spoken with all, & sent him a good summe of mony by one called *Pelagō*. *Themistocles* tooke the mony, as *Herodotus* writeth, & gaue it to *Eurybiades*. But there was one *Architeles* amōgst the ATHENIANS, captain of the galley called the holy galley, that was much against *Themistocles* intended purpose: who hauing no money to pay his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with speede from thence. *Themistocles* shurred vp then his souldiers more against him then before, insomuch as they went aboord his galley, & tooke his supper frō him. *Architeles* being maruellous angry & offēded withal, *Themistocles* sent him both bread & meat in a pannier, & in the bottome therof he had put a talent of siluer, bidding him for that night to sup with that, & the next morning he should prouide for his mariners, or els he would cōplaine, & accuse him to the citizens that he had taken money of the enemies. Thus it is written by *Phanias Lesbiā*. Moreouer these first fights in the straite of EVBOEA, betweene the GRECIANS, & the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the wars betweene them. For it was but a taste giuen vnto the, which serued the GRECIANS turne very much, by making them to see by experience, & the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of ships, nor the pompe & sumptuous setting out of the same, nor the proud barbarous shouts & songs of victorie that could stand them to purpose, against noble harts and valiant minded souldiers, that durst grapple with them, and come to hand strokes with their enemies: and that they should make no reckoning of all that brauery & brags, but should sticke to it like men, and lay it on the iacks of them. The which (as it seemeth) the poet *Pindarus* vnderstood very well, when he said touching the battell of ARTEMISIVM:

The stout Athenians, haue now foundation layed,
vnto the libertie of Greece, by these assaults assayed.

For out of doubt the beginning of victorie, is to be hardie. This place ARTEMISIVM is a part of the Ile of EVBOEA, looking towards the North, about the citie of ESTIEA, lying directly ouer against the country which sometimes was vnder the obedience of the PHTHIOTES, and specially of the citie of OLIZON. There is a little temple of *Diana*, surnamed ARTEMISIA *tall*, round about the which there are trees, and a compasse of pillars of white stone, which when a man rubbes with his hande, they shew of the colour and sauour of saffron. And in one of those pillers there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect.

When boldest bloods of Athens by their might,
has ouercome the numbers infinite
of Asia: they then in memorie,
of all their deedes, and valiant victorie

began to build this noble monument
and to Diana the same they did present,
for that they had the Medes in wise subdued
and with their blood their hardy hands embrued.

There is a place seene also vpon that coast at this day, a good way into the lande, in the middest whereof are great sands full of blacke dust as ashes: and they think that they burne in that place all dead bodies and olde shippe wracked. Newes being brought what had beene done in the countrie of THERMOPYLES, how that king *Leonidas* was dead, & how that *Xerxes* had won that entrie into GREECE by land: the GRECIANS then brought their whole armie by sea more into GRECE, the ATHENIANS being in the rereward in this retyred manner whose hearts were lift vp with the glorie of their former valiant deedes. Now *Themistocles* passing by those places where he knew the enemies ships were like full vpon the lee shore for harborow: he did ingraue certaine wordes spoken vnto the IONIANS, in great letters in

The coast of Artemisium.

Themistocles stratagema.

stone, which he found there by chaunce, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbour for ships, and fit places also to lie in. These were the words, that the IONIANS should take the GRECIANS parts being their founders and auncesters, and such as fought for their libertie: or at the least they should trouble the armie of the barbarous people, and do them all the mischiefe they could, when the GRECIANS should come to fight with them. By these wordes he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their part, or at the least he should make the barbarous people iealous & mistrustfull of them. *Xerxes* being already entred in the vppermost part of the prouince of DORICA, into the countrie of PHOCIDA, burning and destroying the townes and cities of the PHOCIANS: the other GRECIANS lay still and suffered the inuasion, notwithstanding the ATHENIANS did request them to meete with the barbarous armie in BOEOTIA, to saue the country of ATTICA, as before they had done when they went by sea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearken to it in no wise, & all was because they were desirous they should draw to the straite of PELOPONNESVS, & there they should assemble the whole strength & power of GRECE within the barre of the same, to make a strong substantiall wall from the one sea to the other. The ATHENIANS were very angry at this deuise, & were halfe discouraged & out of hart, to see themselues thus forsaken & cast off, by the rest of the GRECIANS. For it was out of all speech that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: & therfore their only remedy was, to leaue their citie and to get them to the sea. The people were very vnwilling to listen hereunto, making their reckoning it was needles to be carefull to ouercome, or to saue themselues, hauing once forsaken the temples of their goddes, & the graues of their parents. Wherfore *Themistocles* seeing that neither reason, nor mans perswasion could bring the people to like his opinion: he began to frame a deuise (as men doe vse sometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the ATHENIANS with signes from heauen, with oracles & answers from the goddes. And the occasion of *Minerua* dragon serued his turne for a celestial signe and token, which by good fortune did not appeare in those daies in the temple as it was wont to do: & the priests found the sacrifices which were daily offered to him, whole & vntouched by any. Wherefore being enformed by *Themistocles* what they should doe, they spread a brute abroad amongest the people, that the goddesse *Minerua*, the protector and defendor of the citie, had forsaken it, pointing them the way vnto the sea. And againe he wanne them by a prophecie, which commaunded them to saue themselues in wals of wood: saying, that the walles of wood did signifie nothing els but ships. And for this cause he said, *Apollo* in his oracle called SALAMINA diuine, not miserable nor vnfortunate, because it should giue the name of a most happy victorie which the GRECIANS should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this decree, that they should leaue the citie of ATHENS to the custodie of the goddesse *Pallas*, that was lady & gouernour of the country, & that all those which were of age to carie any weapon should get them to the gallyes: and for the rest, that euery man should see his wife, children, & bondme placed in some sure place as well as he could. After this decree was past & authorized by the people, the most part of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wines and little children, into the citie of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANS receiued them very louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they should be entertained at the common charge, allowing them a piece two obules of their money a day, and suffered the young children to gather fruite where they found it, and further more did hire schoolemasters at the charge of the common wealth, to bring them vp at schooles. He that was the penner of this decree, was one called *Nicagoras*. The ATHENIANS at that time, had no common money, but the Senate of the *Areopagites*, as *Aristotle* sayth, furnished euery soldier each eight drachmas, which was the onely meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet *Clidemus* writeth, that this was a craft deuised of *Themistocles*. THEN when the king came downe vnto the hauen of PIREA, he made as though *Pallas* (on the which that *Atalanta* head was graued) had bene lost, and was not found with the image of the goddesse: and sending to seeke for it he ransacked euery corner of the gallyes, and found a great deale of stuffe which priuate persons had hidden amongest their tackle. This money was brought ouer vnto the people, and by this meanes the soldiers that were shipped had wherewithall, to prouide them of necessarie things. When time came that they were

wodden walles signifie ships.

The Athenians forsake Athens by Themistocles persuasion, and go to the sea.

to depart the hauen, and that all the city of ATHENS had taken sea: one way it was a pitty to behold them. Another way it made all sorts to wonder, that considered the boldnesse and courage of those men, which before sent away their fathers and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at their teares, cries, shrikes, & imbracinges of their wiues, their children, and departures, but stoutly and resolutely held on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding, there were many old citizens left still of necessity in ATHENS, because they could not be remoued for very extream age, which sturred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certaine pitty that made mens hearts to yerne, when they saw the poore doggs, beasts, and cattell run vp and downe bleating, mowing, and howling out a loud after their masters, in token of sorrow, when they did imbarke. Amongst these, there goeth a strange tale of *Xanthippus* dog, who was *Pericles* father: which for sorrow his maister had left him behinde him, did cast him selfe after into the sea, and swimming still by the gallies side wherein his maister was, hee held on to the Ile of SALAMINA, where so soone as the poore curre landed, his breath failed him, and died presently. They say, at this day the place called the dogs graue, is the very place where he was buried. These were straunge acts of *Themistocles*, that beholding the ATHENIANS sory for the absence of *Aristides*, & fearing least of spite he taking part with the barbarous nation, might haue bene the ruine and destruction of the state of GREECE, being banished fiue yeares also before the wars by *Themistocles* procurement: that he did set forth a decree, that al those which had bene banished for a time, might returne home againe, to do, to say, and to giue counsel to the citizens in those things, which they thought best for the preseruation of GREECE. And also where *Eurybiades* being generall of the GRECIANS whole army by sea, for the worthinesse of the city of SPARTA, but otherwise a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any case depart from thence, & retire into the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by land assebled: that *Themistocles* withstood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that *Themistocles* made so notable answers, which specially are noted and gathered together. For when *Eurybiades* said one day vnto him, *Themistocles*, those that at playes & games do rise before the company, are whistled at. It is true, said *Themistocles*: but those that tary last so, do neuer win any game. Another time *Eurybiades* hauing a staffe in his hand lift it vp, as though he would haue striken him. Strike and thou wilt, said he, so thou wilt heare me. *Eurybiades* wondring to see him so patient, suffered him then to say what he would. Then *Themistocles* began to bring him to reason: but one that stood by, said vnto him. *Themistocles*, for a man that hath neither city nor house, it is an ill part to will others that haue, to forsake all. *Themistocles* turning to him, replied. We haue willingly forsaken our houses and wals, said he, cowardly beast that thou art, because we would not become slaues for feare to lose things, that haue neither soule nor life. And yet our city I tell thee is the greatest of all GREECE: for it is a fleete of two hundred gallies ready to fight, which are come hither to saue you if you list. But if you will needes goe your waies and forsake vs the second time: you shall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANS haue another free city, and haue possessed againe as much good land, as that they haue already lost. These wordes made *Eurybiades* presently thinke, and feare, that the ATHENIANS would not goe, and that they would forsake them. And as another *Eretrian* was about to vtter his reason against *Themistocles* opinion: he could not but answere him. Alas, and must you my maisters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleeue? In deede you haue a sword, but you lacke a heart. Some write, that whilest *Themistocles* was talking thus from his galley, they spied an owle flying on the right hande of the shippes which came to light on one of the mastes of the gallies: and that hereupon all the other GRECIANS did agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by sea. But when the fleete of their enemies shippes shewed on the coastes of ATTICA, hard by the hauen *Phalericus*, and couered all the riuers thereabouts, as farre as any body could see, and that king *Xerxes* him selfe was come in person with all his army by land, to campe by the sea side: so that his whole power both by land and sea might be seene in sight: then the GRECIANS had forgotten all *Themistocles* goodly persuasions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONESIANS, considering how they might recouer the gulfe of PELOPONNESVS, and they did grow very angry, when any man

Xanthippus dogge.

The dogges graue.

Aristides returneth from banishment by Themistocles decree.

Notable answers of Themistocles.

The Sleue is a fish fashioned like a sword.

went about to talke of any other matter. To be ſhort, it was concluded that they ſhould ſaile away the next night following, and the maiſters of the ſhippes had order giuen them to make all thinges ready for them to depart. *Themiſtocles* perceiuing their determination, he was maruellous angry in his minde, that the GRECIANS would thus diſperſe themſelues aſunder, repairing euery man to his owne city, and leauing the aduantage which the nature of the place, and the ſtraight of the arme of the ſea, where they lay in harbor together, did offer them: and ſo he bethought himſelfe how this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practiſe of one *Sicinus* came into his minde, who being a PERSIAN borne, and taken priſoner before in the warres, loued *Themiſtocles* very well, and was ſchoolemaiſter to his children. This *Sicinus* he ſecretly ſent vnto the king of PERSIA, to aduertiſe him that *Themiſtocles* (generall of the ATHENIANS) was very deſirous to become his maieſties ſeruaunt, and that he did let him vnderſtand betimes, that the GRECIANS were determined to flie: and therefore that he wiſhed him not to let them eſcape, but to ſet vppon them, whileſt they were troubled and affraide, and fatre from their army by land, to the end that vpon a ſodaine he might ouerthrow their whole power by ſea, *Xerxes* ſuppoſing this intelligence came from a man that wiſhed him well, receiued the meſſenger with great ioy, and thereuppon gaue preſent order to his captaines, by ſea, that they ſhould imbarke their men into the other ſhippes at better leyſure, and that preſently they ſhould put out with all poſſible ſpeede, two hundred ſaile to followe the GRECIANS in the taile, to ſhut vp the foreland of the ſtraight, and to compaſſe the Iles all about, that not one of his enemies ſhippes might eſcape: and ſo it fell out. Then *Ariſtides* (*Lyſimachus* ſonne) being the firſt that perceiued it, went to *Themiſtocles* tent, though he was his enemy, and through his onely meanes had bene baniſhed before, as ye haue heard: and calling him out, told him how they were enuironed. *Themiſtocles*, who knew well enough the goodneſſe of this man, being very glad he came at that time to ſeeke him out, declared vnto him the pollicy he had vſed by the meſſage of *Sicinus*, praying him to put to his helpe to ſtay the GRECIANS, and to procure with him, conſidering his word had more authority among them, that they would fight within the ſtraight of SALAMINA. *Ariſtides* commending his great wiſedome, went to deale with the captaines of the other gallies, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credite that he ſaid, vntill ſuch time as there arriued a galley of TENEDIENA, whereof one *Panetius* was captaine, who being ſtolen out of the hoſte of the barbarous army, brought certaine newes, that the ſtraight out of doubt was ſhut vp. So that beſides the neceſſity which did vrge them, the ſpite which the GRECIANS conceiued thereof, did prouoke them to hazard the battell. The next morning by breake of day, King *Xerxes* placed himſelfe on a mariuelous high hill, from whence he might diſcerne his whole fleete, and the ordering of his army by ſea, aboue the temple of *Hercules*, as *Phanodemus* writeth. Which is the narrow way or channell betwixt the Ile of SALAMINA, and the coaſt of ATTICA: or as *Herodotus* ſaith, vppon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, aboue the point which they commonly call the hornes. There *Xerxes* ſet vp a throne of golde, and had about him many ſecretaries to write all that was done in the battell. But as *Themiſtocles* was ſacrificing vnto the goddes in his galley that was admirall, they brought to him three yong priſoners, faire of complexion, richly arrayed with gold and iuels, whom they ſaide were the children of *Sandauce* the kings ſiſter, and of prince *Antarctus*. So ſoone as *Euphrantides* the ſoothſayer had ſeene them, and at their arriuall obſerued there roſe a great bright flame out of the ſacrifice, and at the very ſelfe ſame inſtant that one on his right hand had ſneeſed: he tooke *Themiſtocles* by the hand, and willed him to ſacrifice all thoſe three priſoners vnto the god *Bacchus*, ſurnamed *Omeſtes*, as much to ſay, as the cruell *Bacchus*: for in doing it, the GRECIANS ſhould not only be victorious, but they ſhould haue the victory ouer their enemies. *Themiſtocles* wondred much, to heare ſo ſtraunge and terrible a commaundement of the ſoothſaier. Neuertheles, the common ſort following his cuſtome, which is, to promiſe ſafety ſooner in the greateſt dangers, & moſt deſperate caſes, by ſtrange and vnreaſonable, rather then by reaſonable and ordinary meanes: they beganne to call vpon the god with one voice, and bringing the three priſoners neare vnto the altar, they compelled him to performe the ſacrifice in that ſort as the ſoothſaier had appointed.

Themiſtocles ſtratagem, by the which he wan the battell at Salamina.

Themiſtocles and Ariſtides conſent together to giue battell.

appointed. *Phanias Lesbian*, an excellent Philosopher, and well seene in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the shippes of the barbarous nauy: *Aeschylus* the poet, in a tragedy which he intituled the PERSIANS, knowing certainly the troth, saieth thus:

King Xerxes had a thousand shippes I know,
amongest the which, two hundred were (I trow)
and seuen: which all the rest did ouer saile
with swifter course. This is without en faile.

Xerxes king of Persia had a thousand ships.

The ATHENIANS had nine score, in euery one of the which there were eighteen souldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. *Themistocles* also did with no lesse skill & wisdome choose his time & place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntil the howr was come, that of ordinary custom the sea wind arose, and brought in a rough tide within the channell, which did not hurt the GRECIAN gallies, being made low and snug, but greatly offended the PERSIAN gallies, being high cargged, heauy, & not yare of steredge, and made them lie sidelong to the GRECIANS, who fiercely set vpon them, hauing alwaies an eie to *Themistocles* direction, that best foresaw their aduantage. At the same time, *Ariamenes*, *Xerxes* admirall, a man of great valure & worthiest of the Kings brethren, bestowed arrowes and darts as it were from the wals of a castle, charging the gally of *Aminias Decelian*, and *Sosicles Pedian*, which were ioyned and grappled with him, and fiercely entring the same, was by them valiantly receiued vpon their pikes, and thrust ouer bord into the sea. Whose body floting amongst other shipwracks ARTEMISIA knowing, caused to be caried to king *Xerxes*. Now whilest this battell stoode in these termes, they say that there appeared a great flame in the element toward the city of ELEVSIN, and that a loude voice was heard through all the plaine of THRIASIA vnto the sea, as if there had bene a number of men together, that had sung out aloud, the holy song of *Iacchus*. And it seemed by litle and litle, that there rose a cloud in the aire from those which sang: that left the land, and came and lighted on the gallies in the sea. Other affirmed, that they saw armed men, which did reach out their hands from the Ile of AEGINA, towards the GRECIAN gallies: and they thought they were the AEACIDES, for whose helpe they all praid before the battell was begunne. The first man of the ATHENIANS that tooke any of the enemies ships, was *Lycomedes*, a captaine of a gally: who hauing taken very rich furniture and flags, did afterwards consecrate them to *Apollo* laurell: as ye would say, victorious. The other GRECIANS in the front being equally in number with the barbarous ships, by reason of the straightnes of the arme of the sea wherin they fought, and so straightned as they could not fight but by one & one, whereby the BARBARIANS disorderly laide one another aboord, that they did hinder themselues with their ouer multitude: & in the end were so sore presled vpon by the GRECIANS, that they were constrained to flie by night, after they had fought and maintained battell, vntill it was very darke. So that the GRECIANS won that glorious and famous victory: of the which may truely be affirmed that, as *Simonides* saieth:

Ariamenes Xerxes admirall.

The Grecians victory of the Persians nauy by sea.

VVas neuer yet, nor Greeke nor barbarous crew
that could by sea, so many men subdew:
Nor that obtainde, so famous victorie
in any fight, against their enemie.

Thus was the victory wonne through the valiantries and courage of those that fought that battell, but especially through *Themistocles* great policy and wisdome. After this battell *Xerxes* being madde for his losse, thought to fill vp the arme of the sea, and to passe his army by land, vpon a bridge, into the Ile of SALAMINA. *Themistocles*, because he would feele *Aristides* opinion, told him as they were talking together, that he thought best to goe and occupy the straight of HELLESPONT with the army by sea, to breake the bridge of shippes which *Xerxes* had caused to be made: to the end, said he, that we may take ASIA into EVROPE. *Aristides* liked not this opinion, for we haue (said he) fought all this while against this barbarous King, who thought but to play with vs: but if we shut him within GREECE, and bring him to fight of necessity to saue his life: such an enemy that commandeth so great an army, will no more stand still as a looker on, and set at his ease vnder his golden pauilion, to see the passime

of the battell, but will proouе euery way, and be him ſelfe in euery place at all aſſaies to ſaue him ſelfe from ſuch a ſtraight and daunger. Thus with politicke care and foreſight, he may eaſely amend his former fault committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he ſhall ſee his life and Kingdome both depend vppon it. Therefore *Themiſtocles*, I would thinke not beſt to breake his bridge at all, which he hath cauſed to bee made; but rather if wee could, to build another to it, to driue him out of EVROPE as ſoone as we could. *Themiſtocles* then replied: Seeing you thinke this were good to be done, we muſt all lay our heades together, to deuiſe how he may be forced to come out as ſoone as we could. They breaking off with this reſolution, *Themiſtocles* ſent immediately one of the Kings Eunuches, called *Arſaces*, that was one of the groomes of his chamber, whom he found out amongeſt the priſoners, and by him he ſent this meſſage vnto the King. That the GRECIANS hauing wonne the battell of him by ſea, had decreed in their counſell, how they would goe to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, to breake the bridge of the ſhippes he had cauſed to be made there. Whereof he thought good to aduertiſe him for the good will he did beare him, and to the end he might bethinke him betimes, to get him away to the ſea within his owne dominion, and ſo paſſe backe againe into ASIA as ſoone as he could, whileſt he gaue order to his allies and confederates, to ſtay following him at the poope. The barbarous King vnderſtanding theſe newes, was ſo affraid, that he hoiſed away with all poſſible ſpeede. The further foreſight and great wiſedome of *Themiſtocles*, and *Ariſtides*, in marine cauſes, did manifeſtly appeare afterwards in the battell the GRECIANS fought before the city of PLATEA, againſt *Mardonius*, king *Xerxes* lieutenant: who hauing but a ſmall power of the King his ſoueraignes there, did yet put the GRECIANS to great diſtreſſe, and in hazard to haue loſt all. Of all the townes and cities that fought in the battell, *Herodotus* writeth, that the city of ÆGINA wanne the fame for valiantneſſe aboue the reſt: and of priuat men, among the GRECIANS, *Themiſtocles* was iudged the worthieſt man: although it was ſore againſt their wils, becauſe they enuied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being gotten into the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and hauing ſworne vppon the altar of their ſacrifices, that they would giue their voices after their conſciences, to thoſe they thought had beſt deſerued it: euery one gaue him ſelfe the firſt place for worthines, & the ſecond vnto *Themiſtocles*. The LACEDÆMONIANS caried him into SPARTA, where they iudged the honour and dignity to their admirall *Eurybiades*: but the wiſdome and policy they attributed to *Themiſtocles*. In token thereof they gaue him an oliue braunch, and the goodlieſt coche that was in their city: and moreouer they ſent three hundred of their luſty youthes to accompany him, and conduct him out of their countrey. They ſay, at the next feaſtes and aſſemblies of the playes Olympicall that were made after this victory, when *Themiſtocles* was once come into the ſhew place where theſe games were playde, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all caſt their eies on him, ſhewing him to the ſtrangers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their handes did witneſſe how much they eſteemed him. Whereat he him ſelfe tooke ſo great delight, that he confeſſed to his familiar friends, he then did reape the fruite and benefit of his ſundry and painefull ſeruices he had taken in hand, for the preſeruation of GREECE. So ambitious was he of nature, and couetous of honour, as we may eaſily perceiue by certaine of his deedes and notable ſayings they haue noted of him. For being choſen admirall of ATHENS, he neuer diſpatched any cauſe priuate or publicke, how ſoeuer they fell out, vntill the very day of his departure, and taking ſhipping: and all becauſe that men ſeeing him rid much buſineſſe at once, and to ſpeake with ſo many perſons together, they ſhould eſteeme him to be the notabler man, and of the greater authority. Another time he walked vppon the ſands by the ſea ſide, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the ſea had caſt vp vpon the ſhore: and ſeeing ſome of them that had on ſtill their chaines of golde, and bracelets, he paſſed by on his way, but ſhewed them yet to his familiar friend that followed him, and ſaide vnto him: take thou thoſe, for thou art not *Themiſtocles*. And vnto one *Ariſtophares*, who in his youth had bene a goodly yong boy, and at that time did cornefully behaue him ſelfe vnto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he ſaw him in authority came to ſee him, he ſaide. O my young ſonne, and friend we are both euen at one time (but too late) growen wiſe. He ſaide the ATHENIANS did not eſteeme

Ariſtides counſell vnto Themiſtocles, for the breaking of Xerxes bridge.

Themiſtocles ſtratageme.

Themiſtocles honored aboue all the Grecians.

Themiſtocles ambition noted.

Themiſtocles ſayings.

esteeme of him in time of peace: but when any storme of warres were towardes, and they stoode in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as they runne to the shadowe of a plane tree, vpon any sodaine raine: and after fayre weather come againe, they cut away then the braunches, and boughes thereof. There was a man borne in the Ile of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, did cast him in the teeth, that it was not for his worthinesse, but for the noble citie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne such glorie. Thou sayest true sayde he: but neither should I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a SERIPHIAN, nor thou also if thou haddest bene an ATHENIAN. An other time one of the Captaines of the citie, hauing done good seruice vnto the common weale, made boast before *Themistocles*, and compared his seruice equall with his. *Themistocles* to aunswere him, telde him a pretie tale. That the working day brauled on a time with the holy day, repining against her, that he laboured for his liuing continually, and how she did nothing but fill her bellie, and spend that they had gotten. Thou hast reason saide the holy day. But if I had not bene before thee, thou hadst not bene here now. And so, if I had not bene then: where had you my masters bene now? His owne sonne was a little too sawsie with his mother, and with him also, bearing himselfe ouer-boldly of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereupon being merrily disposed, he would say that his sonne could doe more then any man in all GREECE. For, saieth he, the ATHENIANS commaunde the GRECIANS, I commaund the ATHENIANS, my wife commaundeth me, and my sonne commaundeth her. Moreouer because he would be singular by himselfe aboue all other men: hauing a peece of land he would sell, he willed the crier to proclaime open sale of it in the market place, and with all he should adde vnto the sale, that his land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being suters to his daughter, he preferred the honester before the richer, saying: he had rather haue to his sonne in lawe a man that lacked goods, then goods to lacke a man. These were *Themistocles* pleasant conceits and aunswers. But after he had done all these things we haue spoken of before, he tooke in hand to builde againe the citie and walles of ATHENS, and did corrupt the officers of LACEDÆMONIA with money, to the end they should not hinder his purpose, as *Theopompus* writeth. Or as all other say when he had deceiued them by this subtiltie, he went vnto SPARTA as ambassadour, sent thither of purpose vpon the complaints of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS did inclose their citie againe with walles, who were accused vnto the counsell of SPARTA, by an orator called *Poliarchus*, who was sent thither from the ÆGINETES, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the ATHENIANS. *Themistocles* stoutely denied it to them, and prayed them for better vnderstanding of the trothe, they would send some of their men thither to see it. This was but a fetch onely to winne by this delaye, the ATHENIANS so much more time to raise vp their walles, and that the ATHENIANS should keepe as hostages for surety of his personne, those they should send to ATHENS, to bring backe the report thereof: and so it fell out. For the LACEDÆMONIANS being enformed of the troth as it was, did him no hurt, but dissembling the misliking they had to be thus abused by him, sent him away safe and sound. Afterwardes he made them also mend and fortifie the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing considered the situation of the place, and all to encline the city to the sea. Wherein he did directly contrary to all the counsell of the auncient kinges of ATHENS: who seeking (as they say) to withdraw their people from the sea, and to accustome them to liue vppon the land, by planting, sowing, and plowing their grounds, did deuise and giue out abroad, the fable they tell of the goddesse *Pallas*. And that is this, how she contending with *Neptune* about the patronage of the countrey of ATHENS, brought forth and shewed to the iudges the oliue tree, by meanes whereof she preuailed, and obtained the preheminence. Euen so *Themistocles* did not ioyne the hauen of PIRÆA, vnto the city of ATHENS, as the Comicall poet *Aristophanes* sayeth: but rather ioyned the city vnto the hauen PIRÆA, and the land vnto the sea. By this meanes he made the people strong against the nobility, and brought the comminalty to waxe bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authoritie fell into the handes of saylers, mariners, pilots, shippemaisters, and such kinde of seafaring men: so as the pulpit where all the oracles were

A pretie tale of Themistocles.

Themistocles saying of his sonne.

Themistocles built againe the walles of the citie of Athens.

A subtill fetche of Themistocles

The hauen of Pirea fortified.

made, ſtoode in the market place of PNYX, and did looke towardes the ſea. But the thirt tyrants that came in afterwardes, did remooue it, and turne it towardes the lande: holdi opinion to be ſtrong by ſea, was it that did maintaine the authoritie of the popular ſta And that contrariwiſe they which liue by the labour and toyle of the earth, doe more wi lingly like the gouernement of Nobilitie. *Themiſtocles* called to minde another matter al of greater importance, to make the citie of ATHENS of a greater power by ſea. For aft the retire of *Xerxes*, and that all the fleete and nauie of the GRECIANS wintered in th hauen of PAGASES: he ſaide one day in an open aſſembly of the people, that he ha thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them, but it was no to be tolde openly. The people willed him then to impart it to *Ariſtides*: and if he thoug it good, they would execute it ſpeedily. *Themiſtocles* then tolde *Ariſtides*: the thing he had conſidered of, was to burne the Arcenall where the GRECIANS nauie lay, and to ſe on fire all their ſhippes. *Ariſtides* hearing his purpoſe, returned to the people, and told them: how nothing could be more profitable, but with all more vniuſt, then that which *Themiſtocles* had deuiſed. The ATHENIANS then willed *Ariſtides* it ſhould be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDÆMONIANS had exhibited their petition to the counſell of the *Amphictyons* (that is the generall counſell of all the ſtates of GRECE aſſembled) how the townes and cities of GRECE which had not bene parties with the GRECIANS to the league, againſt the barbarous people, ſhould be put off wholly from this counſell. *Themiſtocles* doubting of the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS, and the THEBANS alſo ſhould by this meanes be exempted, that the LACEDÆMONIANS would be then the greater number in voices, and by this meanes might do what they would in this counſell: he ſpake ſo conſideratly for the cities which they would haue thus diſcharged, that he made the petitioners in the aſſembly vtterly to change their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirtie cities compriſed onely the league, and yet that ſome of them were very weake and ſmall: and how it were no reaſon, that reiecting all the reſt of GRECE, the greatest authoritie of this counſell ſhould fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefeſt cities alone. For this cauſe chiefly the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer beare him extreame hatred, and did ſet vp *Cimon* all they could, to be alwayes aduerſarie oppoſite vnto him, and as it were to beard him in all matters of ſtate, and the gouernment of ATHENS. They procured him be ſides the ill will and diſpleaſure of all the friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went ſayling ſtill too and fro alongſt the Iles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the ſame. And this is to be knowne by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would haue had money) and by the aunſwer they made him, as *Herodotus* writeth. Which was, how he had brought them two mightie gods: Loue, and Force. And they anſwered him again, that they alſo had two great goddeſſes, which kept them from giuing of him any money: Pouerty, and Impoſſibility. And to make this good also *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet galled him to the quicke, when he ſharpely taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were baniſhed: and how for coueteouſneſſe of money he had betraied, and forſaken his hoſte and friend. The verſes wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effect.

The equitie of the Athenians.

Themiſtocles gods, Loue and Force.

The Andrians goddeſſes. Pouerty, Impoſſibility.

VVho liſt commend worthy Pauſanias,
Zanthippus or good Leotychides
yet ſhall I ſeeme but light thereof to paſſe,
compared with valiant Ariſtides.
For yet was nay, the like in Athens towne,
nor neuer ſhall come none of like renowne.
Themiſtocles by right and due deſert,
is hated of Latona, for his lies,
and for he bare a traytrous wicked heart,
who like a wretch, and niggard did deuiſe,
for ſmall reward, his hoſt Timocreon
to holde out of his countrey Ialiſon.

He tooke for bribe (vniustly yet therewhile)
of readie coyne three talents fayre and bright,
reuoking such as pleas'd him, from exile,
and banishing full many a worthy wight.
Or putting them to death, without cause told,
he gaie thereby, great heapes of coyne and gold.
But in the end (ô right reward for such)
this bribing wretch, was forced for to hold,
a tipling booth, most like a clowne or smuch,
at holy feastes and pastimes manifold,
which were amongest the people in those dayes
Istmiciane folke, did vse the like alwayes.
And there he serued, his gests with cold meat still,
whilest they that tasted of his cookerie,
gan wish that they (to ease their wearie will)
had neuer lined to see the trecherie,
of false Themistocles, and that he might
no longer liue, which wrought them such despight.

After this, he did more openly blase him to the world, when he was banished and condemned: in a song that had beginning thus:

O Muse, let these my verses be dispers'd,
throughout all Greece, since they deserue no lesse:
and since the truth which is in them rehears'd,
deserueth fame, whom no man should suppresse.

They say the cause was, why this *Timocreon* was banished: the friendship which he had with the Barbarous people, and for giuing them intelligence. Whereof *Themistocles* was one that iudicially condemned him. Wherefore when *Themistocles* himselfe was accused afterwards of the same fault, *Timocreon* then made these verses following against him.

Timocreon was not without his phere,
which did confer with Medes priuely,
Since others mo, the selfe same blame might beare,
no foxes lurke in dennes as well as I.

Besides these verses, *Themistocles* owne citizens for the ill will they bare him, were contented to heare him ill spoken of. Therfore while he sought waies to redresse all this, he was driuen to vse such meane, which more increased their hatred toward him. For in his orations to the people, he did oft remember them of the good seruice he had done them: and perceyuing how they were offended withall, he was driuen to say. Why, are ye weary so oft to receiue good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he surnamed *Diana* (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) *Aristobule*, as much to say, as the good counseller: meaning thereby, how he had giuen graue and wise counsell, both vnto his city, and to all the rest of the GRECIANS. He built this temple also neare his house, in a place called *Melita*, where the hang-men doe cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throw the ragges and halters endes of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by law. There was also in our daies in the temple of *Diana Aristobule*, a litle image of *Themistocles*, which shewed plainly, that he was not only wise, and of a noble mind, but also of a great maiesty and countenance in the face. In the end the ATHENIANS banished him ATHENS for fiue yeares, because they would plucke downe his ouergreat courage and authority, as they did vse to serue those, whose greatnes they thought to be more, then common equality that ought to be among citizens would beare. For this manner of banishment for a time, called *Ostracismon*, was no punishment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the enuy of the people, which delighted to plucke downe their stomacks that too much seemed to exceede in greatnes: and by this meanes they tooke away the poison of his malice, with diminishing his glory & honor. So *Themistocles* being banished ATHENS, went

Themistocles banished for fiue yeares.

to dwell in ARGOS. In this meane season, *Pausanias* trechery fell out, which gaue his enem occasion to lye heauie on his backe. But he which became his accuser, and was partner of treason, was one called *Leobotes* (*Alcmeons* sonne) borne in a village called AGRAVLA. Besi this, the SPARTANS also did sit on his skirtes, & charged him sorely. For *Pausanias* neuer fore reuealed to *Themistocles* the treason he had purposed, although hee was his very fami friend. But after he sawe *Themistocles* was banished, and did take his exile very vnpacient *Pausanias reuealeth his treason vnto Themistocles.* then *Pausanias* was bolde to open his treason to him, to procure him to take his part, shewed him the letters the king of PERSIA had written to him, and all to stirre him vp agai the GRECIANS, as against vngratefull and vnnaturall people. Howbeit *Themistocles* sho him off, and told him plainely he would be no partner of his treason. Notwithstanding, neuer reuealed it to any liuing creature, nor discouered the practise he intended: hoping ther he would haue giuen it ouer, or that shortly it would appeare by some other me considering he so fondly aspired to thinges of great daunger, and without purpose or p bilitie. After *Pausanias* was condemned, and had suffered paines of death for the same: found amongest his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made *Themistocles* to be *Themistocles suspected of treason.* sore suspected. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS on the one side cryed out of him: & enemies and ill willers at ATHENS accused him on the other side. To the which he made swere by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people, it was not likely that he(sought all the waies to rule, and was not borne to serue, neither had any minde thereto) w euer haue thought in his head, to sell his owne libertie, and the GRECIANS also vnt Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation of his) the people b procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the states o GRECE, to be iudged by that counsell. Whereof *Themistocles* hauing intelligence in time *Themistocles fled into the Ile of Corphu.* did conueigh himselfe into the Ile of CORCYRA, because the citie there was greatly behol him, for certaine pleasure in time past he had done them. For they being at sute and with the CORINTHIANS, he tooke vp the matter betweene them, and gaue iudgeme their side, & condemned the CORINTHIANS to pay them twenty talents damages: & di down an order, that they should occupy the Ile of LEVCADIA in common together, as gre that had bene inhabited with the people, aswell of the one citie, as of the other. From thenc fled to *Epirus*, whither being followed by the ATHENIANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS, was compelled to venter himselfe vpon a doubtfull and very dangerous hope. For he w to yeelde himselfe into the hands of *Admetus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS. Who hauing he to fore made certaine requests vnto the ATHENIANS, and being shamefully denyed them meanes of *Themistocles* (who then was at his chiefest height and authority) the king was *The manner of supplication among the Molossians.* vtterly offended with him: and it was likely in deed, that if he could then haue hands on him, he would haue bene reuenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the p misery of his exile, he thought he might lesse feare the Kings olde quarrell and displea when the fresh hate and enuy of his countreymen. Whereupon he went vnto King *Ad* tus, trusting to his mercy, and became an humble suter to him in a strange extraordinary For he tooke the Kings litle young sonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe b the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of suing the MOLOSSIANS take to be effectuall, and such as they dare not deny nor refuse. Some say that Queene *Phthia* her the Kings wife, did enforme him of this their countrey custome and manner, and brought litle sonne also neare vnto the altar. Other write also, that it was *Admetus* himselfe that tau and shewed him this enforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuse himselfe to t that should come to demaund *Themistocles* of him: that by duetie of religion he wa straightly bound and restrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protection. In meane time, *Epicrates Anharnian* found the meanes secretly to conuay *Themistocles* wife children out of ATHENS, and did send them priuily vnto him: whereupon he was afterwa accused, and put to death, vpon *Cimons* accusation and motion, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. W not remembring those matters I know not how, or making as though *Themistocles* had remembred him selfe doth say, that *Themistocles* sailed into SICILE, where he sought to ry *Hierons* daughter, the tyrant of SYRACVSA, promising him if he would let him haue he

would assure him to conquer all GREECE for him, and to bring them vnder his obedience. But *Hieron* refusing this offer, *Themistocles* went from thence into ASIA: but that is not likely. For *Theophrastus* writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdoms, that *Hieron* hauing sent certain running horses to the feast of games Olympicall, & hauing set vp a maruellous rich and sumptuous tent there: *Themistocles* made an oration to the GRECIANS, declaring vnto them how they should teare the tyrants tent in peeces, and not to suffer his horses to runne with other swift and light horses, and to carie away the pryse in those holy games. *Thucydides* againe declareth, how he went vnto the other sea, and imbarked in the citie of PYDNE, being knowen of neuer a man in the shippe, vntill such time as the winde began to carie them into the Ile of NAXOS, which the ATHENIANS by chaunce did beseige at that time, where being afeard to be set on land, he was forced to bewray himselfe to the master of the shippe, and the masters mate, and wrought them, what with faire words and what with threates (by saying he would accuse them to the ATHENIANS, that they did not ignorantly receiue him in, but hyred for money) so as he compelled them to sayle on further, and to carie him into ASIA. As for his goods, his friendes saued the most part of them, and sent them into ASIA to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate vnto the state: *Theopompus* writeth, they did amount to the value of one hundred talents. And *Theophrastus* sayth, but to some fiue hundred only. So that all his goods was not worth three talents, when he began to gouerne the estate of the common weale. When he came vnto the cuse of CYMA, he perceiued that all the coastes by sea were laide for him to apprehend him, and that he had many spials vpon him: among the which, there were two speciall noted men, *Argoieles*, and one *Pythodorus*, the reward being very great, for me that could get their gaine any way they could. For the king of PERSIA had proclaimed by sound of trumpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him *Themistocles*. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of AEOLIA, called ALEA, where no body knew him, but his host only, called *Nicogenes*: who was the richest man of all the AEOLIANS, and knew all the noble men of authoritie that were about the king of PERSIA. *Themistocles* continued hidden certaine dayes in his house: at which time, on a night after the fact of a sacrifice, one *Olbius*, schoolemaister to *Nicogenes* children, by some secret working of the gods, suddenly fell beside himselfe, and began to sing these verses out alowde.

Do thou beleeue, what so the night thee tels
and giue thy voice, thy counsell and conceipes
Vnto the night, in darksomnesse that dwels,
therein also thy victorie awaits.

The next night following, *Themistocles* being fast a sleepe in his bed, dreamed that a snake wound it selfe round about his bellie, and glided vpwards to his necke, vntill it touched his face, and suddenly then it became an Eagle, and imbraced him with his winges: and so at length did lift him vp into the aire, and carried him a maruellous way off, vntill he thought he saw a golden rodde (such as Heraulds vse to carry in their handes) whereuppon the Eagle did set him, and so was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought him selfe in. The troth was, *Nicogenes* had this deuise in his head, how he might bring him safe to the King of PERSIANS coure. The barbarous nations for the most part (and specially the PERSIANS) are of a very strange nature, and maruellous iealous ouer their women, and that not onely of their wiues, but also of their bond women and concubines: which they keepe so straightly locked vp, that no man euer seeth them abroade at any time, but are alwaies like housedoues kept within doores. And when they haue any occasion to go into the countrey, they are caried in close coches couered all about, that no man can looke into them. *Themistocles* was conueied into one of these coches dresst after this manner, and had warned men to answer those they met by the way, that asked whom they carried: how it was a young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the countrey of IONIA, which they carried to the court for a noble man there. *Thucydides*, and *Charon Lampsacenian* say, he went thither after the death of *Xerxes*, and spake with his sonne there. But *Ephorus*, *Dino*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many other write, that he spake with him selfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that *Thucydides* wordes doe best agree with the chronicles and tables, recording the succession of times,

Themistocles dreame.

The Persians iealous of their wiues.

How Themistocles was conueied to the king of Persias court.

although they be of no great certaintie. *Themistocles* being come now to the swordes point (as it were) and to the extremitie of his daunger: did first present himselfe vnto one *Artabanus*, Colonell of a thousand footmen, and sayd vnto him, Sir, I am a GRECIAN borne, and desire to speake with the King: I haue matters of importance to open to his maiestie, and such as I know he will thankefully receiue. *Artabanus* aunswered him in this manner. My friend sir straunger, the lawes and customes of men are diuerse, and some take one thing for honest others some another thing: but it is most honestly for all men, to keepe and obserue the lawes and manners of their owne countrie. For you GRECIANS haue the name to loue libertie and equalitie aboue all things: and for vs amongst all the goodly lawes and customes we haue, we esteeme this aboue the rest; to reuerence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt fashion thy selfe after our manner to honour the King, thou mayest both see him, and speake with him: but if thou haue another minde with thee, then must thou of necessitie vse some other person for thy meane. For this is the manner of our country: the King neuer giueth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. *Themistocles* hearing what he sayd, answered him againe. My lord *Artabanus*, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the desire I haue to aduaunce his glorie and power, is the onely cause of my present repaire vnto his court: therefore I meane not onely to obey your lawes (since it hath so pleased the goddes to raise vp the noble empire of PERSIA vnto this greatnesse) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there do at this present. Therefore let there be no stay, but that my selfe in person may deliuer to the King that I haue to say vnto him. Well, saied *Artabanus*, whom shall we say thou art? For by thy speeche it seemeth thou art a man of no meane state and condition. *Themistocles* aunswered him: as for me *Artabanus*, none shall know before the King himselfe. Thus doth *Phanias* report, and *Eratosthenes*, in his bookes he wrote of riches; adding further, how *Themistocles* had access vnto this *Artabanus*, being recommended to the King by a woman of ERATRIA, whom the King kept. *Themistocles* being brought in his presence, after he had presented his humble duties and reuerence to him, stood on his feete, and sayd neuer a word, vntill the King commaunded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he aunswered: May it please your maiestie, ô noble King: I am *Themistocles* the ATHENIAN, a banished man out of my countrie by the GRECIANS, who humbly repaire hither to your highnes, knowing I haue done great hurt to the PERSIANS, but I persuade my selfe I haue done them far more good then harme. For I it was that kept the GRECIANS back they did not follow you, whē the state of GREECE was deliuered from thraldome, and my natiue countrie from danger, and that I knew I should then in good state to pleasure you. Now for me, I finde all mens good wils agreeable to my present misery and calamity: for I come determined, most humbly to thanke your highnes for any grace and fauour you shall shew me, and also to craue humble pardon, if your maiestie be yet offended with me. And therefore licence me (most noble king) to beseech you, in taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witnesses of the pleasures I haue done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace vse my hard fortune, as a good occasion to shew your honorable vertue, rather then to satisfie the passion of your heate and choller. For in saueing my life, your maiesty saueth an humble suter that put him selfe to your mercy: and in putting me to death, you shall rid away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Hauing spoke thus these words he said further, That the goddes by diuerse signes and tokens had procured him to come and submit him selfe vnto him, and tolde the King what vision he had seene in his dreame in *Cybeles* house: and declared also the oracle of *Iupiter Dodonian*, who had commaunded him that he should goe vnto him that was called as a god, and how he thought it was the person of his maiestie, because that god and he in troth were called both great Kings. The King hauing thus heard him speake, gaue him then no present answer againe, notwithstanding he marueilously wondred at his great wisedome and boldnes. But afterwards, amongest his familiars the King saide, he thought him selfe very happy to meete with the good fortune of *Themistocles* comming to him: and so besought his great god *Arimanius*, that he would alwaies send his enemies such mindes, as to banish the greatest and wisest men amongest them.

The Persians honour their King as the image of the god of nature.

Themistocles talke with the king of Persia.

It is reported also he did sacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes therfore, and dispo-
sed himselfe presently to be merry. Insomuch as dreaming in the night, in the middest of his
dreame he cried out three times together for ioy: I haue *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. The next
morning the King hauing sent for the chiefest lordes of his court, he made *Themistocles* also
to be brought before him: who looked for no goodnes at all, specially when he saw the soul-
diers warding at the court gates, giue him all countenance and language both, when they be-
held him, and vnderstood his name. Moreouer *Aspanes*, one of the captaines, as *Themistocles*
passed by him going to the King, (who was set in his chayre of state, and euery man keeping
silence) softly sighing, sayed vnto him, O thou Greekish serpent, subtill and malicious: the
Kings good fortune hath brought thee hither. Neuertheles when he came to the King, & had
once againe made him a very humble and low reuerence: the King saluted him, & spake very
curteously to him, saying, I am now your debtor of two hundred talents, for presenting your-
selfe. It is good reason I should deliuer you the money promised him that should haue brought
you: but I giue you a further warrant, be bold, I charge you, and speake your mind freely, say
what you thinke of the state of GRAECIA. *Themistocles* then answered him, That mens words
did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a peece of arrasse for both, in the peece and in the
other, the goodly images of either of them are seene, when they are vnfolded and layed open.
Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut vp & close folded. Wherevpon
he sayed to the king, he must needes require some further time of answer. The King liked his
comparison passingly well, & willed him to, appoint his owne time. *Themistocles* craued a yere:
in which time hauing prettily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the King him-
selfe without any interpreter. So, such as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the
King of matters of GRAECIA. But because the chaunge and alteration of the court fell out great
at that time, the noble men imagined he had bene so bold to common with the King of them
also. Thereupon they greatly enuied him, & afterwards murmured much against him. For in-
deede the King did honour *Themistocles* aboue all other strangers whatsoeuer they were. On
a time the King had him out a hunting with him, he made him see his mother, with whom he
grew familiar, and by the King sowne commaundement he was to heare the disputations of
the wise men of PERSIA touching secret philosophie, which they call magike. *Demaratus* the
LACEDAEMONIAN being at that time in the court of PERSIA, the king willing him to aske
what gift he would, he besought the King to grant him this fauour, to licence him to go vp
& down the citie of SARDIS with his royall hat on his head as the Kings of PERSIA do. *Mi-
thropastes*, the Kings cosin, taking him by the hand sayd vnto him *Demaratus*, the kings hatte
thou demaundest, and if it were on thy heade, it would couer but litle wit: Naye though *Iu-
piter* did geue thee his lightning in thy hande, yet that would not make thee *Iupiter*. But the
king gaue him so sharpe a repulse for his vnreasonable request, & was so angrie with him for
it, that it was thought he would neuer haue forgeuen him: howbeit *Themistocles* was so ear-
nest a suter for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the report goeth, that the
kings successours which haue bene since that time, vnder whom the PERSIANS haue had
more dealings with the GRAECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great
state or personage of GRAECIA into their seruice, they wrote vnto him, and promised him they
would make him greater about them then euer was *Themistocles* about *Xerxes*. That which is
written of him, doth also confirme it. For he being stept vp to great countenaunce and au-
tority, & followed with great traines of suters after him by reason of his greatnes: seeing him self
one daye very honorably serued at his table, & with all sortes of daintie meates, he turned him
to his childrē, & sayed vnto them, My sonnes, we should haue bene vndone, if we had not bene
vndone. The most writers do agree, that he had giuen him the reuenue of three cities for his al-
lowāce of bread, wine & victuals: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACVS, & MYVNTA. But *Neather
Graecenia*, & *Phanias*, do adde two other cities more, PERCOTA, & PALESCEPSIA: the one to
defray his charges of apparel, & the other for his lodging. Afterwards *Themistocles* going into
the low countries towards the sea, to take order against the practises of the GRAECIANS: there
was a PERSIAN lord called *Epixies* (gouernour of the high PHRYGIA) that had laid a traine to
kill him (hauing of long time hired certaine murderers of PISIDIA to doe it), so soone as he

An excellent comparison of Themistocles.

Themistocles honoured of the king of Persia.

Demaratus fond demaunde of the King.

Themistocles had the reuenue of three cities allowed him for his diet.

should come into a towne of his gouernment, called the Lyons head. But as he slept one day in his house in the after noone, the mother of the goddes appeared vnto him, and sayed, *Themistocles*, go not to the Lyons head, for feare thou meete with the Lyon: and for this warning, I do aske thy daughter *Mnesiptolema* for my seruant. *Themistocles* waking sodainly out of his dreame, made his prayer vnto the goddesse, and turning out of the high way, reached another compasse about. After wardes hauing passed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beastes which carried his tent, fell by the way, vnfortunately in a riuer, and all his arras and tapestry hangings being throughly wet, his seruantes were driuen to lay them out a drying, by moone light. The *Pisidians* that lay in wayt, and could not discerne by moone light that they were hangings layed out to dry, thought it had bene the very tent *Themistocles* selfe did lye in: whereupon they went vnto it with their swords drawne in their hands, hoping to haue taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and began to lift vp a peece of the hangings: some of the people of *Themistocles* (which kept watch) perceiuing them, ran vpon them, and tooke them. So *Themistocles* hauing escaped this danger, wondred greatly at the fauor of the goddesse which had appered vnto him. In recopence whereof, when he was in the citie of MAGNESIA, he built a temple vnto *Dindymena*, and made his daughter *Mnesiptolema* priorelle of the same. As he passed by the citie of SARDIS for his recreation, he went to visit the temples, and offerings that had bene giuen there. So he saw an image of a mayden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the gods, being two yardes high, which they called the *Hydrophora*: as much to say, as the watercarier. And it was a statue, which himselfe had heretofore dedicated and caused to be made, with the fines of those that had payed forfeytures, for stealing or turning away the water course at ATHENS, at such time as he was maister surueyer of the water workes and conduites there. Wherfore, whether *Themistocles* was sory to see his goodly image a prisoner in the handes of the Barbarous people, or that he would shew vnto the ATHENIANS the greatnes of his credit and authoritie through all the Kings dominions: he spake to the gouernour of LYDIA, and prayed him for his sake that he would send his image againe to ATHENS. But this Barbarous gouernour was very angry with his request, and told him he would aduertise the King thereof. Then *Themistocles* began to be afeard, and was driuen to recke to the gouernours women and concubines, whome he got with money to intreat him, and so made faire weather again with the gouernour. But fro thence forth he tooke better garde of himselfe in all his iourneys, greatly fearing the enuie of the Barbarous people. For he progressed not vp and downe ASIA, as *Theopompus* writeth, but lay a long time in the citie of MAGNESIA, quietly enioying the Kings gracious guts bestowed on him: where he was honoured and reuerenced for one of the greatest persons of PERSIA, whilest the King was els where occupied in the affaires of the high prouinces of ASIA, & had no leysure to thinke vpo those of GREECE. But when newes was brought him, that EGYPT was rebelled, by meanes of the fauour and assistance of the ATHENIANS, and that the GRECIANS gallies did couer the seas euen vnto the Ile of CYPRVS, and vnto the coastes of CILICIA, and that *Cimon* had all the sea in subiection: that made him then to bend all his thoughts how to resist the GRECIANS, that their greatnes might not turne to his harme. Then commissions went out to leauy men, to assemble captaines, and to dispatch poastes vnto *Themistocles* at MAGNESIA, with the Kings letters, straightly charging him to haue an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreouer that he should faythfully keepe his promise he had made to him. But he, to shew that he neither maliced his citizens, nor was mooued with the desire of greatnes and authoritie he might haue growne vnto in those watres, or else for that he thought the Kings expectation would proone to a greater matter, then he could ende or wade through, considering GREECE was full at that time of famous captaines, and that *Cimon* amongst the rest had marueilous good fortune, and that it should be a reproach to him to staine the glorie of so many noble actes, so many triumphes, and so great victories as *Cimon* had done and wonne: he tooke a wise resolution with himselfe, to make such an end of his life, as the fame thereof deserued, for he made a solemne sacrifice vnto the goddes, & feasted at the same all his friends. And after he had taken his leaue of them all, he dranke bulles bloud, as most men thinke (or as other say), poyson, which dispatcheth a man in foure and twentye howers, and so ended his

Themistocles escaped murder by a warning he had in his sleepe.

Themistocles loue to his country.

The manner of Themistocles death.

dayes in the citie of MAGNESIA, after he had liued threescore & fiue yeres, & the most part of them alwayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the King of PERSIA vnderstãding the cause and manner of his death, did more estcome him afterwards, then he did before, and that euer after he continued to vse his friends and familiars in very good sort. For he left children behind him, which he had of *Archippe* (*Lysanders* daughter) of the towne of ALOPECIA: *Archeptolis*, *polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*, of whom *Plato* the philosopher maketh mention, saying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwise that there was no goodnes in him. His other sonnes that were elder, as *Neocles*, died being bitten with a horse: and as for *Diocles* another sonne, his grandfather *Lysander* did adopt him for his sonne. He had many daughters, of the which *Mnesiptolema* (which he had by a second wife) was maried vnto her halfe brother *Archeptolis*, for they were not both of one venter. Another called *Italia*, was maried vnto one *Panthides* of CHIO. *Syharis*, vnto *Nicomedes* an ATHENIAN. And *Nicomacha*, vnto *Pharsicles*, *Themistocles* nephewe: vnto whom her brethren did marry her within the citie of MAGNESIA, after the death of their father. This *Pharsicles* did bring vp ASIA, which was the yongest of all his daughters. Furthermore his sumptuous tumbe standeth yet in the market place of MAGNESIA. But that *Andocides* writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friendes, is not to be credited, which was: that the ATHENIANS hauing found the ashes of his bones, did cast them vp into the ayer, as a deuise to sturre vp the noble men against the people. And *Phylarchus* in his historie (much like vnto the fayned subtilties of a tragedie) bringeth in I cannot tell what *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, for *Themistocles* sonnes, to moue the readers with compassion. Howbeit no man is so simple, but will iudge it straight a very fayning and deuise. *Diodorus* the cosmographer also in a booke he hath written of tumbes and monuments sayeth, by coniecture, rather then of any certen knowledge: that alongst the hauen of PIRAEA, coming towards the head of *Alcimus*, there is a forelande in forme of an elbowe, within the which when they haue doubled the poynt, the sea is alwaies calme, and there they finde a great and long foundation or base, vpon the which there is as it were the forme of an alter, and that is (sayeth he) *Themistocles* tumbe. And he supposeth that *Plato* the comicall poet doth witnesse it in these verses:

Thy graue is set and plast, commodiously,
where passengers and marchants that come by
may visite thee, and where it may regard,
all such as seeke that port to be their warde.
Sometimes also, it may reioyce to see,
the bloudy fightes, vpon the sea that be.

Themistocles children.

Themistocles tumbe and reliques.

Honours done to Themistocles after his death.

And furthermore, those of MAGNESIA did institute certen honours vnto the issue of *Themistocles*, which continue yet vnto this day. And in my time, another *Themistocles* also of ATHENS did enioy the same honours, with whom I was familiarly conuersant in the house of *Ammonius* the philosopher.

The ende of Themistocles life.

THE LIFE OF
Furius Camillus.

AMONGST many great matters which are ſpoken of this *Furius Camillus*, this ſeemeth moſt ſtraunge and wonderfull aboue the rest. That he hauing borne the chiefeſt offices of charge in his countrie, and hauing done many notable and worthy deedes in the ſame: was one that was choſen fiue times *Dictator*, and had triumphed foure times, and had wonne himſelfe the name and title of the ſecond founder of ROME, and yet neuer came to be Conſul. But the onely cauſe thereof was, that the common weale of ROME ſtoode then in ſuch ſtate and ſort. The people were then at diſſention with the Senate.

Why Camillus neuer came to be Conſul.

They would chuſe no more Conſuls, but other kinde of gouernours whom they called *Tribuni militares*: theſe did all things with like power & authoritie as the Conſuls, yet were they nothing ſo odious vnto the people, by reaſon of the number that was of them. For it was ſome hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the ſmall number of nobilitie, that the gouernment of the ſtate being put into ſixe, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the eaſier, and tollerabler. Now *Camillus* being at that time in his beſt credit and authoritie, and in the prime and glorie of his doings, did not deſire to be made Conſul without the goodwill of the people, although whileſt he was in authoritie, there were many times Conſuls created. But to all other offices and dignities, he was called, and choſen. He behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that when he was alone, he made his authoritie common to other: and when he had companions and aſſociates, the glorie of all redounded to himſelfe alone. The cauſe whereof was his modeſtie on the one ſide, for he commaunded euer without enuie: and his great wiſdome and ſufficiencie on the other ſide, for the which all others willingly gaue him place and yeelded to him. The houſe of the *Furians* being at that time of no great fame, he was the firſt that beganne to ſet himſelfe forwards. For in a great battell which was fought againſt the *Æques* and *Volſces*, he being but a priuate man at armes vnder the *Dictator Poſthumius Tubertus*, was the firſt that riding out of the army, aduaunced himſelfe and gaue the charge. And being runne into the thigh at that time with a ſtaffe broken vpon his thigh, he plucked the truncheon out and retired not for all that: but giuing charge againe vpon the ſtouteſt of the enemies, he fought it out ſo valiantly to the encouraging of other, that he was the chiefe cauſe they turned their backes. Whereupon, to requite his ſeruice done at that time (beſides other honours

The authoritie of a few, odious to the common people.

Camillus wiſdome and modeſtie.

Camillus hurt.

honours they did him) they made him *Censor*: an office at that time of great preheminence & dignitie. In his office of Censorship, he did two notable acts. The one very honest: when he brought men that were not maried, to marry the womē whom the wars had left widows which were in number many. To this he got thē partly by persuasiō, & partly by threatnings, to set roūd fines vpō their heads that refused. The other very necessary: in that he brought the orphanes to be contributories, vnto taxes, & subsidies, which before payed nothing. The cause therof was, the continuall warres, about the which the common weale sustained great charges: but specially about the siege of the citie of the VEIANS (which some cal VENETANIANS) that was a very sore burden to thē at that time. For it was the capital citie of all THVSCAN, the which for store of armour, & nūber of soldiers, was nothing inferiour to the cittie of ROME. For the VEIANS being growē to stomake & courage in time, by reasō of their wealth & prosperitie, & for the sundry great battels they had fought against the ROMAINES, that contēded with them for glory & empire: and now it fel so out, that they finding themselues weakned by many great ouerthrowes, which they had receiued of the ROMAINES, they did let fall their former peacocks brauery & ambitiō, to bid them battell any more in the fielde. Howbeit the inhabitants of the cittie of VEIES hauing raised the walles & made very great high rāpers, began to fortifie themselues, & made good prouision for armour & munition, besides store of corne, shotte, & other necessary things: they valiantly, & without feare of any thing, defended the siege of the ROMAINES, that cōtinued a long time, & was no lesse hard & painful vnto thē that did besiege, then it was vnto those that were besieged. For where the ROMAINES were wont beforetime to keepe their houses in the winter season, and the field only in the summer time: that was the first time they were compelled by the captaines and *Tribuni militares*, to build fortes, and to entrench their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies country, and to winter abroad as they were wont to lye in the campe in sōmer. Now this siege had continued seuen yeres together. The captaines were burdened that they did not their duties, nor stood manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end they were discharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to follow the siege. Amōg those, *Camillus* was one, whom then the second time they created *Tribunus militaris*. Who notwithstanding did nothing then in that siege, becaūse it was his happe by lot, to make warrs vpon the PHALERIANS and, the CAPENATES. These people whilest the ROMAINES were occupied other where, had inuaded their countrie and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the THVSCANS. But *Camillus* hauing ouerthrowne a great number of them in the fielde, had the rest in chase, and draue them to take their cittie, and did shut them vp within their owne walles. The chaunce that happened at the lake of ALBANVS, about the time the THVSCAN warres were greatest, did maruellously amate the ROMAINES, being no lesse wonderfull, thē the most straunge and vncredible thing that could be told by man. For they could not finde out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall ground: considering it was in the later end of Autumne, and sommer was ended, and that there had not bene much raine, nor notable sowth windes. And although there are many lakes, many brookes, and riuers, many springs, and other waters in ITALIE: yet some of them dried vp altogether, other ranne but faintly by reason of the drought, and all the riuers then were (as they are wont to be cōmonly in sommer) very lowe, and there was scant any water. But the lake ALBANVS contrariwise, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whither out of it selfe, being enuironned all about with hilles and mountaines, and where the earth is good: beganne to swell, and rise to euery mans sight, without any cause at all (but secret and hidden vnto the goddes alone) and went allwayes increasing alongest those hilles sides, vntill such time as it came to be euen with the hight of the highest mountaine, gathering vpwardes still without any waues or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poore sheepeheardes and heardemen, keeping their cattell thereaboutes, maruellously afrayde. But at the lengh when the earthe and the waight of one of the hilles (which kepte in the lake as a walle, from running ouer into the fielde) beganne to breake by reason of the wayght, and great quantitie of water, that ranne straight with a maruellous extreame force and violence ouer all the arable landes and groundes planted with trees, and so tooke his course into the

Camillus acte in his Censorshippe.

The cittie of Veies besieged.

The siege continued seuen yeres together.

Camillus twise chosen Tribune of the soldiers.

The wonderful ouerflowing of the Lake Albanus.

sea: the ROMAINES then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wonderfully affrayde, and iudged that it was some signe and prognostication of some wonderful thing to come. And there was no other newes currante in the campe, which lay at siege of the cittie of VEIES: insomuch as the very brute of it flewe ouer the walles of the cittie, vnto them that were besieged. And as it happeneth very ofte in long sieges, that those which lye in campe do often times talke with them that are besieged: there was a ROMAINE who fell acquainted, and commonly vsed to talke familiarly with one of the citie, who could tell of many olde and straunge things done and happened, and was very skilfull aboue any other in the cittie, in the arte of diuination, or soothsaying. The ROMAINE then told him one day the violent breaking out of the lake ALBANVS, and perceiuing that the other after he had heard him, was as merrie as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their siege: he told him further, that this wonderfull chaunce was not onely happened vnto the ROMAINES at that time, but that they had beene acquainted with many other farre more straunge then this, which he would very willingly open vnto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common weale had but hard successe, yet he would procure that his owne priuate matters might prosper wel with him. The VEIAN answered them, he would heare them with a good will, gaue good eare vnto him, hoping to haue heard some great secret. So the ROMAINE training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his way, vntill he saw he was a good distance off from the gates of the cittie, he sodainly caught hold on him, and by strong hand caried him away with him, and with helpe of other souldiers which came running out of the campe vnto him, he brought him to the captaines. The VEIAN seeing himselfe thus forcibly vsed, and knowing also that fatall destiny cannot be auoyded, beganne to declare vnto the ROMAINES, the auncient oracles and propheses touching the fortune of their cittie: by which it was reported vnto them, that the cittie of VEIES should neuer be taken, vntill the enemie had caused the water of the lake ALBANVS (which should breake out) to be brought backe againe, and to turne it some other way from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was caried vnto the Senate at ROME, to be consulted of in the counsell: & there it was determined they should send to the oracle of *Apollo*, at the cittie of DELPHES, and aske him what they should do therein. So thither were sent great and notable men, *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Potitus* and *Fabius Ambustus*: who hauing ended their iorney by sea, and receiued answere to that they demaunded, returned home againe, and amongest other oracles they brought one that sayed thus. That through negligence they had omitted some auncient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they should by all possible means they could, keepe the water of the lake ALBANVS that it fell not into the sea, and should (if it were possible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be drunke vp in the middest of the fields. When these oracles were vnderstanded, the prieستes prepared all things for diuine seruice, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After these things were done, the Senate in the tenth yere of the warres against the VEIANS, put off all those which did beare office, and created *Camillus Dictator*, who named for generall of the horse men *Cornelius Scipio*. And before he went in hand with any thing, he made a vow vnto the goddesse that if it pleased them to graunt a happy ende of these warres, in honour of them he would celebrate great playes, and build a temple vnto the goddesse which the ROMAINES call *Matuta*: which seemeth to be her whom we call *Leucothea*, considering the ceremonies done at these sacrifices. For they cause a chambermayde to enter into her temple, and there they box her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, and do embrace their brothers childrē rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they are much like vnto those that are done vnto *Bacchus* nurces, and to the misfortunes that chaunced vnto *Ino*, by reason of her husbands concubine. After all these vowes and prayers made, he entred with his armie into the FALISSIANS territories, whom he ouerthrew in a great battell, together with the CAPENATES also, which came to aide them. From thence he went to the siege of the cittie of VEIES, where perceiuing to take it by assault, was not to be wonne without great daunger: he beganne to vndermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and

The craft of a Romaine.

An oracle brought from Delphes.

Camillus chosē Dictator.

Matuta. Leucothea.

all so deepe, that the enemies could perceiue nothing. Now when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gaue an assaulte to the walles in all places alike about the citie at one instant, to bring out all the inhabitants of the citie to man the walles. Whilest they were all thus vpon the walles to make defence: *Camillus* souldiers entred secretly through the mines within the castell, hard by the temple of *Iuno*: which was the chiefe Church of all the citie, and whereunto the cittizens had most deuotion. They say that euen at that present time the generall of the THVSCANS did sacrifice vnto the goddes, and that his foothsaier hauing considered the intrels of the beasts offered vp in sacrifice, cried out aloude, that the goddes gaue the victorie vnto him, which should happen to come vpon them in this sacrifice. The ROMAINES which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out, crying, and making noise with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled vpon it, and so the ROMAINE stooke the intrels and caried them vnto *Camillus*. And these be euen much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit *Camillus* hauing by this meanes taken the citie, and seeing from the toppe of the castell the infinite goods and riches within the citie, which the souldiers spoiled and made hauoke of, he wept for very pitie. And when those that were about him tolde him he was a happie man: he lift vp his hands vnto heauen, and made this praier. O mightie god *Iupiter*, and you ô goddes, which see and iudge mens good and ill works: you know right well, that we haue not willingly (without wrong and cause offered vs) begunne this warre, but iustly, and by compulsion, to be reuenged of a citie, our enemie, which hath done vs great iniuries. But if to counteruaile this our great good prosperitie, and victorie, some bitter aduersitie and ouerthrowe be predestined vnto vs: I beseech you then (most mercifull goddes) in sparing our citie of ROME, and this her armie, you will (with as litle hurte as may be) let it all fall and light vpon my person alone. And as he had spoken these words, and was turning on his right hand (according to the manner of the ROMAINES after they haue prayed vnto the goddes) he fell downe flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somwhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe, he tolde them that the thing he requested of the gods was happened vnto him. And that was, a little hurte, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole citie being spoiled and rifled, he was also desirous to carie *Iunos* image to ROME, to accomplish the vowe he had made. And hauing sent for workemen for this purpose, he did sacrifice first vnto the goddesse, beseeching her to accept well of the ROMAINES good will, and that she would willingly vouchsafe to come and dwell with the other gods, who had the protection of the citie of ROME. Some say, that the image aunswered, she was contented. But *Liuius* writeth that *Camillus* made this praier, as he touched the image, and that the assistants answered she was contented, and would go with a good will. Yet they which do affirme, it was the image selfe that spake, do fauour this miracle, grounding their proofe vpon the opinion of the fortune of ROME: the which, from so base and meane beginning had impossibly attained vnto so high glory and power as it had, without the singular fauour of the goddes, and that hath manifestly appeared vnto the world, by sundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders. As, that images haue heretofore let fall drops of swet from them: that they haue bene heard to sighe: that they haue turned: and that they haue made certaine signes with their eyes, as we finde written in many ancient stories. And we could our selues also tell such like wonders, which we haue heard men of our time affirme, which are not vncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for such matters, it is as daungerous to giue too much credit to them, as also to discredit them too much, by reason of the weakenesse of mans nature, which hath no certaine bounds, nor can rule it selfe, but runneth somtimes after vanity and superstition, and otherwhile also despiseth and contemneth holy and diuine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, and not to go too farre in this, as in all other things besides, it is the best. Now *Camillus*, whether his late enterprise performed, in winning a citie that stood out with ROME, and held siege with them ten yeares together, had put him into an ouerweening or conceipt of him selfe: or that the words of the people, which did blesse and praise him, had made him looke high, and presume vpon himselfe, more then became the modestie of a ciuill magistrate, and gouernour of the common

The citie of Veies taken by mining.

Camillus praier when Veies was taken.

Fained wonders of images.

Plutarches iudgement of miracles.

weale, & one that was subiect to the law: he shewed a stately triumphe, set forth with all rich furniture, & specially for that himselfe was caried through ROME vpon his triumphant cha ret drawne with foure faire white coursers. This, neuer captaine nor general before him dur vndertake to do, neither any euer after him attempted it: for they thinke it as a sacred carria and onely meete for the king, and father of the gods. This bred him much enuie amongst his cittizens, which had not bene acquainted with so great statelinesse. There was another occa on also that made them mislike him much: which was, because he stood against the lawe p forth that they should deuide the citie of ROME. For the *Tribunes* of the people did set out a Edict, that the Senate & people of ROME should be deuided into two parts: and that those whom the lotte should fall, should abide still in ROME, and the other should go dwell in th new wunne citie of VEIES. These were the reasons to perswade this: that both the one an the other sort should be richer then they were before, and should more easily keepe their lan and goods from the inuasion of their enemies, by meanes of these two great cities. The peop which were multiplyed now into great numbers, and had serued dutifully and dangerously thought it the best way in the world: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with gre tumult, about their pulpit for orations, praying that this lawe might be put vnto the voic of the people. But the whole Senate, and wisest cittizens among them, iudging this motion the Tribunes would be the destruction, and not the diuision of the citie of ROME: could in wise abide it should go any further. Whereupon they went and prayed *Camillus* helpe: wh fearing to bring it to the point, whether the law should passe or no, did alwaies seeke new o casions and lets, still to delay and put off the matter, and stay the confirmation of this law. F these causes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall and apparant cause of t peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth part of their spoiles: and was not altogether without some reason, and to say truly the people did him much wrong beare him such malice for that. For before he went to the citie of VEIES, he made a solem vowe to offer the tenth part vnto the gods, of the spoiles of the citie, if he wanne the same. when it was taken and sacked, whether it was that he was lothe to trouble the cittizens, or uing a world of businesse in his head, that he easily forgat his vowe: he suffered the souldi to deuide the spoile amongst them, and to take the benefit to themselues. Shortly after he discharged of his charge, he did enforme the Senate of his vowe. Furthermore, the soothsa ers made report at that very time, how they knew by certaine signes and tokens of their crifices, that the gods were offended for somewhat, and how they must of necessitie be pac ed againe. Whereupon the Senate presently made an order, where it was vnpossible eue man should bring in againe the selfe same things he had gotten, to make a new diuision euery mans share: that euery one therefore vpon his othe should present the tenth part his gaines he had gotten by that bootie. There was great trouble about it. They were uen to vse great extremitie to the poore souldiers (which had trauelled sore, and taken gr paines in the warres) to make them to restore back such a colloppe out of their gaine; a the rather because many of them had already spent it euery penny: and for this trouble, th all cryed out with open mouth against *Camillus*. But he being set vp, and not knowing oth wise how to excuse himselfe, was forced to bring forth as cold and as vnreasonable an e cuse as he could make, which was: forsooth he had forgotten his vowe he had made. T people notwithstanding were eger still against him, saying: how he had vowed then to of the tenth part of the enemies goods to the goddes, and that nowe he would perform with the tenths of the cittizens goods. Neuertheless, euery man hauing brought that should for his part: it was thought good they should cause a massye cuppe of golde to made, to send to the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES. And small store of golde being in t citie of ROME, as the officers of the citie were searching vp and downe to get it: the w men of ROME of their owne voluntarie willes without motion, agreed among themselues that they would depart with all the iewels they had towards the making vp of this offerin which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof, to honour them with the Senate ordained that they should be praised openly with funerall orations at their b riall, as they did vse at honourable and noble mens obsequies. For before that lawe, it was n

Camillus stately triumphe of the Veians.

A lawe for the people of Rome to dwell at Veies.

The chiefest cause of the peoples malice against Camillus.

A cup of golde sent to Delphes.

The ladies of Rome gaue their iewels towards the making of it.

What time womens praises began at funerals in Rome.

the manner to praise women openly at their funerals. Now there were appointed three of the noblest men of the citie to go to carie this offering, and they sent them out in a galley well manned, stored also with good mariners, & trimly set forth in all triumphing maner: howbeit both in storme, and calme weather, they were in danger of their liues. For after that they had scaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the winde was down againe, they fell into another danger, which they escaped also beyond all hope. For hard by the Iles of Æolvs, the galleys of the Liparians fell vpon them, as if they had bene rouers. But when the Liparians sawe they made no resistance, and intreated them, holding vp their hands: they gaue no further charge vpon them, but only fastened their galley vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the shore, they declared they were pirats, and offered to make port sale of the men and goods, as if they had bene a lawfull prise: and had sold them in deed, had not the wisedom and authoritie of *Timesitheus* letted them, who was gouernour at that time of the citie, and had great a do to perswade them to let them go. And he did not so leaue them, but sent out certaine of his owne shippes to accompanie them in their iourney, who did helpe them to go and performe their offering. For which curtesie of his, the Romaines afterwards did him great honour at Rome, according to his well deseruing. The Tribunes of the people began now to set a foote against the law for the deuiding of the inhabitants of Rome vnto the citie of Vbies. But the warres of the Falisces fell out happely at that time, whereby the noble men did choose such officers as they would. So they chose *Camillus*, *Tribunus militar is* of the souldiers, and fiue other to assist him; the seruice in that case requiring a generall, that caried both authoritie and reputation among them, as an olde experienced souldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, *Camillus* immediatly entred the territories of the Falisces with the Romaines armie, where he laide siege vnto the citie of the Falerians, being very well fortified, victualed & stored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no small attempt to winne this citie, and that it would not be done in a short time: he politickely sought (whatsoeuer came of it) to keepe his countrimen occupied about some thing, & to stay them for going home, least by repairing to Rome, they should haue many occasions to rebell, and raise some ciuill dissention. For the Romaines did wisely vse this remedie; to disperse abroad like good phisicians, the humors which troubled the quiet state of their common weale at home. But the Falerians trusting in the situation of their citie, which was very strong in all parts, made so litle accompt of the siege: that those which kept not watch vpon the walles, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the citie, without any weapon about them, and their children went to schoole, the schoolemaister also would commonly leade them abroad out of the citie a walking, to play and passe the time by the towne walles. For the whole citie had one common schoolemaister, as the Grecians also haue, which do bring vp their children from litle ones in company together, because one may be familiarly acquainted with another. This scholemaster spying his time to do the Falerians a shrewd turne, did accustomably take all his scholers out of the city with him, to play not farre from the walles at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the citie againe after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroade thus once or twise, he trained them out euery day a litle further, to make them to be bolde, perswading them there was no danger. But at the length, one day hauing gotten all the citizens children with him, he led them within the watch of the Romaines campe; and there deliuered all his scholers into their hands, and praied them they would bring him vnto their generall. So they did. And when he came before *Camillus*, he began to tell him that he was schoolemaister vnto all these children, neuertheless that he did more esteeme to haue his grace and fauour, then regard his office he had by this name and title. *Camillus* hearing what he said, and beholding his treacherous part, he said to those that were about him. Warre of it selfe surely is an euill thing, for in warres many iniuries and mischiefes are done: neuertheless, among good men there is a law and discipline, which doth forbid them to seeke victorie by wicked and traiterous meanes, and that a noble and worthie generall should make warre, and procure victorie, by trusting to his owne valiantnes, & not by anothers vilenesse & villanie. Therefore he commanded his sergeants to teare the clothes off the back of this vile schoolemaster, and to bind his hands behinde him and

Camillus chosen Tribune of the souldiers.

Camillus besiegeth the Falerians.

Camillus pourtrayeth a scholemaster betraying the Falerians children.

A notable saying of Camillus, & wise precept for warres. Valiantnesse to be preferred before villanie.

that they ſhould giue the children roddes and whippes in their hands, to whippe the traitour backe againe into the citie, that had betraied them, and grieued their parents. Now when the FALERIANS heard newes that the ſchoolemaiſter had thus betrayed them, all the citie fell a weeping (as euery man may thinke for ſo great a loſſe) and men and women ranne together one in anothers neck, to the towne walles, and gates of the citie, like people out of their wits, they were ſo troubled. When they came thither, they ſaw their childrē bringing their ſchoolemaiſter back againe, ſtarke naked and bound, whipping of him, and calling *Camillus* their father, their god, and their ſauiour: ſo that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the cittizens alſo in generall, did conceiue in themſelues a wonderfull admiration and great loue of the wiſedome, goodneſſe, and iuſtice of *Camillus*. So that euen preſently they called a counſell, and there it was concluded they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours forthwith vnto him, to put their liues and goods to his mercie and fauour. *Camillus* ſent their ambaſſadours vnto ROME, where audience being giuen vnto them by the Senate, the ambaſſadours ſayd, Becauſe the ROMAINES preferred iuſtice aboue victorie, they taught them to be better contented to ſubmit themſelues vnto them, then to be their owne men at liberty: confeſſing their vertue did more ouercome them, then any force or power could do. The Senate diſpatched letters vnto *Camillus*, giuing him commiſſion to do and determine as he thought good. So he hauing taken a certaine ſumme of money of the FALERIANS, did furthermore make peace & league with all the reſt of the FALISCES: and thereupon returned back againe to ROME. But the ſouldiers grudged maruellouſly at it. For they ſtood in hope to haue had the ſacking of the citie. When there was no remedie, but they muſt needes returne home emptie handed, they began to accuſe *Camillus* to the reſt of the cittizens, as ſoone as they came to ROME, ſaying: he loued not the common people, and how for ſpight he diſappointed their armie of the ſpoile. On the other ſide, the Tribunes of the people began to reuiue the lawe, for the deuiding of the inhabitants of ROME, and were ready to paſſe it by the voices of the people. *Camillus* not fearing the ill will of the commons, did boldly ſpeake, and do in open preſence, all he could againſt it. So that plainely he was the chiefeſt cauſe, that the people againſt their willes (in treate what they could) were driuen to let it alone. But withall they were ſo ſpightfull againſt him, that notwithſtanding his ſorowe and misfortune for the death of his ſonne (dying of a ſickneſſe) was great: they would not of malice once take pitty or compaſſion of him. The loſſe wherof (albeit he was of a very good & courteous nature) was ſo grieuous, and made him ſo vnquiet: that being accuſed before the people, he ſtirred not once out of his houſe, but was locked vp with the women, which lamented for his ſonne departed. He that did accuſe him, was one *Lucius Apuleius*, but hearing him that he had ſtolne and taken away, part of the ſpoyle of the THVSCANS: and ſaid they had ſeene certaine braſen gates at his houſe, which had bene brought out of THVSCAN. Now the people were ſo maliciouſly bent againſt him, that euery man might ſee, if they could once take him in a trippe, vpon any aduantage whatſoeuer, they would doubtleſſe haue condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friends and ſouldiers that had ſerued vnder him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earneſtly beſought the, that they would not ſuffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through falſe and vniuſt accuſations laide againſt him, nor to be ſo ſcorned and detained by his enemies. His friends hauing laide their heads together, and conſulted thereupon, made him anſwer: how for his iudgement they could not remedie it, but if he were condemned, they would all ioyne together with a very good will, to helpe to pay his fine. But he being of minde not to beare ſuch an open ſhame and ignominie, determined in choller to leaue the citie, and to exile himſelfe from it. And after he had taken his leaue of his wife and children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his houſe to the gates of the city, and ſaid neuer a word. When he came thither, he ſtayed ſodainly, and returning back againe, he lift vp his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers vnto the gods: that if it were of very ſpight and mallice, and not of iuſt deſeruing, that the common people compelled him thus ſhamefully to forſake the citie, that the ROMAINES might quickly repent them, and in the face of the world might wiſh for him, and haue needs of him. After he had made these prayers againſt the cittizens (as *Achilles* did againſt the GRECIANS) he went his way, & was

The Faliſcians by their ambaſſadours do yeeld themſelues & goods vnto Camillus.

The meſſage of the ambaſſadours of the Faliſcians vnto the Romaines.

Camillus tooke a ſumme of money of the Falerians, and made peace withall the reſt of the Faliſces.

Lucius Apuleius accuſed Camillus.

The equitie of the Romaines who would not peruert the law though they dearely loued Camillus: but willingly offered to pay his fine.

Camillus prayer before his departure out of Rome.

Camillus exiliſh himſelfe from Rome.

condem-

condemned for his contempt, in the summe of fifteene thousande *Asses* of the ROMAINE coyne, which make of Greekish money, a thousand fiue hundred *Drachmas* of siluer: for an *As* was a litle peece of money, wherof ten of them made a ROMAINE penny. Howbeit there was not a ROMAINE of any vnderstanding, but beleeued certainly that some great punishmẽt would follow them incontinently, and that the wrong and iniurie they had done him would be quickly requited, with some most sharpe & terrible reuenge, not only vnpleasant to thinke vpon, but further most notable to be spoken of through the world. There fell out so sodainly vpon it, such mischief toward the citie of ROME, and the present time also brought forth such occasion of daunger and destruction therof, to their shame & infamie: that it was vncertaine whether it happened by chaunce, or els it was the handie worke of some god, that would not suffer vertue recompenced with ingratitude, to passe vnreuenged. Their first token that threatned some great mischiefe to light vpon them, was the death of *Iulius*, one of the Censors: for the ROMAINES doe greatly reuerence the office of a Censor, and esteeme it as a sacred place. The second token that happened a litle before *Camillus* exile, was: that one *Marcus Caditius*, a man but of meane qualitie, and none of the Senatours (but otherwise a faire conditioned honest man, and of good conscience) told the *Tribuni militares* of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he sayde that the night before, as he was going on his way in the newe streete, he heard one call him aloud: and returning backe to see what it was, he sawe no liuing creature, but onely heard a voyce bigger then a mans, which sayd vnto him. *Marcus Caditius*, goe thy way to morrow morning to the *Tribuni militares*, and bid them looke quickly for the GAVLES. The *Tribunes* were merie at the matter, and made but a ieast at his warning, and straight after followed the condemnation of *Camillus*. Nowe as touching the GAVLES. They came (as they say) of the CELTES, whose countrie not being able to maintaine the multitudes of them, they were driuen to goe seeke other countries to inhabite in: and there were amongst them many thousands of young men of seruice and good souldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of these people, some of them went towardes the North sea, passing the mountaines RHENE, and did dwell in the extreme partes of EVROPE. Other of them remained betweene the mountaines PIRENE, & the greatest mountaines of the ALPES, neere vnto the SENONES, and the CELTORII. There they continued a long time, vntill they fortuned in the ende to taste of the wine, which was first brought out of ITALY vnto them. Which drinke they found so good, and were so delighted with it, that sodainely they armed themselues: and taking their wiues and children with them, they went directly towards the ALPES, to goe seeke out the countrie that brought forth such frute, iudging all other countries in respect of that, to be but wilde and barren. It is sayd, that the first man which brought wine vnto them, and that did procure them to passe into ITALY, was a noble man of THVSCAN called *Arron*, and otherwise of no ill disposed nature: howbeit he was subiect to this misfortune following. He was tutor vnto an orphan child, the richest that was at that time in all the countrie of THVSCAN, and of complexion was wonderfull fayre: he was called *Lucumo*. This orphan was brought vp in *Arrons* house of a childe, and though he was growen to mans state, yet he would not go from him, saying he was so well, & to his liking. But in deede the cause was, that he loued his mistresse (*Arrons* wife) who secretly he had enioyed a long time, and she him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the ende, loue hauing so possessed them both, that neither part could withdraw from other, much lesse colour that they had long enioyed: the yong man stole her away from him, and kept her still by force. *Arron* put him in suite, but he preuayled not: for *Lucumo* ouerweyed him with friends, money, gifts, and charges. But he tooke it so grieuously, that he left his country: and hauing heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALY. So they conquered at their first comming all that countrie which the THVSCANS helde in old time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and stretched out in length from one sea vnto the other which enuironeth ITALY, as the names themselues doe witnesse. For they call yet that sea which looketh vnto the North, the Adriatick sea: by reason of a citie built sometime by the THVSCANS, which was called *Adria*. The other, which lieth directly ouer against the South, is called the THVSCAN sea. All that countrie

Tokens of the warres of the Gaules.

The originall begining of the Gaules.

Arron a Thuscan the procurer of the Gaules comming into Italy.

Lacke of iustice the cause of the destruction & conquest of Thuscan by the Gaules.

The shame of the Thuscans in old time.

is well planted with trees, and hath goodly pleasant pastures for beastes and cattell to feede in, & is notably watered with goodly running riuers. There was also at that time eighteene fayre great cities in that countrie, all of them very strong and well seated, aswell for to enrich the inhabitants thereof by trafficke, as to make them to liue delicately for pleasure. All these cities the GAVLES had won, and had expulsed the THVSCANS, but this was done long time before. Now the GAVLES being further entred into THVSCAN, did besiege the citie of CLVSIVM. Thereupon the CLVSIANS seeking aide of the ROMAINES, besought them they would send letters and ambassadours vnto these barbarous people in their fauour. They sent vnto them three of the best and most honorable persons of the citie, all three of the house of the *Fabians*. The GAVLES receiued them very courteously, because of the name of ROME: and leauing to assault the citie, they gaue them audience. The ROMAINE ambassadours did aske them, what iniurie the CLVSIANS had done vnto them, that they came to make wars with them. *Brennus* king of the GAVLES, hearing this question, smiled, and answered them thus. The CLVSIANS do vs wrong in this: they being but few people together, & not able to occupie much land, do notwithstanding possesse much, and will let vs haue no part with them, that are strangers, and out of our countrie, and stand in neede of seat and habitation. The like wrong was offered vnto you ROMAINES in olde time, by those of ALBA, by the FIDENATES, and the ARDEATES: and not long sithence, by the VEIANS, and the CAPENATES: & partly by the FALISCES & the VOLSCES against whom ye haue taken, & do take armes, at all times. And as oft as they will let you haue no part of their goods, ye imprison their persons, robbe & spoile their goods, and destroy their cities. And in doing this, ye do them no wrong at all, but follow the oldest law that is in the world, which euer leaueth vnto the stronger, that which the weaker cannot keepe and enioy. Beginning with the goddes, and ending with beasts: the which haue this propertie in nature, that the bigger and stronger haue euer the vantage of the weaker & lesser. Therfore, leaue your pittie to see the CLVSIANS besieged, least you teach vs GAVLES to take compassion also of those you haue oppressed. By this answere the ROMAINES knew very well, there was no way to make peace with king *Brennus*. Wherefore they entred into the citie of CLVSIVM, and incouraged the inhabitants to salie out with them vpon these barbarous people: either because they had a desire to proue the valiantnesse of the GAVLES, or else to shew their owne courage and manhood. So the citizens went out, & skirmished with them hard by the walles: in the which one of the *Fabians*, called *Quintus Fabius Ambustus*, being excellently well horsed, and putting spurres to him, did set vpon a goodly bigge personage of the GAVLES, that had aduaunced himselfe farre before all the troupe of his companions. He was not knowen at the first encounter, aswell for the sodaine meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his glistering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had slaine the GAVLE, and came to strip him: *Brennus* then knew him, and protested against him, calling the goddes to witnesse, how he had broken the law of armes, that comming as an ambassadour, he had taken vpon him the forme of an enemie. Hereupon *Brennus* foorthwith left skirmishing, and raising the siege from CLVSIVM, marched with his armie vnto ROME gates. And to the end the ROMAINES might know, that the GAVLES were not well pleased for the iniurie they had receiued: to haue an honest colour to beginne warres with the ROMAINES, he sent an Herauld before to ROME, to demaund liuerie of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him according ly. In the meane time, he himself came marching after, by small iourneyes to receiue their answere. The Senate hereupon assembled, and many of the Senators blamed the rashnes of the *Fabians*: but most of all, the priests called *Feciales*. For they followed it very earnestly, as a matter that concerned religion, & the honour of the goddes: declaring how the Senate, in discharge of all the residue of the citie of the offence committed, should lay the whole waight and burden of it vpon him alone, that only had done the fact. *Numa Pompilius*, the iustest and most peaceable of all the Kings of ROME that had bene, was he that first erected the Colledge of these *Feciales*, and did ordeine that they should be the keepers of peace, and the iudges to heare and allow all the causes, for the which they should iustly beginne any warres. Neuertheless, the Senate in the end turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the whole will and iudgement of the people, before whom the

Clusium a citie of Thuscan besieged by the Gaules.

Brennus king of the Gaules.

Fabius Ambustius a Romaine breaketh the common law of all nations.

Brennus reproueth Fabius for breaking the law of armes.

Numa Pompilius vsed the colledge of the Feciales.

priests *Faciales* did also accuse *Fabius Ambustus*. The people made so little account of their propounded religion, and honour of the goddes in that case: that in steede of deliuering of this *Fabius* vnto the enemie, they did choose him for one of the Tribunes of the souldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderstanding this, were so furious & angry thereat, that they would no longer linger their iorneis, but marched with al speed vnto ROME. The people that dwelt by the high waies where they should passe by, were maruellously affrayd to see the multitude of them, & their braue and vniuersall furniture: and beginning to doubt the furie of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroy all the champion countrie before them, and afterwards would take all the strong cities. They cõtrariwise did take nothing at all out of the fields, neither did any hurt or displeasure vnto any bodie: but passing by their cities, cryed out they went to ROME, and would haue no wars but with the ROMAINES, and how otherwise they desired to be friends with al the world. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards ROME, the Tribunes of the souldiers brought their armie to the field to encounter them. They were no lesse in number then the GAVLES, for they were fortie thousand footmen. Howbeit most part of them were raw souldiers, that had neuer serued in the warres before. They were very careles of the goddes, and dissolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their sacrifices, neither to aske counsell of their soothsayers, which the ROMAINES were religiously wont to do, before they gaue any battell. To make the matter worse, the number of the captaines hauing power & authoritie alike, did asmuch (or more then the rest) disorder and confound their doings. For oft times before, in farre lesser matters and daungers then these, they did vse to chuse speciall officers that had sole and soueraine authoritie, which they called *Dictators*: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in dangerous times to haue but one head and generall, to commaund all and to haue supreme authoritie of iustice in his hands, and not to be bound to deliuer account of his doings to any. The iniury also which they had too vngratefully done to *Camillus*, brought great mischiefe & inconuenience then vpon them. For the captaines after him, durst no more cõmand the people roughly, but euer after did flatter them much. When their armie was now brought into the field, they encamped thẽselues by a litle riuer called *Allia*, about the eleuenth stone frõ ROME, and not farre from the place where the same riuer falleth inter *Tyber*. Thither came the barbarous armie to them, who ouerthrew them in battell, by their disorder & lack of gouernment. For the left point or wing of their battell was broken off at the first by the GAVLES, who charged them so furiously, that they draue them hedlong into the riuer. The right wing then retiring out of the plaine, before they had any charge giuen, and hauing gotten certaine hilles hard by them: they had litle hurt, & most of them sauing thẽselues, did recouer ROME againe. The rest that escaped after the enemies were wearie of killing, fled by night vnto the citie of VEIES, thinking ROME had bene lost, & all the citie put to the sword. This ouerthrow was on the longest day in sommer, the moone being at the full: and the day before fortuned the great slaughter of the *Fabians*, of the which were slaine by the THVSCANS in one day 300. all of a name. The very day it selfe was afterwards called *Alliade*, of the name of the litle riuer, by the which the second ouerthrow was giuen. But for the difference of daies, that some of them are naturally vnfortunate, or that *Heraclitus* the Philosopher had reason to reproue the Poet *Hesiodus*, for making some daies good, & some daies ill, as though he vnderstood they were not all of one nature: we haue written & declared our opinion therof in other places. Yet, because the matter deliuereth present occasion to speake of the same, peraduenture it wil not be amisse to alleage a few examples of it only. It fortuned the BOEOTIANS on a time to win two honorable victories, on the first day of the moneth they call *Hippodromus* (and which the ATHENIANS call *Hecatombaeon*) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did stil restore the GRECIANS to their libertie. The first was the battell of LEVCTRES. The second was the battell of GERASTE, which was 200. yeares before, when they ouercame LATTAMIAS, & the THESSALIANS in battell. The PERSIANS contrarily were ouercome in battell by the GRECIANS, the 6. day of August, at the iorney of MARATHON. The third day, at the battell of PLATEES. And on the selfe same day, neere vnto MYCALA. On the fiue and twentieth day, at the fight of ARBELES, the ATHENIANS wanne the battell by sea, neere vnto the

The Gaules march towards Rome.

The Romaines armie were 40000. footemen.

Too many rulers of an army do confound all order, and putteth the armie in perill.

Allia fl.

The battell at the riuer of Allia where the Gaules wanne the field of the Romaines.

Three hundred of a name slaine in one day.

Ile of NAXOS, vnder the charge and gouernment of *Chabrias*, about the full of the moone, in the moneth of August. And on the twentith of the same moneth, they wanne the battel of SALAMINA: as we haue written more amply in our historie of difference of dayes. The moneth of Aprill also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For *Alexander* the great ouercame the generall of the king of PERSIA, at the fielde of GRANICA, in the saide moneth. The CARTHAGINIANS also were vanquished in CICILE by *Timoleon*, on the seuen and twentieth day thereof. On which day also it is thought the citie of TROY was taken: as *Ephorus*, *Callisthenes*, *Damastes*, and *Phylarchus*, haue written in their histories. Now contrariwise, The moneth of Iuly, which the BOEOTIANS call *Panemus*, hath not bene gratious to the GRECIANS. For on the seuenth day of the same, they were ouethrowen by *Antipater* at the battell of CRANON, which was their vtter destruction. They had before also lost a battel the same moneth, neere vnto the citie of CHÆRONEA, by king *Phillippe*. On the same day also, and in the very selfe moneth and yere, those which came into ITALY with king *Archidamus* were slaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the country. The CARTHAGINIANS also feare the seuen & twentieth day of the same moneth, as the day which had before time brought them into many great and sorowfull calamities. Contrarily also, I know very wel, how about the feast of mysteries, the citie of THEBES was destroied by *Alexander*, & that the ATHENIANS were compelled to receiue a garison of souldiers into their citie, about the twentieth day of August, at which time they made the holy procession of the mysteries of *Bacchus*. And on the self day the ROMAINES lost their armie, & their generall *Cæpio*, who was slain by the CIMBRES. And how afterwards vnder the leading of *Lucullus*, they ouercame king Tigranes, and the ARMENIANS. And that *Attalus*, & *Pompey* also, died both on the self same day they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, vnto whom the like reuolutions of time, there happened notable chaunces of good or ill. But to returne again vnto our historie. The day of this ouerthrow, is one of those which the ROMAINES take

The Romaines superstition in obseruing of dayes.

one of the vnfortunatest dayes that euer came vnto them. And by reason of that day, they reckon two other dayes of euery moneth very vnfortunate, engendred through feare & superstition, which spreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) vpon such sinister misfortunes. But for this matter, we haue written it more largely & exquisitly in the booke we made, of the ceremonies & customes of the ROMAINES. Now after this battell lost, if the GAVLES had hottely pursued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could haue saued ROME from being taken, and the inhabitants therof from being put vnto the sword. For the ROMAINES that fled from the battell, brought such a feare vpō those that receiued them, & filled the whole citie of ROME with such grief & trembling: that they wist not what to do. The barbarous people again, beleeuing litle their victorie was so great as it was, fell to make good cheere for so great a ioy receiued, and deuided among them the spoyle of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gaining time & leasure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of ROME, to win them some place of safety: & to such as remained still, they left good hope to saue themselues, & to make some prouision for defence. Therupon they all fortified themselues within the Capitoll, & storing it with all kind of victual, armour, & munition, they wholy did forsake the rest of the citie. But the first worke they tooke in hand was this. They did bring into their fort, part of their sacred reliques: and the professed *Vestals* brought thither also their holy fire, & al other their holy monuments. Some writers say, that they had nothing els in keeping but the sempiternall fire, & were so consecrated by king *Numa*, who did first institute, that fire should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the most mouing substance that is of all naturall things: notwithstanding, that generation also is a mouing, at the least not done without motion. For we see, that all other substance which lacketh heate remaineth idle, and without action, and sturreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craueth the force and heate of fire: as the soule it selfe recouering heate, beginneth somewhat to moue, and disposeth it selfe to doe, and suffer some thing. Wherefore *Numa* being (as they say) a man of great learning and vnderstanding, who for his wisedome was reported to talke many times with the *Muses*, did consecrate the same as a most sacred thing, and commanded that they neuer should suffer that fire to goe out, and but keepe it, as they would pre-

The holy fire.

The force of fire.

the liuely image of the eternall God, the only King and maker of the world. Other say, that the fire burned continually there before the holy and sacred things, signifying a kind and maner of purification, which opinion the GRECIANS hold also: howbeit behind the same fire, there were certain hidden things, which in no case any might see, but those holy *Vestall Nuns*. Many also hold an opinion, that the *Palladium* of TROY, (as much to say, as *Pallas* image) is hidden also there, which was brought by *Æneas* into ITALY. Other doe report also, that *Dardanus*, at that time when he first beganne to build the city of TROY, brought thither the holy images of the goddes of SAMOTHRASIA, and he did offer them vp there: and how *Æneas* after the city was taken, did steale them away, and kept them vntill he came to dwell in ITALIE. Some other also, that take vppon them to know more therein then the common sort do, hold opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is empty and standeth open, the other is full and fast locked vp, howbeit they are not to be seene but by these holy *Nunnes*. Other thinke also, that these imaginers inuented that they spake of their owne heads, because the *Vestall Nunnes* did cast all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the ground, within the temple of *Quirinus*: and therefore that very place carieth the surname at this day of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the most precious things they had, and fled alongest the riuer. Where one *Lucius Albinus* (one of the common people) flying also, and hauing brought away his wife and litle children, and other houshold stuffe he had in a cart, by chance he lighted vpon the *Vestall Nunnes* in the way. But so soone as he perceiued these holy *Nuns* (carying the blessed reliques & iewels in their armes, dedicated vnto the seruice of the gods) all alone, and that they were weary with going a foote: he caused his wife and his children to come out of the cart, & tooke down all his goods also, and willed them to get them vp, & flie into some city or towne of GREECE. Thus, me thought I could not wel passe ouer with silence, *Albinus* reuerence and deuotion he shewed vnto the goddes, in so dangerous a time and pinche of extremity. Furthermore the priests of other goddes, and the most honorablest old men of the city of ROME (that had bene Consuls before time, or had past the honour of triumph) had not the heart to forsake ROME: but putting on all their most holy robes and vestmentes did vow, and as it were willingly sacrificed them selues vnto the fortune that should befall them for the safety of their countrey. And vsing certaine words and prayers which their high Bishop *Fabius* had taught them, they went euen thus apparelled into the great market place, & did sit them downe there in chaires of iuory, expecting the good will and pleasure of the gods what should become of them. But within three daies after, *Brennus* came to ROME with his army: who finding the gates of the city all open, and the wals without watch, he doubted some deuise in it, and feared some priuy ambush had bene laid, as one hardly beleeuing to haue found the ROMAINS of so base a mind, as to forsake their city. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into ROME by the gate *Collina*, & tooke the same litle more then three hundred and three score yeares after it was first builded. If it be true at the least there hath remained any certaine chronicles of those times vnto this present day, considering the trouble and confusion of that time hath made many things more vncertaine then that, doubtfull vnto vs. But so it was, that the rumor ran to GREECE incontinently how ROME was taken, but yet withall somwhat doubtfully and vncertainly. For *Heraclides Ponticus* (who was about that time) saieth in a certaine booke he wrote of the soule, that there was newes come from the West part, that an army which came from the HYPERBOREANS had taken a city of GREECE called ROME, situated in that countrey ouer the great sea. But I wõder not that *Heraclides* (who hath written so many other fables and lies) did amplifie the true newes of the taking of ROME, with adding to of his owne deuise, of the HYPERBOREANS, & by the great sea. It is a most true tale, that *Aristotle* the Philosopher had certain knowledge it was takẽ by the GAVLS: howbeit he saith also it was recouered again afterwards by one called *Lucius*: where indeed it was, by *Marcus Camillus*, & not by *Lucius*. But all this in maner is spokẽ by coniecture. Moreouer *Brennus* being entred ROME, did appoint part of his souldiers to besiege those which were gottẽ into mount Capitol. And he with the residue of his army, marched on towards the market place, where when he saw the ancient Senators set so grauely in their chaires & spake neuer a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw

Fabius chief bishop of Rome.

Rome taken of the Gaules.

Aristotles testimony of the taking of Rome

The maiesty of the old Senators set in the market place of Rome.

their enemies come armed against them, neither chaunged countenance nor colour at all, but leaned softly on their staues they had in their handes, seeming to be nothing afraide nor abashed, but looked one vpon another, he maruellously wondred at it. This their so strange maner at the first did so dampe the GAVLES, that for a space they stoode still, and were in doubt to come neare to touch them, fearing least they had bene some goddes: vntill such time as one of them went boldly vnto *Marcus Papyrius*, and laid his hand faire and softly vpō his long beard. But *Papyrius* gaue him such a rappe on his pate with his staffe, that he made the blood run about his eares. This barbarous beast was in such a rage with the blow, that he drew out his sword & slew him. The other souldiers also killed all the rest afterwards: & so the GAVLES continued many daies spoyling and sacking all things they found in the houses, and in the end did set them all a fire, and destroied them euery one, for despite of those that kept the fort of the Capitoll, that would not yeeld vpon their summons, but valiantly repulsed them when they scaled the wals. For this cause they rased the whole city, and put all to the sword that came in their handes, young and old, man, woman, and childe. Now this siege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very stoutly, victuals beganne to grow scant in the campe of the GAVLES, in so much as they were driuen of force to seeke it abroad without the city. Hereupon they deuided them selues, whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitoll: and the rest went a forraging and spoyling all the champion countrey and villages there aboutes, scattered as it were by bands and companies, some here, some there, fearing nothing, nor passing vppon watch or ward, they liued in such security of their victory. Howbeit the greatest company amongest them, went by fortune towards the city of ARDEA where *Camillus* dwelt, liuing like a priuate man, medling with no matters of state from the time of his exile, vntill that present time. But then he began now bethinke him selfe as a man that was in safety, and might haue escaped the handes of his enemies, but rather sought to deuise and finde out all the meanes he could to subdue them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, considering that the inhabitaunts of ARDEA were enough in number to set vpon them, although faint hearted, and cowardly, by reason of the slouth and negligence of their gouernors and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: hee began to cast out these words among the young men. That they should not thinke the ROMAINS misfortune fell vpon them, through the valiantnes of the GAVLES; but that their calamity (who had refused good counsaile) had happened vnto them by any worth or act of the GAVLES, hauing done nothing for their part to make them cary away the victory: but that they should thinke it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needs shew her power. Therefore, that it were now a notable and honourable enterprise (although somewhat dangerous) to driue these straungers and barbarous people out of their countrey, considering that the only end of their victory was, but to destroy and consume as fire, all that fell into their handes. Wherefore if they would but onely take a good lusty heart and courage vnto them, he would with opportunity and place, assure them the victory without any danger. The young men were pleased with these words of life and comfort. Whereupon *Camillus* went to breake the matter also vnto the magistrats and counsellours: and hauing drawen them by perswasion vnto this enterprise, he armed all that were of age to cary armour, and would not suffer a man to go out of the city, for feare least the enemies (which were not farre off) should haue intelligence of the same. Now after the GAVLES had run ouer all the champion countrey, and were loden with all sorts of spoiles, they did encampe them selues negligently in open fields, and neuer charged watch nor ward: but hauing their full cariage of wine laid them downe to sleepe, and made no noise at all in their campe. *Camillus* being aduertised thereof by his seuerall skoutes, caused the ARDEANS with as little noise as might bee, forthwith to go out into the fields: and hauing marched somewhat roundly the distance betweene the city and the cāpe of the GAVLES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his souldiers make great shouts & cries, & the trūpets to be sounded on euery side, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the loud noise they made, could hardly be made to wake, they were so deadly drunke. Yet there were some notwithstanding, that for feare to be taken tardy, did buffle vp at this sodaine noise: and comming to them selues, fell to their weapons to re-

The city of Rome rased by the Gaules.

The city of Ardea.

Camillus words vnto the Ardeans in excuse of the Romains

Camillus perswadeth the Ardeans to take armes against the Gaules.

reſiſt *Camillus*, which were ſlaine by and by. The reſt, and the greateſt nũber of them lay here and there ſcattered in the middeſt of the field without any weapon dead a ſleepe, ſtark drunke with wine, and were put to the ſword and neuer ſtrake ſtroke. Thoſe that fled out of the cãpe that night (which were but few in number) were ouerthrowen alſo the next day, by the horſe men which followed and killed them, as they tooke them ſtraggling here and there in the fields. The brute of this victory was blowen abroad incontinently through all the townes and villages there abouts, which cauſed many yong men to come and ioyne them ſelues to *Camillus*: but ſpecially the ROMAINES deſired the ſame, that had ſaued them ſelues in the city of VEIES, after the battell loſt at ALLIA, who made their mones amongeſt them ſelues there, ſaying. O goddes what a captaine hath fortune taken from the city of ROME? What honour hath the city of ARDEA by the valiantnes and worthy deedes of *Camillus*: and in the meane ſeaſon his naturall city that brought him forth, is now loſt and vtterly deſtroyed? We, for lacke of a captaine to leade vs, are ſhut vp here within others wals, and do nothing but ſuffer ITALIE in the meane ſpace to go to ruine and vtter deſtruction before our eies. Why then doe we not ſend to the ARDEANS for our captaine? or why do we not arme our ſelues, to go vnto him? For he is now no more a baniſhed man, nor we poore citizens: ſince our city is poſſeſſed with the foraine power of our hateful enemies. So they all agreed to this counſell, and ſent vnto *Camillus* to beſeech him to be their captaine, and lead them. But he made anſwer, he would in no caſe conſent vnto it, vnleſſe they that were beſieged in the Capitoll had lawfully firſt confirmed it by their voices. For thoſe (ſaid he) ſo long as they remain within the city, do repreſent the ſtate and body thereof. Therefore if they commanded him to take this charge vpon him, he would moſt willingly obey them: if otherwiſe they miſliked of it, that then he would not meddle againſt their good wils and commaundement. They hauing receiued this anſwer, there was not a ROMAINE amongſt them, but greatly honored & extolled the wiſdome & iuſtice of *Camillus*: But now they knew not how to make thẽ priuy vnto it, that were beſieged in the Capitoll: for they ſaw no poſſibility to cõuay a meſſenger to them: conſidering the enemies were lords of the city, and laid ſiege to it. Howbeit there was one *Pontius Cominius* amongſt the yong men (a man of a meane houſe, but yet deſirous of honour and glory) that offered himſelfe very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them that were beſieged, for feare leaſt they might be intercepted, and ſo they ſhould diſcouer *Camillus* intention: but putting on an ill fauoured gown vpon him, he conuaied certaine peeces of corcke vnder it, and trauelling at noone daies kept on his way without feare vntill he came to ROME, bringing darke night with him. And becauſe he could not paſſe ouer the bridge, for that the barbarous people kept watch vpon it: he wrapped ſuch clothes as he had about his necke) which were not many, nor heauy) & tooke the riuer, & ſwimming with thoſe corcks he had brought, at the length he got ouer to the other ſide where the city ſtood. Then taking vp thoſe lanes alwaies where he thought the enemies were not, ſeeing fire, & hearing noiſe in other places, he wẽt to the gate Carmentale, wher he foũd more ſilence then in other places: on the which ſide alſo, the hill of the Capitoll was more ſteep & vpright, by reaſon of the great rocks that were hard to clime vp vpon. But he digged & crept vp ſo log amongſt thẽ, that he got vp with great paine vnto the wall of the fortres, on the which ſide alſo the enemy kept no watch: & ſaluting the watch of the Capitol, he told thẽ what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them, & brought him to the magiſtrats that ruled then. Who cauſed the Senate to aſſemble preſently, to whõ he told the news of *Camillus* victory, which they had not heard of before: & therewith alſo he did declare vnto them, the determination of the ROMAIN ſouldiers that were abroad, which was, to make *Camillus* their captain & generall, & did perſwade them alſo to grant him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whõ the citizens gaue their conſents to obay. When they heard this al that were within the Capitol, conſulted thervpon amongſt themſelues, & ſo did chuſe *Camillus Dictator*, & returned the meſſenger *Pontius Cominius* backe againe, the ſelfe ſame way he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe was like vnto his cõming thither: for the enemies neuer ſaw him. And ſo he broght report to them that were abroad, of the Senats decree & conſent, wherof they were all maruellous glad. Thus came *Camillus* to take this charge of general vpon him, & found there were twẽty thou-

Camillus ſlue the Gauls harde by Ardea.

Pontius Cominius ſent to the Capitoll of Rome.

Camillus choſen Dictator the ſecond time.

sand good fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further aide also of their allies and confederates, and prepared daily to goe and set vpon the enemies. So was *Camillus* chosen now *Dictator* the second time, and went into the city of VEIES where he spake with the ROMAINE souldiers that were there, and leauied a great number of the allies besides, to go fight with the enemies as soone as he could. But whilest *Camillus* was thus a preparing, certaine of the barbarous people in ROME, walking out by chaunce on that side of the Capitoll where *Pontius Cominius* had gotten vp the night before: spied in diuers places the printes of his feete and hands, as he had griped & gotten hold, still digging to get vp, and saw the weeds & hearbs also growing vpon the rockes, and the earth in like manner flat troden downe. Whereupon they went presently vnto the King to let him vnderstand the same: who forthwith came to view the place. And hauing considered it well, he did nothing at that time: but when darke night was come, he called a company of the lightest GAVLES together, and that vsed most to dig in mountaines, and said vnto them. Our enemies them selues doe shew vs the way how to take them, which we could not haue found out but by them selues. For they hauing gone vp before vs, doe giue vs easily to vnderstand, it is no impossible thing for vs to clime vp also. Wherefore we were vtterly shamed, hauing already begun well, if we should faile also to end well: and to leaue this place as vnuincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to clime vp to the height thereof: much lesse is it hard for many to get vp one after another, so that one doe helpe another. Therefore Sirs, I assure you, those that do take paines to get vp shalbe honorably rewarded, according to their iust desert. When the King had spoken these words vnto the GAVLES, they fell to it lustily euery man to get vp: and about midnight, they began many of them to dig, and make steps vp to the rocke one after another, as softly as could possibly, with catching hold the best they could, by the hanging of the rocke, which they found very steepe, but neuertheles easier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formost of them being come to the top of the rocke, were now ready to take the wall, and to set vpon the watch that slept: for there was neither man nor dog that heard them. It chanced then there were holy geese kept in the temple of *Iuno*, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full: but victuals being very straight and scant at that time euen to find the men, the poore geese were so hard handled, & so litle regarded, that they were in manner starued for lacke of meat. This fowle in deede naturally is very quicke of hearing, and so is she also very fearefull by nature: and being in maner famished with their hard allowance, they were so much the more waking and easier to be afraid. Vpon this occasion therfore, they heard the comming of the GAVLES, and also began to run vp & down and cry for feare: with which noise they did wake those that were within the castle. The GAVLES being bewraied by these foolish geese, left their stealing vpon them, and came in with all the open noise and terror they could. The ROMAINES hearing this larum, euery man tooke such weapon as came first to hand, and they ran sodainely to rescue that place from whence they vnderstoode the noise: among those, the formost man of all was *Marcus Manlius*, a man that had bene Consul, who had a lusty body, and as stout a heart. His hap being to meete with two of the GAVLES together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knocke him on the head, he preuented him, and strake off his hand with his sword, and clapt his target on the others face so fiercely, that he threw him backward downe the rocke: and comming afterwards vnto the wall with others that ran thither with him, he repulsed the rest of the GAVLES that were gotten vp, who were not many in number, neither did any great act. Thus the ROMAINS hauing escaped this danger, the next morning they threw the captaine down the rocks to the castell, who had charge of the watch the night before: and gaue *Manlius* in recompence of the good seruice he had done, a more honourable then profitable reward, which was this. Euery man of them gaue him halfe a pound of the country wheat, which they call *Far*, and the fourth part of the measure of wine, which the GRECIANS call *Cotile*: and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of euery man by the day. After this repulse, the GAVLES beganne to be discouraged, partly for that their victuals failed them, and durst no more forage abroade in the fieldes for feare of *Camillus*: and partly also for that the plague came amongest them, being lodged amongest heapes of dead bodies, lying in euery place aboue ground without burial

The Gaules clime vp to the Capitoll in the night.

The holy geese saued the Capitoll.

Marcus Manlius repulsed the Gaules from the Capitoll.

The Gaules vexed with the plague at Rome

and amongst burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes being blowne very high by the winde and vehemency of heat, did giue a drie piercing aire, that did marueilously poison their bodies when they came to draw in the breath of it. But the greatest cause of all their mischiefe was, the chaunge of their wonted dyet. Who comming out of a fresh countrie, where there were excellent pleasant places to retire vnto, to auoide the discommoditie of the parching heate of the sommer, were now in a naughtie plaine countrie for them to remaine in, in the latter season of the yeare. All these things together did heape diseases vpon them, besides the long continuance of the siege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the seuenth moneth) by reason whereof there grew a maruellous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that died dayly, and lay vnburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the GAVLES, the poore besieged ROMAINES were nothing holpen the more, the famine still did grow so fast vpon them. And because they could heare nothing of *Camillus*, they were growne almost vnto a despaire: and send vnto him they could not, the GAVLES kept so straight watch vpon them in the citie. Whereupon both parties finding themselues in hard state, first the watch of either side began to cast out words of peace amongst themselues: and afterwards by cõsent of the heads, *Sulpitius*, Tribune of the soldiers, came to parle with *Brennus*. In which parle it was articled: that the ROMAINES should pay a thousand pound weight of golde, and that the GAVLES should incontinently after the receipt of the same, depart out of their citie, and all their territories. This decree being passed by othe from both, the golde was brought. And when it came to be weyed, the GAVLES at the first priuily began to deale falsely with them: but afterwards they openly staied the ballance, and would not let them weye no more, whereat the ROMAINES began to be angrie with them. Then *Brennus*, in scorne and mockerie, to despight them more, pluckt off his sword, girdle and all, and put it into the ballance where the golde was weied. *Sulpitius* seeing that, asked him what he meant by it. *Brennus* answered him: what can it signifie else, but sorow to the vanquished? This worde euer after ranne as a common prouerbe in the peoples mouthes. Some of the ROMAINES tooke this vile part of theirs in such scorne, that they would needes take the golde from them againe by force, and so returne into their holde, to abide the siege still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrarie, and thought it best with patience to put vp this scorne of theirs, and not to thinke it was a shame to pay more then they had promised: but onely to pay it by compulsion as they did, by misfortune of time, was to thinke it rather necessary, then honourable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aswell amongst themselues, as with the GAVLES: *Camillus* came to ROME gates with his armie, and vnderstanding all what had passed betweene them, he commaunded the rest of the armie to marche faire and softly after him in good order, and he in the meane season with the best choise men he had, went before with all speed. Assoone as the other ROMAINES within the citie had spyed him, they shewted out for ioye, and receiued him euery one with great reuerence, without any more words, as their soueraigne captaine and prince, who had power out of them all. And *Camillus* taking the golde out of the scales, gaue it vnto his men, and commaunded the GAVLES presently to take vp their scales, and to get them going: for, saieth he, it is not the ROMAINES manner to keepe their countrey with golde, but with the sword. Then *Brennus* began to be angrie, and tolde him it was not honourable done of him, to breake the accorde that had passed betweene them before by othe. Whereunto *Camillus* stoutly answered him againe, that accorde was of no validitie. For he being created *Dictator* before, all other officers and magistrates whatsoeuer, and their actes, by his election were made of no authoritie: and seeing therefore they had dealt with men, that had no power of themselues to accorde to any matter, they were to speake to him, if they required ought. For he alone had absolute authoritie to pardon them if they repented, and would aske it: or else to punish them, and make their bodies answer the damages and losse his countrey had by them sustained. These words made *Brennus* madde as a marche hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their swords of all sides, and laide lustely one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streets, where they could set no battell in order. But *Brennus* soddainly remembring himselfe that it was no euen matche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had left many of

The Romaines went about to redeeme their libertie of the Gaules with golde.

Camillus came to Rome with his armie.

Camillus speaketh stoutly to Brennus king of the Gaules.

his people. The next night following, he departed out of ROME with all his army, & went to encampe himselfe about a threescore furlong from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the citie of the GABIANS. *Camillus* with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, & shewed at his campe by the breake of day. The ROMAINES hauing taken heart againe vnto them, did lustily giue them battell: the same continued long, very cruell & doubtfull, vntill the GAVLES at the length were ouerthrowne, and their campe taken with great slaughter. As for those that did escape the furie of the battell, they were killed, some by the ROMAINES selues, who hottely followed the chase after the battell broken: the residue of them, and the greatest part, were slaine by those of the cities and villages neere abouts, that did set vpon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the city of ROME strangely againe recouered, that was before strangely wun and lost, after it had continued seuen moneths in the hands of the barbarous people. For they entred ROME about the fifteenth day of Iuly: and they were driuen out againe, about the thirteenth day of February following. So *Camillus* triumphed as beseemed him, and as one that had saued and deliuered his countrie out of the hands of their enemies, and set ROME againe at libertie. Those that had bin abroade all the time of this siege, came into ROME againe, following his triumphing chariot: and those that had bene besieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to haue died by famine) went and presented themselues before him, and each one embraced other, in weeping wise for ioy. The priests and ministers of the temples also, presented their holy iewels, whole and vndefaced, which some of them had buried in the ground within the citie selfe: and others some had caried away with them, when they fled out of ROME. All these the people did as gladly see, as if the gods themselues had returned home againe into their citie. After they had sacrificed vnto the gods, & rendred them most humble thanks, & had purged their citie, as they had bene taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the gods: *Camillus* began againe to builde vp the temples that were there before, harde by the which he built another new one also to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where *Marcus Ceditius* heard the voice warne him of the comming of the GAVLES. So by *Camillus* good diligence, and the priests great paine and trauaile, the situations of these temples were with much a do found out againe. But when they were to builde againe all the rest of the citie, that was wholly burnt, and destroyed to the grounde: the people had no minde to it, but euer shrinked backe, to put any hande to the worke, for that they lacked all things necessarie to beginne the same. Furthermore, weighing their late and long sustained trouble and miseries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to beginne new labour and toyle, to kill their hearts and bodies altogether. For, neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reache to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their minds to dwell in the citie of VEIES, which remained whole, vntouched, and furnished of all things to receiue them: they deliuered to the prating Orators (whose tongues did neuer cease to speake *plausibilia* to the people) trimme occasion to set this matter abroache. So they gaue good eare, and were willing to heare certaine seditious words spoken against *Camillus*, which were these: That for his priuate ambition he would depriue them of a citie well furnished already, and would against their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houses, wholly burnt and pulled downe. And moreouer, how he would make them to raise vp againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the end the people might call him not onely captaine and generall of the ROMAINES, but the founder of ROME also, and to drowne *Romulus* honourable title thereof. The Senate considering of this matter, and fearing some tumult among the people: they would not suffer *Camillus* to leaue his Dictatorship before the end of the yeare, notwithstanding no man euer enioyed that office aboue sixe moneths. Then *Camillus*, for his part did much endeuour himselfe, to comfort and appease the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and further pointed with his finger vnto the graues of their auncestours, and put them in minde also of the holy places dedicated to the gods, and sanctified by King *Numa*, or by *Romulus*, or by other Kings. But amongst many other tokens drawne out of holy and diuine things, he forgate not to bring for example the head of a man found new and fresh, in making the foundations of the Capitoll,

Camillus ouerthroweth the armie of the Gaules.

Rome was seauen moneths in the hands of the Gaules. Camillus triumphed of the Gaules.

The lusty headed Orators stirre the people to tumult against Camillus

Camillus Dictatorship prorogued. Camillus perswaded the people what he could to dwell in Rome, and to leaue Veies.

if that place by fatall destenie had bene once chosen to be the head and chiefe of all ITALIE. And moreouer, that the holy fier of the goddesse *Vesta* (which since the warres had bene kindled againe by the holy *Vestall Nunnes*) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forsake their naturall citie, besides the great shame and dishonour it would be vnto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by vnknowne strangers, or else to be left a common field and pasture, for beasts and cattell to graze in. Such sorowfull examples and griefes, the honest naturall borne cittizens, did euer blowe into the peoples eares, aswell priuately, as openly. The people againe to the contrarie, did make their hearts to yerne for pittie, when they laide before their eyes their penurie, and pouertie they susteined: and besought them also not to enforce them to gather and ioyne together againe the broken peeces of a spoiled citie (as of a shipwrack that had cast them naked into the sea, hauing onely saued bare life and persons) since that they had another citie neere at hand and ready to receiue them. So *Camillus* counsell was, that the Senate should consult vpon this matter, and deliuer their absolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this counsell, he himselfe brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leaue in any case, the place of their naturall birth and countrey: and so did many other Senatours in like case, fauouring that opinion. Last of all, after these perswasions, he commaunded *Lucius Lucretius* (whose manner was to speake first in such assemblies) that he should stand vp and deliuer his opinion, & that the rest also in order as they sat, should say their mindes. So euery man keeping silence, as *Lucretius* was ready to speake, at that present time there passed by their counsell house, a captaine with his bande that warded that day, who spake aloude to his ensigne bearer that went formost, to stay, and set downe his ensigne there: for, said he, here is a very good place for vs to warde in. These words being heard vp into the Senate house, euen as they stood all in a doubt and maze what would be the resolution of this matter: *Lucretius* began to say, that he most humbly thanked the gods, and allowed of the captaines iudgement, and so euery one of the rest in their order, said as much. Moreouer there was a wonderfull change and alteration of minde so dainly among the common people: for euery man did perswade and encourage his fellow liuely to put his hand to this worke. Insomuch as tarying for no diuision or appointing out of streetes, nor setting out euery man his place he should build in: they fell to worke of all hands, euery one chosing that place he liked best, and was most commodious for their building, without any other order or diuision amongst them. Whereupon, they running to this building on a head, the streets were confused on heaps together, & their houses all built out of order and vniformitie. For the report goeth, that the whole citie (aswell common as priuate buildings) was built vp new againe in a yeare. But the surueiors, to whom *Camillus* had giuen charge to finde out all the holy places where the temples had bin ouerthrowne: as they went about mount *Pallatine*, they came by chance to the place, where the chappell of *Mars* had stood, which the GAVLES had wholy burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making cleane the place, and surueying euery corner, did finde by chance *Romulus* augures crooked staffe hidden vnder a great mount of ashes. This staffe is crooked at one of the ends, and they call it *Lituus*, which soothsayers do vse to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will beholde the flying of birdes to tell of things to come. *Romulus* that was very skilfull in this arte, did vse this staffe: and after he was taken away from all mens sights, the priests tooke it, and kept it as a holy relique, suffering no creature to laye hands on it. Now they found this staffe whole and vnbroken, where all things else were consumed and perished by fire, they were in a maruellous ioy thereat. For they interpreted this to be a signe of the euerlasting continuance of the citie of ROME. But before they could make an ende of all their building, there grew a new warre againe vpon them. For at one very instant, all the ÆQVES, the VOLSCES, and the LATINES, entred with all their might and maine into the territories of the ROMAINES. The THVSCANS also went then and besieged SVTRIVM, that was in league and amitie with the ROMAINES. The *Tribuni militares* got them straight to the field with their armie, and encamped about mount *Martian*. The LATINES besieged them so straightly, that their armie stood in great danger to be ouerthrowne, and they were driuen to send to ROME for a new supply. Thereupon the ROMAINES did choose *Camillus Dictator* againe the third

Rome is built againe.

Rome was new built againe in a yeare.

Romulus augures staffe found whole after Rome was burnt.

Camillus chosen Dictator the third time.

time. The occasion of this warre is reported two manner of waies: whereof I will declare the first, which I do conceiue to be but a tale. They say the LATINES sent vnto the ROMAINES, to demaund some of their free maides in mariage: which they did either to make a quarrell of warre, or else as desirous indeed, to ioyne both the peoples againe by new mariages. The ROMAINES were amazed very much at this, and sore troubled, as not knowing how to aunswer them, they were so affraid of warres. For they were yet scant new setled at home, and dreaded much least this demaund of their daughters, was but a sommons made to giue them hostages, which they finely cloaked vnder the name of alliance in mariage. Some say that there was in that time a bonde maide called *Tutola*, or as some say, *Philotis*, that went vnto the Senate, and counselled them they should send her away with some other faire maides slaues, dressed vp like gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this deuise, and chose such a number of bonde maides as she desired to haue, and trimming them vp in fine apparel, begawded with chaines of golde and iewels, they sent them forth to the LATINES, who were encamped not farre from the citie. When night was come, the other maides hid their enemies swords. But this *Tutola*, or *Philotis* (call her as you will) did clime vp to the top of a wilde fig tree, from which she shewed a burning torche vnto the ROMAINES, hauing made shift to hange somwhat behinde her, to keepe the light from sight of the enemies. For this signall the Senate of ROME had secretly appointed her to set vp, which was the cause that the issuing out of the souldiers being commaunded to go out in the night, was full of trouble and tumult. For being pressed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was a great adoo to put them in order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies sleeping, who nothing mistrusting the same, were slaine the most part of them within their campe. This was done on the fift day of the moneth called then *Quintilis*, and now is named *Iuly*: at which time they do yet celebrate a certaine feast in remembrance of that acte. For first of all, going out of the city, they call aloude many of their fellowes names which are most common: as *Caius Marcius*, and *Lucius*, shewing thereby how one of them called another after that sort, as they went in great hast out of the citie. Afterwards all the maide seruants of the citie being trimly apparelled, go playing vp and downe the towne, pleasantly iesting with those they meete: and in this sort they make as though they fought together, in token that they did helpe the ROMAINES at that time to destroy the LATINES. Then they are feasted, sitting vnder bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feast day is called, *None Capratine*, by reason of the wilde figge tree, (as some thinke) from the top whereof, the bond maide shewed to the ROMAINES the burning torche. For the ROMAINES call the wilde figge tree, *Caprificus*. Other say, that all these things are done and spoken, in remembrance of the mischance that happened vnto *Romulus*, when he was taken out of their sight, the same day without the gates of the citie, at which time there rose a sodaine mist and darke cloude. Or as some other say, that there was the eclypse of the sunne: and they holde opinion that the day was named *None Capratine*, because *Capra* in the ROMAINE tongue, signifieth a goate. *Romulus* vanished out of mens sight as he was making an oration vnto his people, neere vnto the place which is called goates pond, as we haue mentioned more at large in his life. The second occasion & beginning of this warre (according to the opinion of most writers) was, that *Camillus* being chosen *Dictator* the first time, & knowing that the *Tribunes militaires* with their army were straightly besieged by the LATINES & VOLSCES: he was enforced to arme all the olde men, who for very age were priuiledged from further seruice in wars. And hauing fetched a great compasse about mount *Auentian*, because he would not be seene of his enemies, he came to lodge his campe behinde them, where he raised fiers, to make the ROMAINES know that were besieged, how he was come: which as soone as they perceiued, they tooke to them courage againe, and determined to fight. But the LATINES & VOLSCES kept within their campe, & did entrenche and fortifie themselues with a wall of wood, which they laid a crosse, because they saw they were beset both before & behind: & determined to tary the releefe of a new supply, aswel of their own, as of some further aide besides frō the TVSCANS, which thing *Camillus* perceiuing, & fearing least they should serue him, as he had already handled thē by cōpassing of him again behind: he thought it necessarie to preuent this. So considering the inclosure and fortification of their campe

Tutola, or Philotis craft and subtiltie.

Rome deliuered from wars by Tutola the bondmaide.

The maidens feast, called None Capratine.

all of wood, and the euery morning commonly, there came a great winde from the side of the mountaines. He made prouision of a number of fire brandes. And leading out his armie into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one part of them to giue charge vpon the enemies on the one side with great noyse and shouting: and he with the other part determined to raise fire on the contrarie side, from whence the winde should come, looking for oportunitie to do the same. When he saw the sunne vp, and the winde beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the side of the hils, and that the skirmish was begunne on the other side: then he gaue a signall vnto the companie he led with him, to set vpon the enemies, and made them throw into the inclosure of their campe, diuers pots and dartes with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catch hold of, in this inclosure of wood, and trees laide ouerthwart, did rayse straight an exceeding great flame in the aire, & still got way inwards into the LATINES camp. Whereupon the LATINES being vnprouided of present remedie to quench the flame, and seeing their campe a fire all about their eares: they gathered themselues together at the first in a very small roome. Neuertheless, they were inforced in the end to get them into the field, and there they found their enemies readie armed, and in battell ray. So as few of those escaped that came into the field, and their fellowes that remained within their campe, were burnt to death with fire, vntill the ROMAINES themselues came to quench it for greedines of their spoile and goods. When all this was done, *Camillus* left his sonne in the campe, to keepe the prisoners & spoiles: and he himselfe, with the rest of the armie, went to inuade his enemies country, where he tooke the citie of ÆQVES. Then after he had ouercome the VOLSCES, he led his armie presently from thence vnto the citie of SVTRIVM. For he had not yet heard of their misfortune. Therefore he hasted himself to aide them, because he thought they were yet besieged by the THVSCANS. But such was their hard fortune, that they had alreadie yeelded vp their citie by composition, & saued no part of their goods, but the very clothes they had on their backs. So being turned out of all they had, they met *Camillus* by the way as they were wandring abroad, lamenting their miserie, with their wiues and litle yong children: whose misery went to the very hart of *Camillus*, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, whe he saw the ROMAINES weepe for pitie also, to see the mone that these vnfortunate people made vnto him, and that it grieued them heartily to behold their great mischaunce: he determined with himselfe not to deferre reuenge, but presently to goe the selfe same day before the citie of SVTRIVM, imagining that he should find the THVSCANS out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good cheere, because they had newly taken a wealthy rich citie, where they had left neuer an enemie in the same to hurt them, neither feared any abroad to come neere to assault them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he gessed. For he had not only passed through the territories of the citie, without any intelligence giuen to the enemies within the same: but he was come to the verie gates, and had taken the walles, before they heard any thing of his comming, by reason they neither kept watch nor warde, but were dispersed abroad in the citie, in euery house, eating and drinking drunke together. Insomuch as when they knew their enemies were alreadie within the citie, they were so full fraught with meate and wine, that the most of their wits serued them not so much as to flie, but tarried vntill they were slaine or taken, like beasts in the houses. Thus was the citie of SVTRIVM twise taken in one day. And it chaunced that those which had wonne it, lost it: and those which had lost it, recouered it againe by *Camillus* meanes. Who deserued both the honour and entrie of triumph into ROME the which wanne him no lesse good will and glorie, then the two first before had done praise, and gotten fame. For euen his greatest enemies that most spighted and enuied his former noble actes, ascribing them rather to fortune that fauoured him, then to his valiantnesse or worthinesse: were forced now by this deede of his to confesse, that his wisedome and valiantnesse deserued praise and commendation to the skies. *Camillus* of all his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was *Marcus Manlius*, that was the first man that gaue the GAVLES the repulse that night they had entered the walles of the Capitoll, and had thought to haue taken it: whereupon they gaue him the surname of *Capitolinus*. He aspiring to be the chiefe of the citie, and finding no direct way to exceede the glorie of *Camillus*, tooke the broad high way of them that practise tyrannie. For hee beganne to flatter

Camillus stratageme against the Latines & Volsces.

Camillus slue the Latines.

Camillus tooke the citie of Aeques.

Camillus won the citie of Sutrium.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus mouueth sedition.

Flattery and hypocrisie winneth the multitude and common people.

the common people, and specially those that were indebted: he tooke vpon him to defende their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debters out of the creditours handes and caried them away by force, that for lacke of ability to pay, were by rigour of the lawe condemned to be bond-slaues. But by this practise, in short time he got him a marueilous number of such needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honest citizens were affraide of the insolent parties they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumultes they daily stirred vp in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they did choose *Quintus Capitolinus Dictator*: who caused the said *Manlius* immediatly to be apprehended, and committed him to prison. Whereupon the people beganne to chaunge their apparell: which they were neuer wont to doe, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing least some commotion would rise hereupon, they did set him at libertie againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wiser thereby, but did still stirre vp the commons, more boldly and seditiously, then before. Then was *Camillus* chosen againe *Tribunus militaris*, and *Manlius* was accused in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the sight of the Capitoll troubled his accuser much. For the very place it selfe where *Manlius* had repulsed the GAVLES by night, & defended the Capitoll, was easily seene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he himselfe pointing with his hand, shewed the place vnto the goddes, and weeping tenderly he laid before them the remembrance of the hazard of his life, in fighting for their safety. This did moue the iudges hearts to pitie, so as they knew not what to do, but many times they did put ouer the hearing of his case vnto another day, and neither would they giue iudgement, knowing he was conuicted by manifest proofes: neither could they vse the seueritie of the law vppon him, because the place of his so notable good seruice was euer still before their eyes. Wherefore *Camillus* finding the cause of delay of iustice, did make the place of iudgement to be remoued without the citie, into a place called the wood *Petelian*, from whence they could not see the Capitoll. And there the accusers gaue apparent euidence against him: & the iudges considering all his wicked practises, conceaued a iust cause to punish him, as he had deserued. So they gaue sentence of death against him: that he should be caried to the mount Capitoll, and there to be throwne downe headlong the rockes thereof. Thus, one, and the selfe place was a memorie of his notable good seruice, and also a memoriall of his miserable and vnfortunate end. Besides all this, they rased his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddesse they call *Moneta*: and made a lawe also, that no *Patrician* from thenceforth should dwell any more in the mount Capitoll. *Camillus* after this, being called againe to take the office of *Tribunus militaris* the sixth time: he sought to excuse him selfe aswell for that he saw he was well stept in yeares, as also for that he feared fortunes spight, or some mishappe, after he had obteined such glorie for his noble actes and seruice. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sickenesse, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allow no excuse by any meanes, but cryed out, they did not desire he should fight a foote nor a horsebacke, but that he should onely giue counsell, and commaund: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named *Lucius Furius*, against their enemies the PRÆNESTINES, and the VOLSCES, who ioyning together did inuade the confines of the ROMAINES friendes. So he led his army out immediatly to the field, and camped as neere the enemie as he could: being minded for his part to draw the warre out in length, that he might fight afterwardes (if neede required) when he had recouered strength. But *Furius* contrarily coueting glorie, was wholly bent to hazard the battell, whatsoeuer perill came of it: and to this end he sturred vp, and incouraged the captaines of euery priuate band. Wherfore *Camillus* fearing least they should thinke, for ill will he bare their yong men, that he went about to hinder and take away the meanes to winne their honour, and to doe some noble act: suffered *Furius* against his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane season by reason of his sickenesse, remained with a few about him in the campe. So went *Lucius* vpon a head to present battell to the enemie, and so was he as headily also ouerthrowen. But *Camillus* hearing the ROMAINES were ouerthrowen: sicke as he was vpon his bedde, got vp, and taking his houshold seruantes with him, he went in haste to the gates of the

Manlius clapt in prison by Q. Capitolinus Dictator.

Camillus chosen againe Tribunus militaris

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus put to death.

Lucius Furius gaue battell to the Præneſtines and Volſces, and was ouerthrowen.

the campe, and passed through those that fled, vntill he came to meete with the enemies that had them in chase. The ROMAINES seeing this that were alreadie entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they saw him, they gathered together, and put themselues againe in array before him, and perswaded one another not to forsake their Captaine. So their enemies hereupon staied their chasing, and would pursue no further that day. But the next morning, *Camillus* leading his armie into the field, gaue them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victorie hard, he entred amongest them that fled into their campe pelmel, or hande ouerhead, and slew the most part of them euen there. After this victorie, he was aduertised howe the THVSCANS had taken the citie of SVTRIVM, and had put to the sword all the inhabitants of the same, which were the ROMAINES citizens. Whereupon he sent to ROME the greatest part of his armie, and keeping with him the lightest and lustiest men, went and gaue assault vnto the THVSCANS, that now were harbored in the citie of SVTRIVM. Which when he had wonne againe, he slew part of them, and the other saued themselues by flight. After this, he returned to ROME with an exceeding spoyle, confirming by experience, the wisedome of the ROMAINES, who did not feare the age nor sickenesse of a good captaine that was expert and valiant: but had chosen him against his will, though he was both olde and sicke, and preferred him farre before the younger and lustier that made sute to haue the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the THVSCVLANIANS were reuolted they sent *Camillus* thither againe, willing him of fiue other companions to take out one he liked best, euery of the which desired to be chosen, and made their sute vnto him for the same. But he refusing all other, did chuse againe *Lucius Furius* beyonde all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needes would against his will hazard battell, in which he was ouerthrowen. Howbeit *Camillus*, hauing a desire (as I thinke) to hide his fault and shame he had receaued: did of courtesie preferre him before all other. Now the THVSCVLANIANS hearing of *Camillus* coming against them, subtilly sought to colour the fault they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, some to plowe, other to keepe the beastes, as if they had bene in best peace: and did set the gates of the citie wide open, sent their children openly to schoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their shops, the men of hauiour and honest citizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, and the officers and gouernours of the citie went vp and downe to euery house, commaunding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMAINES, as if they had stood in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no fault. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make *Camillus* beleeue, but that they had an intent to rebell against the ROMAINES: yet they made *Camillus* pitie them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to ROME to the Senate, to craue pardon for their fault: and he himselfe did helpe them, not only to purge their citie of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the priuiledge and freedome of ROME. And these be the chiefest acts *Camillus* did in the 6. time of his tribuneshippe. After this, one *Licinius Stolo* moued great sedition in the citie, betwene the common people and the Senate. For he would in any case that of the two Consuls, which were chosen yerely, the one of them should be a commoner, and not that both of them should be of the auncient noble families, called *Patricians*. The Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the election of the Consuls, the people stayed: so that the common wealth went to decaie: and declined to greater troubles, then euer it did before, for lacke of gouernment. But to suppresse this, the Senate created *Camillus* the fourth time *Dictator*: but this was sore against his will, because it misliked the people much. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they hauing serued vnder him in many warres and battels, might boldly, and truely say vnto him: that he had done more notable actes by them in the warres, then he had done by the *Patricians* in peace. Yet was he created *Dictator* in despight, to rule the people, and of enuie in the noble men towardes them. Thus necessitie did vrge him, either by force to suppresse the people, if he were the stronger in this dissention: or els that he himselfe should be suppressed, if he became the weaker. *Camillus* notwithstanding, preparing to preuent this mischiefe, and knowing the day the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the passing of their

Camillus wan the field of the Praenestines and Volsces.

Camillus slew the Thuscans at Sutrium.

Camillus sent againe against the Thusculanians.

The craft of the Thusculanians.

Great sedition moued in Rome by Licinius Stolo.

Camillus created Dictator the fourth time

law by voyces of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations set vpon postes, that the same very day he would muster the people, and all was but to drawe them from the market place into the field of *Mars*, and did set great penalties vpon those that should be lacking at the musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrary part did withstande his threates, and sware they would condemne *Camillus* selfe in fiftie thousand Drachmas of siluer, if he did not let the people alone, but would goe about to disturbe them for giuing their voyces to such law, as they liked of. *Camillus* perceiuing this, and fearing to be condemned, and banished once againe, which would fall out very ill for him, being now an old man, and one that had done so many great and notable actes, or else for that he thought him selfe not strong enough to withstand the force of the people: he kept his house that day, fayning himselfe to be sicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in the ende he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another *Dictator*, who named the same *Licinius Stolo* generall of the horse men, that was the author and furtherer of all this sedition: and besides did suffer him to preferre another law, and to passe it by voyces of the people, that aboue all other lawes, did most trouble the *Patricians*. Which law did forbid any citizen of ROME, to haue, or occupie aboue fiue hundred *iugera*, which amount to 330. acres and a halfe, 12. pole, and 121. partes of a pole. Then was this *Stolo* aloft, and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despight of the Senate established this law. Howbeit shortly after it was found out, that himselfe had more number of acres then his owne lawe permitted. By reason whereof, he receiued the iust punishment of his owne deuised forfaiture. Yet the most weightie matter of all this dissention that beganne first, and most of all troubled the Senate touching the election of the Consuls, remained still vndetermined. But while these matters were thus in talke, the ROMAINES had certain intelligence, how the GAVLES were departed once againe from the Adriatick sea, & were cõming with a great power straight vnto Rome: vpon report of which newes, the warres followed immediatly. For the GAVLES destroyed the champion countrie as they went: and the poore countrie men that could not recouer ROME, were scattered here & there amongest the mountaines. The feare of this did somwhat appease the dissention. The people then assembling with the Senate, and the baser sort with the noble, did all with one voyce and assent chuse *Camillus Dictator* the fift time. He was now a very old man, lacking litle of foure scoreyeares: but neuertheles, considering the necessitie and present daunger, without framing any excuse, or starting as he had before, he vndertook the charge. Now that he had taken it vpon him, he presently leauied men, and prepared his armie. And knowing very well how the fiercenesse of these barbarous GAVLES consisted in downe right blowes with their swordes, with which they would strike off heads and shoulders of men at a blow, mangling them like butchers, without any cast or skill of fight: he caused iron sallets, and morians to be made for the most of his men, as smoothly wrought on the out side as could be, that their swords lighting on them, should either slide off, or breake. Moreouer, he caused their shields to haue bars made about them of copper, because the wood selfe was not able to abide ther blowes. Furthermore, he did teach his souldiers to carie long iauelines or punchion staues, wherewith they might wound their enemies lifting vp their swords to strike them. Now when the GAVLES were come neere ROME, hauing pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Anian*, and being full loden and stuffed with all kinds of spoyle and booties: then *Camillus* brought his armie also into the field, and went to lodge on a litle hill which was easie to get vpon, where there were many litle caues, so that the most of his armie was all hidden and couered, and those that were seene, seemed to be retired thither into those high places for an aduantage, and of feare. *Camillus* to increase this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder, did suffer them to come and spoyle euen to the foote of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept himself close in his campe and well fortified. Vntill such time as he spied occasion of aduantage, that the best part of their armie were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the fields: and those which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drinking as they vsed carelesly at all houres. Then *Camillus* sent very early before day, his lightest armed men, to vexe and trouble the barous people in comming out of their campe; and to let them in any case from putting

Licinius Stolo made a law for enioying of landes.

Stolo the first offender of the same law.

The Gaules come againe to Rome.

Camillus chosen Dictator the fift time.

How Camillus appointed his souldiers with armour and weapon to fight with aduantage against the Gaules.

Anies fl.

men in order of battell: and he at the breake of day, came downe into the plaine, and did set his other men being well armed, in good array, which were a great number, and lusty fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, few, and fearefull. This at the very first discouraged the hearts of the GAVLES maruellously, because they thought them selues dishonored, that the ROMAINES should charge them first. Afterwardes also *Camillus* vantguard did set vppon the GAVLES, and that on a sodaine, before they had leysure to put them selues in battell, or to order their troupes; compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chaunce. In the end also, *Camillus* came vpon the necks of them, with all his whole force, and army together: against whom they ranne notwithstanding, holding vp their naked swordes aloft in their handes. But the ROMAINES thrusting with their armed iauelings, receiued their enemies blowes vpon them, and thereby so rebated the edges of their swordes (their blades being very sharpe and thinne ground, and of so soft a temper) that they bowed againe, and stoode crooked vnreasonably: and furthermore, hauing pierced their shieldes through with their punching staues, the GAVLES armes were so clogd and wearied with them, the ROMAINES plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their swordes and shieldes, and flying in, closed with the ROMAINES, and caught hold of their iauelings, thinking by plaine force to haue wrested them out of their handes. Howbeit they perceiuing then the GAVLES were naked, fell straight to their swordes: and so was the slaughter of their first rankes very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all about the plaine: because *Camillus* had caused all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither did they retire towardes their campe, for that it was vnfortified, and also knew well enough it would be easily taken. This battell (as they say) was thirteene yeares after their taking of ROME before. But after that field, the ROMAINES courages were good enough against these barbarous GAVLES, whom they stoode in feare of before: thinking the first time they came, that they had not ouercome them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongest them, or through some other straunge chaunce. For they did so feare them at that time, that they made a law, how their priestes should be exempted from warres, so it were not against the GAVLES. This ouerthrow was the last marshall act *Camillus* did in the warres. For, the taking of the city of VELIGRAS, was an accident depending vpon this iourney: because they yeelded straight vnto him, without striking any stroke. But the lewd vnquietnesse of the people of ROME about gouernment, and the choosing of the yeare Consuls, was the hardest matter he euer had in hand. For they returning home to Rome strong, and of great power, by their late obtained victory: would in any case haue one of the Consuls to be chosen of a commoner, which was directly against their ancient custome. But the Senate stoutly withstood it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authority, which was great then, that they should maintaine and continue their auncient dignity, and prerogatiue of their nobility. But as *Camillus* was set in his chaire in the market place, where he heard and dispatched causes: there came a sergeant to him, sent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to follow him, and there withall layd violent handes vppon him, as hee would haue caried him away by force. This made such a terrible tumult and vproare, that the like was neuer seene before in the market place. For *Camillus* friendes draue the sergeant backe behind the chaire. The common people cried out againe to the sergeant from beneath, pull him out of his chaire. This so amazed *Camillus*, that he knew not well what to say at the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resigne vp his office, but taking those Senators he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would goe into it, he turned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, and made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would please them to bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and so made a solemne vow and promise (if these tumultes and troubles might bee pacified) that hee would builde a temple of Concord. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and diuersity of opinions among them: yet in the end, the easiest way did carry it, and that was to graunt the common peoples desire, that a commoner should be chosen Consull with a noble man. The *Dictator* hauing openly published to the people the Senates decree, con-

Camillus slue the Gaules againe.

The Romaines how they exempted priestes from the warres.

Sedition at Rome about choosing of Consuls.

Policy to yeald to necessity.

A commoner chosen Consull with a noble man.

firming their desire: the common people were so ioyfull, that at that present they let fall their malice against the Nobility and Senate, and brought *Camillus* home to his house, with great shouts of ioy, and clapping of hands. The next morning all the people being assembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of concord should be built at the common wealths charge (according to the vow *Camillus* had made) in such a place, as it might be seene from the market place selfe, where all the assemblies for matters of counsell were made. And further, it was ordered that one day more should be added to the feasts of the LATINES: and that from thenceforth they should solemnize foure festiuall daies, and should presently make generall sacrifices vnto the goddes, in euery temple of the city, to giue them thankes: and in token of ioy, they should all weare garlands vpon their heads for this reconciliation. So *Camillus* proceeding to election, there were chosen two Consuls, *Marcus Æmilius* of the noble *Patricians*, and *Lucius Sextius* of the *Plebeians* or commoners. And this was the last act that euer *Camillus* did. For the next yeare after the plague was in ROME, and tooke away an infinite number of people that died, besides many magistrates and officers of the city that departed: among whom, *Camillus* also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had liued a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life: yet he was as ready to die, and as patiently tooke his death, as any man liuing could haue done. Moreouer, the ROMAINS made more mone & lamentation for his death alone, then for al the rest the plague had already consumed.

Marcus AEmilius, Lucius Sextius Consuls.

Camillus died of the plague.

The end of Furius Camillus life.

THE LIFE OF *Pericles.*

CAESAR seing in ROME one day certaine rich and wealthy strangers hauing little dogs and munkeys in their armes, and that they made much and maruellous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wisely reprooving them by this question, for that they bestowed their natural loue and affection vpon brute beasts, which they should with all kindnesse and loue bestow vpon creatures. Nature in like case also, hauing planted in our mindes a naturall desire to learne and vnderstand, we are in reason to reproue those that vainely abuse this good desire, fondly

ſing it to learne things vaine and vnprofitable: and to caſt behinde them in the meane ſeaſon thinges honeſt and neceſſary to be learned. For as touching our outward ſenſe, which with paſſion receiueth impreſſion of the thing it ſeeth, peraduenture it will be neceſſary to conſider indifferently the thing ſeene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtfull vnto him: but ſo fareth it not with our vnderſtanding, for euery man may at his pleaſure turne and diſpoſe that to the thing he taketh delight in, the reaſon whereof we muſt alwaies imploy to the beſt part, and that not only to conſider and looke vpon the thing, but alſo to reape the benefit and commodity of the thing we ſee. For like as the eie is moſt delighted with the lighteſt and freſheſt colours: euen ſo we muſt giue our minds vnto thoſe ſightes, which by looking vpon them do draw profit and pleaſure vnto vs. For ſuch effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or read them, they do print in our hearts an earneſt loue and deſire to follow them. But this followeth not in all other things we eſteeme, neither are we alwaies diſpoſed to deſire to do the thinges we ſee well done: but contrary oftentimes, when we like the worke, we miſlike the worke man, as cõmonly in making theſe perfumes and purple colours. For both the one & the other do pleaſe vs well: but yet we take perfumers and diers to be men of a meane occupation. Therfore *Antiſthenes* anſwered one very wiſely, that told him *Iſmenias* was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughty mã, ſayd he: otherwiſe he could not be ſo cunning at the flute as he is. Euen ſo did *Philip* king of MACEDON ſay to his ſonne *Alexander* the great on a time: that at a certaine feaſt had ſung paſſing ſweetly, and like a maiſter of muſicke. Art thou not aſhamed ſon to ſing ſo well? It is enough for a King to beſtow his leiſure ſomtime to hear muſitians ſing, & he doth much honor to the Muſes to heare the maſter of the ſcience other while, when one of them ſingeth to excell another. But he that perſonally ſhall beſtow his time, exerciſing any meane ſcience: bringeth his paines he hath taken in matters vnprofitable, a witneſſe againſt himſelfe, to proue that he hath bene negligent to learne thinges honeſt and profitable. And there was neuer any yong gentleman nobly borne, that ſeing the image of *Iupiter* (which is in the city of PISA) deſired to become *Phidias*: nor *Polycletus*, for ſeeing of *Iuno* in the city of ARGOS: nor that deſired to be *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or *Archilochus*, for that they tooke pleaſure ſomtime to read their works. For it followeth not of neceſſity, that though the worke delight, the workeman muſt needs be prayſed. And ſo in like caſe, ſuch thinges doe not profite thoſe which behold them, becauſe they doe not moue affection in the hearts of the beholders to follow them, neither doe ſtirre vp affection to reſemble them, and much leſſe to conforme our ſelues vnto them. But vertue hath this ſingular property in all her actions: that ſhee maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her ſo, that ſtraight he liketh all her doings, and deſireth to follow thoſe that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only deſire to haue them in poſſeſſion: but of vertue, we chiefely loue the deeds. Wherefore we are contented to haue goods from other men: but good deeds we would other ſhould haue from vs. For vertue is of this power, that ſhe alureth a mans mind preſently to vſe her, that wiſely conſidereth of her, & maketh him very deſirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only vnderſtanding and knowledge of vertuous deedes, which ſodainely bringeth vnto him a reſolute deſire to do the like. And this is the reaſon, why me thought I ſhould continue ſtill to write on the liues of noble men, & why I made alſo this tenth booke: in the which are contained the liues of *Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*, who maintained wars againſt *Hannibal*. For they were both men very like together in many ſundry vertues, and ſpecially in curteſie and iuſtice: and for that they could patiently beare the follies of their people, and companions that were in charge of gouernment with them, they were marueilous profitable members for their country. But if we haue ſorted them well together, comparing the one with the other: you ſhall eaſily iudge that read our writings of their liues. *Pericles* was of the tribe of the *Acamantides*, of the towne of CHOLARGVS, and one of the beſt and moſt ancient families of the city of ATHENS, both by his father and mother. For *Xantippus* his father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA in the iourney of *Mycala*) maried *Agariſte* that came of *Cliſthenes*, he who draue out of ATHENS *Piſiſtratus* iſſpring, and valiantly ouerthrew their tyranny. Afterwardes he eſtabliſhed lawes, and ordained a very graue forme of gouernment, to maintaine his citizens in peace and concord to-

Wit alwaies to be employed to good things.

Antiſthenes ſaying of a flute player.

The power of vertue.

Pericles ſtocke.

Pericles mothers dreame.

gether. This *Agariſt* dreamed one night that ſhe was brought to bed of a Lion: and very ſhortly after ſhe was deliuered of *Pericles*, who was ſo well proportioned in all the parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, ſauing that his head was ſomewhat too long and out of proportion to the reſt of his body. And this is the only cauſe why all the ſtatues and images of him almoſt, are made with a helmet of his head: becauſe the workmen as it ſhould ſeeme (and ſo it is moſt likely) were willing to hide the blemiſhe of his deformity. But the ATTICAN Poets did call him *Schinocephalos*, as much to ſay, headed like an onion. For thoſe of ATTICA doe ſometime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue *Scilla*, that is to ſay, an onion of Barbarie: *Schinos*. And *Cratinus* the Comicall Poet in his comedy hee entituled *Chirones*, ſayd:

Pericles had a long head.

Olde Saturne he, and dreadfull dire debate
begotten haue, betweene them Carnally,
this tyrant here, this heauy iolting pate,
in court of goddes ſo tearmed worthely.

And againe alſo in that which he nameth *Nemeſis*, ſpeaking of him, he ſaieth:

Come Iupiter, come Iupiter,
Come iolt-head, and come inkeeper.

And *Teleclides* mocking him alſo, ſayeth in a place:

Sometimes he ſtands, amazed when he perceiues,
that hard it were, ſufficiently to know,
in what eſtate, his gouernment he leaues.
And then will he, be ſeldome ſeene by low,
ſuch heauie heapes, within his braines do grow.
But yet ſometimes, out of that monſtrous pate,
he thundreth faſt, and threatneth euery ſtate.

And *Eupolis* in a comedy which he intituled *Demi*: being very inquiſitiue, and asking particularly of euery one of the Orators (whom he fained were returned out of hell) when he named *Pericles* the laſt man vnto him, he ſaide:

Truely thou haſt now brought, vnto vs here that dwell,
the chiefe of all the captaines, that come from darkſome hell.

Pericles ſtudies and teachers.

And as for muſicke, the moſt authors write, that *Damon* did teach him muſicke, of whose name (as men ſay) they ſhould pronounce the firſt ſyllable ſhort. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* ſaieth, that he was taught muſicke by *Pythoclides*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that this *Damon* was a man of deepe vnderſtanding, and ſubtill in matters of gouernment: for, to hide from the people his ſufficiency therein, he gaue it out he was a muſitian, and did reſort vnto *Pericles* as maſter wreſtler, or fenſer: but he taught him how he ſhould deale in matters of ſtate. Notwithſtanding, in the end he could not ſo cunningly conuay this matter, but the people ſaw his leaping and muſicke, was only a viſer to his other practiſe: wherefore they did baniſhe him. THENS for fiue yeares, as a man that buſily tooke vpon him to change the ſtate of things, and that fauoured tyranny. And this gaue the Comicall Poets matter to play vpon him finely, among which *Plato* in a comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him:

O Chiron, tell me firſt: art thou indeede the man,
which did inſtruct Pericles thus? make aunſwer if thou can.

Zenon Eleatean.

He was ſometime alſo ſcholler to the Philoſopher *Zenon*, who was borne in the city of ELEA, and taught naturall philoſophy, as *Parmenides* did: but his profeſſion was to thwart all contrary all men, and to alledge a world of obiections in his diſputation, which were ſo intricate, that his aduerſary replying againſt him, knew not how to aunſwer him, nor to conclude his argument. The which *Timon Phliaſius* witneſſeth in theſe words:

Zenon was ſubtill ſure, and very eloquent,
and craftily could winde a man, by way of argument,
if ſo he were diſpoſed, his cunning to deſcrie,
or ſhew the sharpneſſe of his wit, to practiſe pollicy.

But *Anaxagoras Clazomenian* was he that was moſt familiar and conuerſaunt with him

and did put in him the maiestie and grauitie he shewed in all his sayings, and doings, who did farre excell the common course of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be short, he it was that did fashion his manners, altogether to carie that graue countenance which he did. For they called *Anaxagoras* in his time, *Nùs*, as much to say, as vnderstanding, Either because they had his singular wit and capacitie in such great admiration, being growne to search out the cause of naturall things: or that he was the first man, who did ascribe the disposition and gouernement of this world, not vnto fortune or fatall necessitie, but vnto a pure, simple, and vnderstanding minde, which doth separate at the first mouing cause, the substance of such like parts as are medled and compounded of diuerse substances, in all other bodies through the world. *Pericles* made maruellous much of *Anaxagoras*, who had fully instructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of those specially that worke aboue in the ayre and firmament. For he grew not only to haue a great minde and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or grosse countrie termes: but to a certaine modest countenance that scantly smiled, very sober in his gate, hauing a kinde of sound in his voyce that he neuer lost nor altered, and was of very honest behauiour, neuer troubled in his talke for any thing that crossed him, and many other such like things, as all that saw them in him, and considered them, could but wonder at him. But for proofe hereof, the report goeth, there was a naughty busie fellow on a time, that a whole day together did nothing but raile vpon *Pericles* in the market place, and reuile him to his face, with all the villanous words he could vse. But *Pericles* put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a worde againe, dispatching in the meane time matters of importance he had in hand, vntill night came, that he went softly home to his house, shewing no alteration nor semblance of trouble at all, though this lewd varlet followed him at the heeles, with words of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne doores, being darke night, he commaunded one of his men to take a torche, and to bring this man home to his house. Yet the Poet *Ion* saieth, that *Pericles* was a very proude man, and a stately, and that with his grauitie and noble minde, there was mingled a certaine scorne and contempt of other: and contrarilie, he greatly praiseth the ciuilitie, humanitie, and courtesie of *Cimon*, because he could fashion himselfe to all companies. But letting passe that which the Poet *Ion* said: who would that vertue should be full of tragicall discipline, bringing in with it, a certaine satyricall discourse to mooue laughter. Now *Zennon* contrariwise did counsell all those, that said *Pericles* grauitie was a presumption, and arrogancie: that they should also follow him in his presumption. For, to counterfaite in that sort things honest and vertuous, doth secretly with time breed an affection and desire to loue them, and afterwards with custome euen effectually to vse and follow them. So *Pericles* by keeping *Anaxagoras* companie, did not onely profit himselfe in these things, but he learned besides to put away all superstitious feare, of celestiall signes and impressions seene in the ayre. For to those that are ignorant of the causes thereof, such sights are terrible, and to the godly also fearefull, as if they were vtterly vndone: and all is, because they haue no certaine knowledge of the reason that naturall Philosophie yeeldeth, which in stead of a fearfull superstition, would bring a true religion accompanied with assured hope of goodnesse. Some say a man brought *Pericles* one day from his farme out of the countrie, a Rammes head that had but one horne, and that the prognosticator *Lampon* considering this head, that had but one strong horne in the middest of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the signification thereof. That being two tribes and seuerall factions in the citie of Athens touching gouernement, the one of *Pericles*, and the other of *Thucydides*: the power of both should be brought into one, and specially into his part, in whose house this signe did happen. Further, it is said that *Anaxagoras* being present, did cause the Rammes head to be clouen in two peeces, and shewed vnto them that stood by, that the braine of this Ramme did not fill the panne of his naturall place, but inclosed it selfe in all parts, being narrowe like the pointe of an egge, in that parte where the horne tooke his first roote of budding out. So *Anaxagoras* was maruellously esteemed at that present by all those that stood by: but so was *Lampon*, soone after that *Thucydides* was driuen away, and that the gouernment of the whole commonweale fell into the hands of *Pericles* alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the naturall Philosopher

Pericles manners and behauiour.

Pericles patience.

The benefit of naturall philosophie.

What was signified by the Rammes head that had but one horne, and was found in Pericles grounde.

and the prognosticator did rightly meete together in troth: the one directly telling the cau
and the other the end of the euent as it fell out. For the profession of the one, is to know ho
it commeth: and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to foretell what it betokeneth. F
where some say, that to shew the cause, is to take away the signification of the signe: they
not consider that in seeking to abolish by this reason the wonderfull tokens and signes in t
ayre, they do take away those also which are done by arte. As the noise of basons, the ligh
of fire by the sea side, and the shadowes of needles or points of dyals in the sunne: all wh
things are done by some cause and handiworke, to be a signe and token of some thing. B
this argument peraduenture may serue better in another booke. And now againe to *Pericl*
While he was yet but a young man, the people stood in awe of him, because he somwh
Pericles likened to Pisistratus. resembled *Pisistratus* in his countenance: and the ancientest men of the citie also were mu
afeard of his soft voyce, his eloquent tongue, and ready vtterance, because in those he w
Pisistratus vp and downe. Moreouer he was very riche and wealthie, and of one of the m
blest families of the citie, and those were his friends also that caried the onely sway and a
thoritie in the state: whereupon, fearing least they would banish him with the banishme
of *Ostracismon*, he would not medle with gouernement in any case, although otherwise h
shewed himselfe in warres very valiant and forward, and feared not to venter his perso
But after that *Aristides* was dead, that *Themistocles* was driuen away, and that *Cimon* bei
euer in seruice in the warres as generall in forraine countries, was a long time out of Gre
then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of th
Pericles first beginning to deale in the commonwealth poore communaltie, aboue the small number of Nobilitie and riche men, the which w
directly against his nature. For of himselfe he was not popular, nor meanly giuen: but h
did it as it should seeme) to auoide suspicion, that he should pretend to make him sel
King. And because he saw *Cimon* was inclined also to take part with the Nobilitie, and th
he was singularly beloued and liked of all the honester sort: he to the contrarie enclined t
the common people, purchasing by this meanes safetie to himselfe, and authoritie again
Cimon. So he presently began a new course of life, since he had taken vpon him to dea
Too much familiaritie breedeth contempt. in matters of state: for they neuer sawe him afterwards at any time go into the citie, but t
the market place, or to the Senate house. He gaue vp going to all feasts where he was bi
den, and left the entertainment of his friends, their company and familiaritie. So that in a
his time wherein he gouerned the commonweale, which was a long time, he neuer went o
to supper to any of his friends, vnlesse it were that he was once at a feast at his nephew *Eur*
ptolemus mariage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremonie was a doing
when they offer wine to the goddes, and so he rose from the table. For these friendly me
tings at such feasts, do much abase any counterfaite maiestie or set countenance: and h
shall haue much a do to keepe grauitie and reputation, shewing familiaritie to euery known
friend in such open places. For in perfect vertue, those things truely are euer most excellen
which be most common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable
vnto strangers, then their dayly conuersation is to their friends. *Pericles* nowe to preuen
that the people should not be glutted with seeing him too oft, nor that they should com
much to him: they did see him but at some times, and then he would not talke in euery ma
ter, neither came much abroade among them, but reserued him selfe (as *Critolaus* said
they kept the Salaminian galley at Athens) for matters of great importance. And in
Ephialtes an orator. the meane season, in other matters of small moment, he dealt by meanes of certaine orator
his familiar friends, amongst whom *Ephialtes* (as they say) was one: he who tooke away
the authoritie and power from the courte of *Areopagus*, and did giue too much libertie to
the people, as Plato sayed. Vpon which occasion, as the Comicall poets say, he became so
stoute and headstrong, that they could no more holde him backe, then a young vnbridled
colte: and tooke such a courage vpon him, that he would obay no more, but inuaded the Ile
of Euboea, and set vpon the other Ilands. *Pericles* also because he would fashion a phrase o
speache, with a kinde of stile altogether agreeable to the manner of life and grauitie he ha
taken vpon him: he gaue himselfe to all matters which he had learned of *Anaxagora*
shadowing his reasons of naturall philosophie, with artificiall rethoricke. For hauing obte

ned a deepe vnderſtanding by ſtudying of Philoſophie, and a ready way effectually to ende any matter, he vndertooke to prooue (beſides that nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacitie, as the diuine *Plato* doth write, to bring any thing to ſerue his purpoſe) he did ſo artificially compaſſe it with eloquence, that he farre paſſed all the orators in his time. And for this cauſe was he (as they ſay) ſurnamed *Olympius*, as much to ſay, as heauenly or diuine. But ſome are of opinion he had that ſurname, by reaſon of the common buildings and ſtately workes he raiſed vp in the citie of ATHENS, that did much ſet forth the ſame. Other thinke it was giuen him for his great authoritie and power he had in gouernment, aſwell in warres, as in peace. But it is no maruell that this glorie was giuen him, conſidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the commedies the Poets cauſed to be plaied in thoſe times (in which there were many wordes ſpoken of him, ſome in earneſt, ſome in ſporte and ieaſt) do witneſſe that he had that ſurname giuen him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundered and lightened in his oration to the people, and that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an aunſwer *Thucydides*, *Mileſius* ſonne, ſhould pleaſantly make concerning the force of *Pericles* eloquence. *Thucydides* was a noble man, and had long time contended againſt *Pericles* in matters of the commonweale. *Archidamus*, king of LACEDÆMON, asked *Thucydides* on a time: whether he or *Pericles* wreſtled beſt. *Thucydides* made him aunſwer. When I haue giuen him an open fall before the face of the world, he can ſo excellently denie it, that he maketh the people beleeue he had no fall at all, and perſwadeth them the contrarie of that they ſawe. Notwithſtanding he was euer very graue and wiſe in ſpeaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake to the people, he made his prayers vnto the gods, that nothing might eſcape his mouthe, but that he might conſider before whether it would ſerue the purpoſe of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vnleſſe it be ſome fewe lawes he made, and but very few of his notable ſayings are brought to light, ſaue onely theſe. He ſaid on a time that they muſt take away the citie of ÆGINA, becauſe it was a ſtrawe lying in the eye of the hauen PIRÆA. And another time, he ſaid that he ſaw the warres a farre off, comming from PELOPONNESVS. Another time, as he tooke ſhip with *Sophocles* (his companion in commiſſion with him as generall of the armie) who commended a faire young boye they met as they came to the hauen: *Sophocles*, ſaid he, a gouernour muſt not onely haue his hands, but alſo his eyes cleane. And *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the praiſe of thoſe that were ſlaine in the warre of SAMOS: he ſaid they were immortall as the gods. For we do not ſee the goddes (ſaid he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happineſſe they enioy, we do coniecture they are immortall: and the ſame things are in thoſe that dye in ſeruice, and defence of their countrie. Now where *Thucydides* doth write the gouernment of the commonweale vnder *Pericles* to be as a gouernment of Nobilitie, and yet had apparaunce of a popular ſtate: it is true that in effect it was a Kingdome, becauſe one alone did rule and gouerne the whole ſtate. And many other ſay alſo, he was the firſt that brought in the cuſtome to deuide the enemies lands wunne by conqueſt among the people, and of the common money to make the people ſee playes and paſtimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this cuſtome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got their liuing painefully with ſwet of their browes: became now to be very vaine, ſumptuous, and riotous, by reaſon of theſe things brought vp then. The cauſe of the alteration dooth eaſily appeare by thoſe things. For *Pericles* at his firſt comming, ſought to winne the fauour of the people, as we haue ſaid before, onely to get like reputation that *Cimon* had wonne. But comming farre ſhort of his wealth and abilitie, to carie out the porte and charge that *Cimon* did, entertaining the poore, keeping open houſe to all commers, clothing poore olde people, breaking open beſides all incloſures and pales through all his lands, that euery one might with more libertie come in, and take the frutes thereof at their pleaſure: and ſeeing himſelfe by theſe great meanes out gone farre in goodwill with the common people, by *Demonides* counſell and procurement (who was borne in the Ile of IOS) he brought in this diſtribution of the common money, as

why Pericles was ſurnamed Olympius.

Thucydides, Pericles aduerſarie.

Pericles ſayings.

Pericles commonwealth.

The good deeds of Cimon

Aristotle writeth. And hauing wonne in a short time the fauour and goodwill of the common people, by distribution of the common treasure, which he caused to be deuided among them, aswell to haue place to see these playes, as for that they had reward to be present at their iudgements, & by other such like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, did inueigh against the courte of the *Areopagites*, whereof he neuer was any member. For it neuer came to be his hap to be yeerely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the sacrifices, nor maister of the warres: all which were offices chosen in auncient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had behaued themselues well in their office, they were called forwards, and raised to be of the body of this courte of the *Areopagites*. *Pericles* now by these meanes hauing obtained great credit and authoritie amongst the people, he troubled the Senate of the *Areopagites* in such sort, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by *Ephialtes* helpe, and in time made *Cimon* to be banished ATHENS, as one that fauoured the LACEDÆMONIANS, and contraried the commonwealth, and authoritie of the people. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest person of all the citie, and one that had wonne so many glorious victories, and had so repleniſhed ATHENS with the conquered spoiles of their enemies, as we haue declared in his life: so great was the authoritie of *Pericles* amongst the people. Now the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called *Ostracismon*) was limited by the lawe for tenne yeares. In which space the LACEDÆMONIANS being come downe with a great armie into the countrie of TANAGRA, the ATHENIANS sent out their power presently against them. There *Cimon* willing to shew the ATHENIANS by his deedes, that they had falsely accused him for fauouring the LACEDÆMONIANS: did arme himselfe, and went on his country mens side, to fight in the companie of his tribe. But *Pericles* friends gathered together, and forced *Cimon* to depart thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that *Pericles* fought that day more valiantly then euer he did, and he wanne the honour and name to haue done more in the person of himselfe that day, then any other of all the armie. At that battell also, all *Cimons* freinds, whom *Pericles* had burdened likewise to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS doings, dyed euery man of them that day. Then the ATHENIANS repented them much that they had driuen *Cimon* away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this battell vpon the confines of the countrie of ATTICA: because they feared sharpe warres would come vpon them againe at the next spring. Which thing when *Pericles* perceiued, he sought also to further that the common people desired: wherefore he straight caused a decree to be made, that *Cimon* should be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when *Cimon* was returned, he aduised that peace should be made betweene both cities: for the LACEDÆMONIANS did loue *Cimon* very well, and contrarily they hated *Pericles*, and all other gouernours. Some notwithstanding do write, that *Pericles* did neuer passe his consent to call him home againe, before such time as they had made a secret agreement amongst themselues (by meanes of *Elpinice*, *Cimons* sister) that *Cimon* should be sent out with an armie of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of PERSIA his dominions, & that *Pericles* should remaine at home with the authoritie of gouernment within the citie. This *Elpinice* (*Cimons* sister) had once before intreated *Pericles* for her brother, at such time as he was accused before the iudge of treason. For *Pericles* was one of the committees, to whom this accusation was referred by the people. *Elpinice* went vnto him, & besought him not to do his worst vnto her brother. *Pericles* answered her merily. Thou art too old *Elpinice*, thou art too old, to go through with these matters. Yet when his matter came to iudgement, and that his cause was pleaded: he rose but once to speake against him (for his owne discharge as it were) and went his way when he had said, doing lesse hurt to *Cimon*, then any other of his accusers. How is *Idomeneus* to be credited now, who accuseth *Pericles* that he had caused the orator *Ephialtes* to be slaine by treason (that was his friend, and did alwaies counsell him, and take his part in all kinde of gouernment of the commonweale) onely for the iealousie and enuie he did beare to his glorie? I can but muse why *Idomeneus* should speake so slanderously against *Pericles*, vnlesse it were that his melancholy humour procured such violent speach: who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameless, yet he was euer noble minded, and had a naturall desire of honour, in which kinde of men such furious cruell pas-

sions

Pericles large distribution diminished, the Areopagits authoritie.

Pericles causeth Cimon to be banished Athens.

The Ostraciſmon.

Pericles calleth Cimon from exile.

Pericles moderation vnto Cimon.

sions are seeldome seene to breede. But this orator *Ephialtes* being cruell to those that tooke part with the Nobilitie, because he would spare or pardon no man for any offence whatsoeuer committed against the peoples authoritie, but did follow and persecute them with all rigour to the vttermost: his enemies laide waite for him by meanes of one *Aristodicus* TANAGRIAN, and they killed him by treason, as *Aristotle* writeth. In the meanetime *Cimon* died in the Ile of CYPRVS, being generall of the armie of the ATHENIANS by sea. Wherefore those that tooke part with the Nobilitie, seeing *Pericles* was now growen very great, and that he went before all other citizens of ATHENS, thinking it good to haue some one to sticke on their side against him, and to lessen thereby somewhat his authoritie, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raised vp against him, one *Thucydides*, of the towne of ALOPECIA, a graue wise man, and father in law to *Cimon*. This *Thucydides* had lesse skill of warres then *Cimon*, but vnderstood more in ciuill gouernment then he, for that he remained most part of his time within the citie: where continually inueighing against *Pericles* in his pulpit for orations to the people, in short time hee had stirred vp a like companie against the faction of *Pericles*. For he kept the gentlemen and richer sort (which they call Nobilitie) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their estate and dignitie was abscured, and troden vnder foote. Moreouer hee did separate them from the people, and did assemble them all as it were into one bodie, who came to be of equall power with the other faction, and did put (as a man will say) a counterpease into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a little secret grudge only betwene these two factions, as an artificiall flower set in the blade of a sword, which made those shew a litle, that did leane vnto the people: and the other also somwhat that fauored the Nobilitie. But the contention betweene these two persons, was as a deepe cut, which deuided the citie wholy in two factions: of the which the one was called the Nobilitie, and the other the communaltie. Therefore *Pericles* giuing yet more libertie vnto the people, did all thinges that might be to please them, ordeining continuall plaies and games in the citie, many feastes, bankets, and open pastimes to entertaine the commons with such honest pleasures and deuises: and besides all this, he sent yerely an armie of three score gallies vnto the waters, into the which he put a great number of poore citizens that tooke paie of the state for nine moneths of the yere, and thereby they did learne together, and practise to be good sea men. Furthermore he sent into the countrie of CHERRONESVS, a thousand free men of the citie to dwell there, and to deuide the landes amongest them: fiue hundred also into the Ile of NAXOS: into the Ile of ANDROS, two hundred & fiftie: into THRACIA, a thousand to dwell with the BISALTES: & other also into ITALY, when the citie of SYBARIS was built againe, which afterwardes was surnamed the citie of the THVRIANS. All this he did to rid the citie of a number of idle people, who through idlenesse beganne to be curious, and to desire chaunge of things, as also to prouide for the necessitie of the poore townes men that had nothing. For, placing the naturall citizens of ATHENS neere vnto their subiectes and friendes, they serued as a garrison to keepe them vnder, and did suppresse them also from attempting any alteration or chaunge. But that which delighteth most, & is the greatest ornament vnto the citie of ATHENS, which maketh strangers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealth of GREECE, to be true and not false: are the stately and sumptuous buildings, which *Pericles* made to be built in the citie of ATHENS. For it is the onely act of all other *Pericles* did, and which made his enemies most to spight him, and which they most accused him for, crying out vpon him in all counselles and assemblies: that the people of ATHENS were openly defamed, for carying away the readie money of all GREECE, which was left in the Ile of DELOS to be safely kept there. And although they could with good honestie haue excused this fact, saying that *Pericles* had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the ende to lay it vp in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safetie: yet was this too ouergreat an iniurie offered vnto all the rest of GREECE, & too manifest a token of tyrannie also, to beholde before their eyes, how we doe employ the money, which they were inforced to gather for the maintenance of the warres against the barbarous people, in gilding, building,

The murther of Ephialtes.

Thucydides Pericles aduersary in the cõmon wealth.

A politike care for idle persons

Sumptuous buildings erected by Pericles.

and setting forth our citie, like a glorious woman, all to be gauded with golde and precious stones, and how we doe make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull & infinite charge: *Pericles* replied to the contrarie, and declared vnto the ATHENIANS that they were not bound to make any account of this money vnto their friends and allies, considering that they fought for their safetie, and that they kept the barbarous people farre from GREECE, without troubling them to set out any one man, horse, or shippe of theirs, the money onely excepted, which is no more theirs that paide it, then theirs that receiued it, for they bestowe it not that vse they receiued it for. And their citie being already very well furnished, and prouided of all thinges necessary for the warres, it was good reason they should employ and bestow the surplus of the treasure in things: which in time to come (and being throughly finished) would make their fame eternall. Moreouer he saide that whilest they continue building, they should be presently rich, by reason of the diuersitie of workes of all sortes, and other thinges which they should haue neede of: and to compasse these things the better, and to set them in hande, all manner of artificers and workemen (that would labour) should be set a worke. So should all the townes men, and inhabitants of the citie, receiue paie and wages of the common treasure: and the citie by this meanes should be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintaine it selfe. For such as were strong, and able men of bodie, and of yeares to carie weapon, had paie and entertainement of the common wealth, which were sent abroad vnto the warres: and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes men, and labourers: her would also they should haue part of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somewhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie the common people with great buildings, and deuises of workes of diuerse occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the end that the citizens remaining at home, might haue a meane and way to take part of the common treasure, and enrich themselues, as well as those that went to the warres, and serued on the sea, or els that lay in garrison to keepe any place of fort. For some gained by bringing stuffe as stones, brasse, yuory, gold, ebbany, and cypres. Other got, to worke and fashion it: as carpenters, grauers, founders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, diers, goldsmithes, ioyners working in iuorie, painters, men that set in sundry colours of peeces of stone or wood, and turners. Other gained to bring stuffe, and to furnish them: as marchants, marriners, and shipmasters, for things they brought them by sea. And by land other got also: as cart-makers, carriers, carters, cord-makers, sadlers, coller-makers, and pyoners to make waies plaine, and miners, and such like. Furthermore, euery science and craft, as a captaine hauing souldiers, had also their armie of the workemen that serued them, labouring truely for their liuing, who serued as prentises and iorney men vnder the workemasters so the worke by this meanes did disperse abroad a common gaine to all sorts of people and ages, what occupation or trade soeuer they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnesse and sumptuousnesse, being of excellent workmanship, and for grace & beautie not comparable: because euery workeman in his science did striue what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in sight, and to be most workemanly done in shew. But the greatest thing to be wondred at, was their speede & diligence. For where euery man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many mens liues and ages, and from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilest one onely gouernour continued still in credit and authoritie. And yet they say, that in the same time, as one *Agatarchus* boasted him selfe that he had quickly painted certaine beastes: *Zeuxis* another painter hearing him, answered: And I contrarily doe reioyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For cōmonly slight and sodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe colours, nor giue perfect beautie to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence & labour in making of the worke, maketh the colours to continue for euer. For this cause therefore the workes *Pericles* made are more wonderfull: because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and haue continued so long a season. For euery one of those which were finished vp at that time, seemed then to be very auncient touching the beautie thereof: and yet for the grace & continuance of the same it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finished, there is such a certaine kind of flourishing freshnes in it, which letteth that the iniurie of time cannot impaire the sight there-

Diuers artificers at Athens.

As if euery one of those foresaid workes, had some liuing spirite in it, to make it seeme young and fresh: and a soule that liued euer, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chiefe surueyour generall of all these workes, was *Phidias*, albeit that there were many other excellent worke-masters in euery science and occupation. For the temple of *Pallas*, which is called *Parthenon* (as a man would say, the temple of the virgine, and is surnamed *Hecatompedon*, for that it is a hundred foote euery way) was built by *Ictinus*, & *Callicrates*: and the chappell of *Eleusin* (where the secret ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by *Corabus*, who raised vp the first pillers in order, standing beneath on the ground, and did set them vp vnto the master chaptrels. But after he was dead, *Metagenes*, borne in the towne of Xypeta, turned the arches ouer, and then did set the pillers in order also which are aboue: and *Xenocles* of the towne of Cholargea, was he that made the lanterne or toppe of the steeple which couereth the sanctuarie: but the long wall which *Socrates* heard *Pericles* himselfe giue order for the building of it, was done by *Callicrates*, who vndertooke the worke. *Cratinus* the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this worke, to see howe slowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, saying:

Pericles long a goe, did end this worke begunne:
and build it high, with glorious wordes, if so it had bene done.
But as for deedes (in deede) he built nothing at all,
but let it stand: as yet it stands, much liker for to fall.

And as for the Theater or place appointed for musicke, where they heare all musitians play, and is called *Odeon*: it is very well made within with diuers seates & degrees, and many ranges of pillers, but the toppe of the roofe is altogether round, which is somewhat hanging downeward round about of it selfe, comming together into one point. And it is saide that this was made after the patterne and fashion of king *Xerxes* royall pauilion, and that *Pericles* was the first deuiser and maker of it. Wherefore *Cratinus* in another place of his comedie he maketh of the Thracians, doth play very pretily vpon him, saying:

Pericles here doth come, Dan Iupiter surnamed,
(and onyons hed) which hath in his great noddle finely framed,
The plot of Odeon, when he deliuered was
from banishment, and daungers deepe, wherein he long did passe.

The Odeon.

Pericles was the first that made maruellous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the feast called *Panathenæa*, they would set vp games for musicke. And he him selfe being chosen ruler of these games, as iudge to reward the best deseruer: ordained the manner the musitians should euer after keepe in their singing, playing on their flutes, or vpon the citherne, or other instruments of musicke. So the first games that euer were for musicke, were kept within the *Odeon*: and so were the other after them also, euer celebrated there. The gate and entring into the castle was made and finished within the space of fiue yeres, vnder the charge of *Menesicles*, that was master of the workes. And whilest these gates were a building, there happened a wonderfull chaunce, which declared very well that the goddesse *Minerua* did not mislike the building, but that it pleased her maruellously. For one of the most painefullest workemen that wrought there, fell by mischaunce from the height of the castle to the ground, which fall did so sore bruse him, and he was so sicke withall, that the phisitians and surgeons had no hope of his life. *Pericles* being very sory for his mischaunce, the goddesse appeared to him in his sleepe in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he did easily heale the poore brused man, and that in short time. And this was the occasion why he caused the image of the goddesse *Minerua* (otherwise called of health) to be cast in brasse, and set vp within the temple of the castle, neere vnto the altar which was there before, as they say. But the golden image of *Minerua* was made by *Phidias*, and grauen round about the base: Who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reason of the good will *Pericles* bare him, he commaunded all the other workemen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroad, that *Phidias* receiued the gentlewomen of the citie into his house, vnder colour to goe see his workes, and did conuey them to *Pericles*. Vpon this brute, the Co-

Pericles erected games for musicke.

The Poets raise vp slanders against Pericles

micall poets taking occasion, did cast out many slaunderous speeches against *Pericles*, accusing him that he kept one *Menippus* wife, who was his friend and lieutenant in the warres, and burdened him further, that *Pyrilampes*, one of his familiar friends also, brought vp fowles & specially peacocks, which he secretly sent vnto the women that *Pericles* kept. But we must not wonder at these Satyres, that make profession to speake slaunderously against all the worlde, as it were to sacrifice the iniuries and wronges they cast vpon honorable and good men, to the spight and enuie of the people, as vnto wicked spirites: considering that *Stesimbrotus* THASIAN durst falsely accuse *Pericles* of detestable incest, and of abusing his owne sonnes wife. And this is the reason, in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the truth of auncient things, by the monuments of historiographers: considering long processe of time, doth vtterly obscure the truth of matters, done in former times. For euery written historie speaking of men that are aliue, and of the time of things whereof it maketh mention: sometime for hate and enuie, sometime for fauour or flatterie doth disguise and corrupt the trueth. But *Pericles* perceiuing that the orators of *Thucydides* faction, in their common orations did still crie out vpon him, that he did vainely waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed vpon the workes, all the whole reuenues of the citie: one day when the people were assembled together, before them all hee asked them, if they thought that the cost bestowed were too much. The people aunswered him, a great deale too much. Well, said he then, the charges shalbe mine (if you thinke good) and

The noble saying of Pericles.

none of yours: prouided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine onely. When *Pericles* had saide so, the people cried out aloude, they would none of that (either because that they wondred at the greatnesse of his mind, or els for that they would not giue him the onely honour and praise to haue done so sumptuous and stately workes) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any cost. But in the end, falling out openly with *Thucydides*, and putting it to an aduenture which of them should

Thucydides banished by Pericles.

banish other, with the banishment of *Ostracismon*: *Pericles* got the vpper hand, and banished *Thucydides* out of the citie, & therewithall also ouerthrew the contrarie faction against him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the citie againe to vnitie & concord, he found then the whole power of ATHENS in his hands, and all the ATHENIANS matters at his disposing. And hauing all the treasure, armour, gallyes, the Iles, and the sea, and a marueullous seigniorie and Kingdome (that did enlarge it selfe partly ouer the GRECIANS, and partly ouer the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of nations subiect vnto them, with the friendship of Kings, and with the alliance of diuers other

Pericles power.

Princes and mightie Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to change his manner, and from that he was wont to be toward the people, and not so easily to graunt to all the peoples willes and desires, no more then as it were to contrarie windes. Furthermore he altered

Pericles somewhat altereth the common weale.

his ouer gentle and popular manner of gouernment which he vsed vntill that time, as too delicate & too effeminate an harmony of musicke, and did conuert it vnto an imperious gouernment, or rather to a kingly authoritie: but yet held still a direct course, and kept himselfe euer vpright without fault, as one that did, said, and counselled that, which was most expedient for the common weale. He many times brought on the people by perswasions and reasons to be willing to graunt that he preferred vnto them: but many times also, he draue them to it by force, and made them against their wils doe that, which was best for them. Following therein the deuise of a wise phisitian: who in a long and chaungeable disease, doth graunt his patient sometime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sort: and another time also, he doth giue him a sharpe or bitter medicine that doth vexe him, though it heale him. For as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enioy so great an empire: many times misfortunes doe chaunce, that fill them full of sundry passions, the which *Pericles* alone could finely steere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: brideling with the one, the fierce and insolent rashnes of the common people in prosperitie, and with the other comforting their griefe and discouragement in aduersitie. Wherin he manifestly proued

The force of eloquence.

that rethoricke and eloquence (as *Plato* saith) is an arte which quickneth mens spirites at her pleasure, and her chiefest skill is, to knowe how to moue passions and affections throughly

which

which are as ſtoppes and ſoundes of the ſoule, that would be plaide vpon with a fine fingered hand of a cunning maiſter. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to paſſe, as *Thucidides* witneſſeth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthines, becauſe he would not any way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any couetouſnes in him. For, when he had brought his city not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authority exceeded many Kings and tyraunts, yea euen thoſe which by their wils and teſtaments might haue left great poſſeſſions to their children: he neuer for all that encreaſed his fathers goods and patrimony left him, the value of a grote in ſiluer. And yet the hiſtoriographer *Thucydides* doth ſet forth plainely enough, the greatnes of his power. And the Comicall poets alſo of that time doe report it maliciouſly vnder couert words, calling his familiar friends, the new *Piſiſtratides:* ſaying, how they muſt make him ſweare and proteſt he would neuer be King, giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand, that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular gouernment. And *Teleclides* (amongeſt other) ſayeth that the ATHENIANS had put into his hands the reuenue of the towns and cities vnder their obedience, and the townes them ſelues, to binde the one, and to loſe the other, and to pull downe their wals, or to build them againe at his pleaſure. They gaue him power, to make peace and alliance: they gaue all their force, treaſure, and authority, and all their goods wholly into his handes. But this was not for a litle while, nor in a geere of fauour, that ſhould continue for a time: but this held out forty yeares together, he being alwaies the chiefe of his city amongſt the *Ephialtes*, the *Leocrates*, the *Mironides*, the *Cimons*, the *Tolmides*, and the *Thucydides*. For after he had preuailed againſt *Thucydides*, and had baniſhed him: he yet remained chiefe aboue all other, the ſpace of fifteene years. Thus hauing attained a regall dignity to cõmaund all, which continued as aforeſaid, where no other captaines authority endured but one yeare: he euer kept himſelfe vpright from bribes and money, though otherwiſe he was no ill husband, and could warely looke to his owne. As for his landes and goods left him by his parents, that they miſcaried not by negligence, nor that they ſhould trouble him much, in buſying himſelfe to reduce them to a value: he did ſo husband them, as he thought was his beſt and eaſieſt way. For he ſold in groſſe euer the whole yeares profite and commodity of his landes, and afterwardes ſent to the market dayly to buie the cates, and other ordinary prouiſion of houſhold. This did not like his ſonnes that were men growen, neither were his women contented with it, who would haue had him more liberal in his houſe, for they complained of his ouerhard and ſtraight ordinary, becauſe in ſo noble and great a houſe as his, there was neuer any great remaine left of meate, but all things receiued into the houſe, ranne vnder accompt, and were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his, was kept vpright in this good order, by one *Euangelus*, Steward of his houſe, a man very honeſt and skilfull in ordering his houſhold prouiſion: and whether *Pericles* had brought him vp to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not vnknowen. But theſe things were farre contrary to *Anaxagoras* wiſedome. For he deſpiſing the world, and caſting his affection on heauenly things: did willingly forſake his houſe, and ſuffered all his lande to runne to layes and to paſture. But (in my opinion) great is the diuerſity betweene a contemplatiue life, and a ciuill life. For the one employeth all his time vpon the ſpeculation of good and honeſt things: and to attaine to that, he thinketh he hath no neede of any exteriour helpe or inſtrument. The other applying all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an inſtrument not onely neceſſary, but alſo honeſt. As, looke vppon the example of *Pericles*: who did relieue many poore people. And *Anaxagoras* ſpecially among other: of whom it is reported, that *Pericles* being occupied about matters of ſtate at that time, hauing no leyſure to thinke vpon *Anaxagoras*, he ſeeing himſelfe old and forſaken of the world, laid him downe, and couered his head cloſe, determining to ſtarue himſelfe to death with hunger. *Pericles* vnderſtanding this, ranne preſently to him as a man halfe caſt away, and praide him as earneſtly as he could, that hee would diſpoſe him ſelfe to liue, being not onely ſory for him, but for him ſelfe alſo, that he ſhould loſe ſo faithfull and wiſe a counſeller, in matters of ſtate and gouernment. Then *Anaxagoras* ſhewed his face, and told him: O *Pericles*, thoſe that will ſee by the light of a lampe, muſt put oile to it, to make the light burne. Now beganne the

Pericles commended for his good life and worthineſſe.

Pericles free from gifts taking.

Pericles good husbandry.

Anaxagoras a mathematician. Great diuerſity betwixt contemplatiue and ciuill life.

Anaxagoras determined to famiſh himſelfe to death.

Anaxagoras ſaying to Pericles.

LACEDÆMONIANS to grow iealous, of the greatnes of the ATHENIANS, wherfore *Pericles* to make the ATHENIANS hearts greater, and so draw their mindes to great enterprises: set downe an order they should send ambassadours to perswade all the GRECIANS (in what part soeuer they dwelt in EVROPE, or ASIA, as well the litle as the great cities) to send their deputies vnto ATHENS, to the generall assembly that should be holden there, to take order for the temples of the goddes which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the sacrifices they had vowed for the preseruation of GREECE, when they gaue battel vpon them: and touching sea matters also, that euery man might saile in safety where he would, and that al might liue together in good peace and loue, one with another. To perform this commission, twenty persons were sent of this ambasiate, euery one of them being fifty yeares of age and vpward. Whereof fiue of them went to the DORIANS, dwelling in ASIA, and to the inhabitants of the Iles, euen vnto the Iles of LESBOS, & of the RHODES. Fiue other went through all the country of HELLESPONT, and of THRACIA, vnto the city of BIZANTIVM. Other fiue were comanded to go into BOEOTIA, into PHOCIDES, & through all PELOPONNESVS, and from thence by the countrey of the LOCRIANS, into the vpland countrey adioyning to it, vntil they came into the countrey of ACARNANIA, and of AMBRACIA. And the other fiue went first into the Ile of EVBOEA, and from thence vnto the OETÆIANS, and through all the gulfe of MALEA, vnto the PHTIOTES, vnto the ACHAIANS, and the THESSALIANS: declaring to all the people where the came, the ATHENIANS commission, perswading them to send vnto ATHENS, and to be present at the counsell which should be holden there, for the pacification and vnion of all GREECE. But when all came to all, nothing was done, and the sayd cities of GREECE did not assemble, by practise of the LACEDÆMONIANS (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refusall that was made of their summons, was at PELOPONNESVS. This haue I written to make *Pericles* noble corage to be knowen, and how profound a wise man he shewed him selfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was chosen generall in the warres, he was much esteemed, because he euer tooke great regard to the safety of his souldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he saw might fall out doubtfull, or in any thing daungerous: and moreouer, he neuer praysed them for good generals, neither would he follow them that had obtained great victories by hazard, howsoeuer other did esteeme or commend them. For he was wont to say, that if none but him selfe did leade them to the shambles, as much as lay in him, they should be immortall. And when he saw *Tolmides*, the sonne of *Tolmæus* (trusting to his former victories, & the praise and commendation of his good seruice) did prepare vpon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the countrey of BOEOTIA, and had procured also a thousand of the lustiest and most valiant men of the city, to be contented to goe with him in that iourney, ouer and aboue the rest of the army he had leauied: he went about to turne him from his purpose, and to keepe him at home, by many perswasions he vsed to him before the peoples face, and spake certaine wordes at that time, that were remembred long after, and these they were. That if he would not beleeue *Pericles* counsell, yet that he would tary time at the least, which is the wisest counseller of men. These wordes were pretily liked at that present time. But within few dayes after, when newes was brought that *Tolmides* selfe was slaine in a battell he had lost, neare vnto the city of CORONEA, wherein perished also, many other honest and valiant men of ATHENS: his words spoken before, did then greatly encrease *Pericles* reputation and good will with the common people, because he was taken for a wise man, and one that loued his citizens. But of all his iourneis he made, being generall ouer the army of the ATHENIANS: the iourney of CHERRONESVS was best thought of and esteemed, because it fell out to the great benefit and preseruation of al the GRECIANS inhabiting in that country. For besides that he brought thither a thousand citizens of ATHENS to dwell there (in which doing he strengthned the citie with so many good men) he did fortifie the barre also, which did let it from being of an Ile, with a fortification he drew from one sea to another: so that he defended the countrey against all the inuasions and piracies of the THRACIANS inhabiting there abouts, and deliuered it of extreame warre, with the wich it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongest them, who onely liued vpon piracy and robbing on the seas.

Pericles appointeth a generall counsell to be holden at Athens.

Pericles loued the safety of his men in warres.

Time, the best counseller.

Tolmides slain in the field.

Pericles iourneyes.

was he likewiſe much honored and eſteemed of ſtrangers, when he did enuironne all PELOPONNESVS, departing out of the hauen of PEGES, on the coaſt of MEGARA, with a fleet of a hundred gallies For he did not only ſpoile the towns all alongſt the ſea ſide, as *Tolmides* had done before him: but going vp further into the maine land, farre from the ſea, with his ſouldiers he had in the gallies, he draue ſome of them to retire within their walles, he made them ſo afraid of him: and in the country of NEMEA, he ouercame the SICYONIANS in battell, that taried him in the field, and did erect a piller for a notable marke of his victory. And imbarking in his ſhippes a new ſupply of ſouldiers which he tooke vp in ACHAIA, being friends with the ATHENIANS at that time: he paſſed ouer to the firme land that lay directly againſt it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the riuer of *Achelous*, he inuaded the countrey of ACHARNANIA, where he ſhut vp the OENEADES within their walles. And after he had laide waſt and deſtroyed all the champion countrey, he returned home againe to ATHENS: hauing ſhewed him ſelfe in this iourney, a dreadfull captaine to his enemies, and very carefull for the ſafety of his ſouldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iourney (by chaunce or otherwiſe) vnto the ſouldiers vnder his charge. And afterwardes, going with a great nauy maruellous well appointed vnto the realme of PONTVS, he did there gently vſe and intreate the cities of GREECE, and graunted them all that they required of him: making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the ſame alſo, to know the great force & power of the ATHENIANS, who ſailed without feare all about wher they though: good, keeping all the coaſtes of the ſea vnder their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the SINOPIANS thirteene gallies, with certaine number of ſouldiers vnder captaine *Lamachus*, to defend them againſt the tyraunt *Timeſileus*: who being expulſed and driuen away with thoſe of his faction, *Pericles* cauſed proclamation to be made at ATHENS, that ſixe hundred free men of the city, that had any deſire to go, without compulſion, might goe dwell at SINOPA, where they ſhould haue deuided among them, the goods and lands of the tyraunt and his followers. But he did not follow the fooliſh vaine humors of his citizens, nor would not yeelde to their vnſatiable couetouſneſſe, who being ſet on a iolity to ſee them ſelues ſo ſtrong, and of ſuch a power, and beſides, to haue good lucke, would needs once againe attempt to conquer EGYPT, and to reuolte all the countries vpon the ſea coaſts, from the empire of the king of PERSIA: for there were many of them whoſe mindes were maruellouſly bent to attempt the vnfortunat enterpriſe of entring SICILIA, which *Alcibiades* afterwards did much pricke forward. And ſome of them dreamed beſides, of the conqueſt of THVSCAN, and the empire of CARTHAGE. But this was not altogether without ſome likelihood, nor without occaſion of hope, conſidering the large boundes of their Kingdome, and the fortunat eſtate of their affaires, which fell out according to their owne deſire. But *Pericles* did hinder this going out, and cut off altogether their curious deſire, employing the moſt part of their power and force, to keepe that they had already gotten: iudging it no ſmall matter to keepe downe the LACEDÆMONIANS from growing greater. For he was alwaies an enemy to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he ſhewed him ſelfe in many things, but ſpecially in the warre he made, called the holy warre. For the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing put the PHOCIANS from the charge of the temple of *Apollo*, in the city of DELPHES, which they had vſurped, and hauing reſtored the DELPHIANS again vnto the ſame: ſo ſoone as they were gone thence, *Pericles* went alſo with another army, and reſtored the PHOCIANS in again. And whereas the LACEDÆMONIANS had cauſed to be grauen in the forehead of a Wolfe of braſſe, the priuiledge the DELPHIANS had graunted them, to be the firſt that ſhould make their demaundes of the oracle: he hauing attained the like priuiledge of the PHOCIANS, made his image alſo to be grauen on the right ſide of the ſame image, of the braſen Wolfe. Now how wiſely *Pericles* did gouerne GREECE by the power of the ATHENIANS, his deedes doe plainely ſhew. For firſt of all, the countrey of EVBOEA did rebell, againſt whom he brought the army of the ATHENIANS. And ſodainly in the necke of that, came newes from another coaſt, that the MEGARIANS alſo were in armes againſt them: and how they were already entred into the countrey of ATTICA with a great army, ledde by *Piſtonax* King of LACEDÆMON. This occaſion drew him homeward againe, and ſo he marched backe with ſpeede into his countrey, to make preparation to

Achelous ſt.

Pericles would not follow the couetouſneſſe of the people.

The enterpriſe of Sicilia.

Pericles an enemy to the Lacedæmoñs.

Piſtonax king of Lacedæmon

encounter his enemies, that were already entred into the territories of ATTICA. He durſt not offer them battell, being ſo great a number of valiant ſouldiers: but hearing that king *Plistonax* was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by *Cleandrides* counſell and direction (whom the *Ephores* had placed about him to counſell & direct him) he ſought priuily to corrupt *Cleandrides*. When he had won him ſoone with his money, he perſwaded him to draw backe the PELOPONNESIANS out of their country of ATTICA: and ſo he did. But when the LACEDÆMONIANS ſaw their army caſſed, and that the people were gone their way, euery man to his owne city or towne: they were ſo mad at it, that the King was condemned in a great ſumme. The king being vnable to anſwer his fine, which was ſo extreame great: he was driuen to abſent himſelf from LACEDÆMON. *Cleandrides* on the other ſide, if he had not fled in time, euen for ſpite had bene condemned to death. This *Cleandrides* was *Gylippus* father that afterwards ouercame the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, in whom it ſemed nature bred couetouſnes, as a diſeaſe inheritable by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne. For he being ſhamefully conuicted alſo, for certaine vile parts he had plaide, was likewiſe baniſhed from SPARTA as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lyſander*. And *Pericles* deliuering vp the accounts of his charge, and ſetting downe an article of the expenſe of tenne talents he had employed or ſhould employ in needefull cauſes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking queſtion how, nor which way, nor whether it was true that they were beſtowed. Now there are certaine writers (among whom the philoſopher *Theophraſtus* is one) who write that *Pericles* sent yearly vnto SPARTA ten talents, with the which he entertained thoſe that were in authority there, becauſe they ſhould make no wars with them: not to buie peace of them, but time, that he might in the meane ſeaſon, with better commodity, and that leyſure, prouide to maintain the wars. After that, as the army of the PELOPONNESIANS were out of the countrey of ATTICA, he returned againe againſt the rebels, and paſſed into the Ile of EVBOEA with fifty ſayles and fiue thouſand footemen well armed: and there he ouercame all the cities that had taken armes againſt him, and draue away the *Hyppobotes*, who were the moſt famous men of all the CHALCIDIANS, as well for their riches, as for their valiauntnes. He draue away alſo all the HESTIÆIANS, whom he chaſed cleane out of all the countrey, and placed in their city, only the citizens of ATHENS. And the cauſe why he dealt ſo rigorouſly with them was, becauſe they hauing taken a galley of the ATHENIANS priſoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being concluded afterwards betweene the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS for thirty yeares: he proclaimed open wars againſt thoſe of the Ile of SAMOS, burdening them, that they being commaunded by the ATHENIANS, to pacifie the quarrell which they had againſt the MILESIANS, they would not obay. But becauſe ſome holde opinion, that he tooke vppon him this warre againſt SAMOS, for the loue of *Aſpaſia*: it ſhall be no great digreſſion of our ſtory, to tell you by the way, what manner of woman ſhe was, and what a maruellous gift and power ſhe had, that ſhe could entangle with her loue the chiefe rulers and gouernours at that time of the common weale, & that the philoſophers themſelues did ſo largely ſpeake and write of her. Firſt of all, it is certaine that ſhe was borne in the city MILETVM, and was the daughter of one *Axiochus*: ſhe following the ſteppes and example of an old curtiſan of IONIA, called *Thargelia*, gaue her ſelfe only to entertaine the greateſt perſons and chiefeſt rulers in her time. For this *Thargelia* being paſſing faire, and carying a comely grace with her, hauing a ſharpe wit and pleaſaunt tongue: ſhe had the acquaintaunce and friendſhippe of the greateſt perſons of all GREECE, and wanne all thoſe that did haunt her company, to be at the king of *Perſiaes* commaundement. So that ſhe ſowed through all the cities of GREECE, great beginnings of the faction of the MEDES: for they were the great men of power and authority of euery city that were acquainted with her. But as for *Aſpaſia*, ſome ſay that *Pericles* reſorted vnto her, becauſe ſhe was a wiſe woman, and had great vnderſtanding in matters of ſtate and gouernment. For *Socrates* himſelfe went to ſee her ſometime with his friends: and thoſe that vſed her company alſo, brought their wiues many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine about her were to entertaine ſuch as would warme them by their fire. *Æſchines* writeth, that *Lyſicles* a grafier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbiſh nature, came to be the chiefe man of ATHENS, by frequenting the compa-

Aſpa

Cleandrides corrupted by Pericles.

Gylippus ouercame the Athenians at Syracuſa in Sicily.

Gylippus robbed part of the treaſure Lyſander ſent him withall to Sparta.

Pericles wiſe pollicy in forraine entertainement.

Pericles acts in Eubœa.

Pericles marketh war with the Samians.

Aſpaſia a paſſing wiſe woman.

The deſcription of Aſpaſia.

Thargelia.

Aſpaſia, after the death of *Pericles*. And to *Platoes* booke intituled *Menexenus*, although the beginning of it be but pleaſantly written, yet in that, this ſtorie is written truely: that this *Aſpaſia* was repaired vnto by diuers of the ATHENIANS, to learne the art of rethorike of her. Yet notwithſtanding it ſeemeth moſt likely that the affection *Pericles* did beare her, grew rather of loue, then of any other cauſe. For he was maried vnto a kinſewoman of his owne, and that before was *Hipponicus* wife, by whom ſhe had *Callias*, ſurnamed the rich: and had afterwards by *Pericles*, *Xantippus* and *Paralus*. But not liking her company, he gaue her with her owne good will and conſent vnto another, and maried *Aſpaſia* whom he dearely loued. For euer when he went abroad, and came home againe, he ſaluted her with a kiſſe. Whereupon in the auncient comedies, ſhe is called in many places, the new *Omphale*, and ſometimes *Deianira*, and ſometimes *Iuno*. But *Cratinus* plainely calleth her whore in theſe verſes:

Callias the rich

Pericles maried Aſpaſia the famous curtiſan.

His Iuno ſhe him brought, Aſpaſia by name,
which was in deede an open whore, and paſt all kind of ſhame.

And it ſeemeth that he had a baſtard: for *Eupolis* in a comedie of his called *Demoſij*, bringeth him in, asking *Pironides* thus:

I pray thee: is my baſtard ſonne yet aliue?

And then *Pyronides* anſwered him:

A perfect man long ſince, he ſurely had bene found,
if that this lewde and naughtie whore, his vertue had not drownd.

To conclude, this *Aſpaſia* was ſo famous, that *Cyrus* (he that fought againſt king *Artaxerxes* his brother, for the empire of PERSIA) called *Aſpaſia* his beſt beloued of all his concubines, which before was called *Milito*, & was borne in PHOCIDES, being *Hermotimus* daughter. And *Cyrus* being ſlaine in the field, *Aſpaſia* was caried to the King his brother, with whom afterwards ſhe was in great fauour. As I was writing this life, this ſtorie came in my minde: and me thought I ſhould haue dealt hardly, if I ſhould haue left it vnwritten. But to our matter againe. *Pericles* was charged that he made warres againſt the SAMIANS, on the behalfe of the MILESIANS, at the requeſt of *Aſpaſia*: for theſe two cities were at warres together, for the citie of PRIENA, but the SAMIANS were the ſtronger. Now the ATHENIANS commanded them to lay a ſide their armes, and to come and pleade their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refuſed it vtterly. Wherefore *Pericles* went thither and tooke away the gouernment of the ſmall number of Nobilitie, taking for hoſtages, fiftie of the chiefeſt men of the citie, and ſo many children beſides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of LEMNOS. Some ſay euery one of theſe hoſtages offered to giue him a talent: and beſides thoſe, many other offered him the like, ſuch as would not haue the ſoueraigne authoritie put into the hands of the people. Moreouer *Piſſuthnes* the PERSIAN, lieutenant to the King of PERSIA, for the good will he bare thoſe of SAMOS, did ſend *Pericles* ten thouſand crownes to releaſe the hoſtages. But *Pericles* neuer tooke pennie: and hauing done that he determined at SAMOS, and eſtabliſhed a popular gouernment, he returned againe to ATHENS. Notwithſtanding, the SAMIANS rebelled immediatly after, hauing recouered their hoſtages againe by meanes of this *Piſſuthnes* that ſtale them away, and did furniſhe them alſo with all their munition of warre. Whereupon *Pericles* returning againſt them once more, hee found them not idle, nor amazed at his comming, but reſolutely determined to receiue him, and to fight for the ſeigniorie by ſea. So there was a great battell fought betweene them, neare the Ile of TRACIA. And *Pericles* wanne the battell: hauing with foure and fortie ſaile only nobly ouercome his enemies, which were three ſcore and ten in number, whereof twenty of them were ſhips of warre. And ſo following his victorie forthwith, he wan alſo the port of SAMOS, and kept the SAMIANS beſieged within their owne citie: where they were yet ſo bolde, as they would make ſalies out many times, and fight before the walles of the citie. But when there arriued a new ſupplie of ſhippes bringing a greater aide vnto *Pericles*: then were they ſhut vp of all ſides. *Pericles* then taking three ſcore gallies with him, launched out into the ſea, with intent (as ſome ſay) to goe meete certaine ſhippes of the PHOENICIANS (that came to aide the SAMIANS) as farre from SAMOS as he could: or as *Steſimbrotus* ſayeth, to goe into CYPRVS, which me thinketh is not true. But whatſoeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For

Piſſuthnes the Perſian.

A good proofe that Pericles was not couetous.

Pericles victorie againſt the Samians.

Meliſſus a philoſopher, generall of the Samians.

Meliſſus (the ſonne of *Ithagenes*, a great Philoſopher) being at that time generall of the SAMIANS: perceiuing that fewe ſhippes were left behinde at the ſiege of the citie, and that the captaines alſo that had the charge of them were no very expert men of warre, perſwaded his citizens to make a ſalie vpon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the SAMIANS ouercame: the ATHENIANS were taken priſoners, and they ſuncke many of their ſhippes. Now they being lordes againe of the ſea, did furniſh their citie with all manner of munition for warres, whereof before they had great want. Yet *Ariſtotle* writeth that *Pericles* ſelfe was once ouercome in a battell by ſea by *Meliſſus*. Furthermore the SAMIANS, to be euen with

The owle, the ſtampe of the coyne of Athens.

the ATHENIANS for the iniurie they had receiued of them before: did brande them in the forehead with the ſtampe of an owle, the owle being then the ſtampe of their coyne at ATHENS, euen as the ATHENIANS had branded the SAMIAN priſoners before with the ſtampe

Samena a kind of a ſhippe.

of *Samæna*. This *Samæna* is a kinde of a ſhippe amongeſt the SAMIANS, low afore, and wide laide out in the midde ſhippe, ſo that it is excellent good to riſe with the waues of the ſea, and is verie ſwift vnder ſaile: and it was ſo called, becauſe the firſt ſhippe that was made of this faſhion, was made in the Ile of SAMOS, by the tyrant *Polycrates*. It is ſaid that the Poet *Ariſtophanes*, couertly conueying the ſtampe of the SAMIANS, ſpeaking merily in a place of his comedies ſaieth:

The Samians are great learned men.

The wittie ſaying of Ariſtophanes of the Samians.

Pericles being aduertiſed of the ouerthrowe of his armie, returned preſently to the reſcue. *Meliſſus* went to meete him, and gaue him battell: but he was ouerthrowne, and driuen backe into his citie, where *Pericles* walled them in round about the citie, deſiring victorie rather by time and charge, then by danger, and loſſe of his ſouldiers. But when he ſawe that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withholde them: he then deuided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to drawe lots, and that companie that lighted on the white beane, they ſhould be quiet and make good cheere, while the other ſeauen fought. And they ſay that from thence it came that when any haue made good cheere, and taken pleaſure abroade, they do yet call it a white day, becauſe of the white beane. *Ephorus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that it was there, where firſt of all they began to vſe engines of warre to plucke downe great walles, and that *Pericles* vſed firſt this wonderfull inuention: and that *Artemon* an engineer was the firſt deuiſer of this. He was caried vp and downe in a chaire, to ſet forward theſe workes, becauſe he had a lame legge: and for this cauſe he was called *Periphoretos*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* confuteth *Ephorus* therein, by the verſes of *Anacreon*, in the which *Artemon* is called *Periphoretas*, many yeares before this warre of SAMOS began: and ſaieth this *Periphoretos* was a maruellous tender man, and ſo foolihly afeard of his owne ſhadowe, that the moſt part of his time he ſtirred not out of his houſe, and did ſit alwaies hauing two of his men by him, that held a copper pot ouer his head, for feare leaſt any thing ſhould fall vpon him. And if vpon any occaſion he were driuen to go abroad out of his houſe: he would be caried in a litle bed hanging neare the ground, and for this cauſe he was ſurnamed *Periphoretos*. At the laſt, at nine moneths end the SAMIANS were compelled to yeelde. So *Pericles* tooke the city, and raſed their walles to the ground: he brought their ſhippes away, and made them pay a maruellous great tribute, whereof part he receiued in hand, and the reſt payable at a certaine time, taking hoſtages with him for aſſurance of payment. But *Duris* the SAMIAN dilateth theſe matters maruellous pitifully, burdening the ATHENIANS, and *Pericles* ſelfe with vnnaturall cruelty: whereof neither *Heraclides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Ariſtotle* himſelfe maketh mention. And ſure I cannot beleeue that is written. That he brought the captaines of the gallies, and the ſouldiers them ſelues of SAMIA, into the market place of the city of MILETVM, where he made them to be bound faſt vnto bordes for the ſpace of tenne daies, and at the end of the ſame, the poore men that were dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads paſhed in peeces: and afterwards he threw out their bodies to the crowes, & would not burie them. So *Duris* being accuſtomed to ouerreach, and to lie many times in things nothing touching him: ſeemeth in this place to haue all reaſon to aggraiate the calamities of his countrey, only to accuſe the ATHENIANS, and to make them odious to the world. *Pericles* hauing won the citie of SAMOS, he returned a-

Artemon Periphoretus a verie ridiculous man.

The Samians do yeelde to Pericles.

to ATHENS, where he did honorably burie the bones of his slaine citizens in this warre: and himselfe (according to their manner & custome) made the funerall oration, for the which he was maruellously esteemed. In such sort, that after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration: the ladies & gentlewomen of the citie came to salute him, & brought him garlands to put vpon his head, as they do to noble conquerers when they return from games, where they haue wonne the price. But *Elpinicé* cõming to him, said, Surely *Pericles*, thy good seruice done, deserueth garlands of triumph: for thou hast lost vs many a good and valiant citizen, not fighting with the MEDES, the PHOENICIANS, and with the barbarous people as my brother *Cimon* did, but for destroying a citie of our owne nation and kinred. *Pericles* to these wordes, softly answered *Elpinicé*, with *Archilochus* verse, smyling: *Elpinice.*

VVhen thou art old, paint not thy selfe. *Pericles taunts to an old woman.*

But *Ion* writeth, that he greatly gloried, and stood much in his owne conceipt, after hee had subdued the SAMIANS, saying: *Agamemnon* was tenne yeares taking of a citie of the barbarous people: and he in nine monethes only had wonne the strongest citie of the whole nation of IONIA. In deede he had good cause to glorie in his victorie: for truely (if *Thucydides* report be true) his conquest was no lesse doubtfull, then he found it daungerous. For the SAMIANS had almost bene lordes of the sea, and taken the seigniorie thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the warres of PELOPONNESVS being whotte againe, the CORINTHIANS inuading the Ilanders of CORPHV: *Pericles* did perswade the ATHENIANS to send aide vnto the CORPHIANS, and to ioyne in league with that Iland, which was of great power by sea, saying: that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would haue warre with them. The ATHENIANS consented to his motion, to aide those of CORPHV. Whereupon they sent thither *Lacedæmonius* (*Cimons* sonne) with ten galleys onely for a mockerie: for all *Cimons* familie and friends, were wholly at the LACEDÆMONIANS deuotion. Therefore did *Pericles* cause *Lacedæmonius* to haue so fewe ships deliuered him, and further, sent him thither against his will, to the end that if he did no notable exploite in this seruice, that they might then the more iustly suspect his goodwill to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Moreouer whilest he liued, he did euer what he could to keepe *Cimons* children backe from rising: because that by their names they were no naturall borne ATHENIANS, but strangers. For the one was called *Lacedæmonius*, the other *Thessalus*, and the third *Elius*: and the mother to all them three, was an ARCADIAN woman borne. But *Pericles* being blamed for that he sent but ten galleys onely, which was but a slender aide for those that had requested him, and a great matter to them that spake ill of him: he sent thither afterwards a great number of other galleys, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were maruellous angry, and went & complained to the counsel of the LACEDÆMONIANS, where they laide open many grieuous complaints and accusations against the ATHENIANS, and so did the MEGARIANS also: alledging that the ATHENIANS had forbidden them their hauēs, their staples, and all traffick of marchandise in the territories vnder their obedience, which was directly against the common lawes, and articles of peace, agreed vpon by oth among all the GRECIANS. Moreouer the ÆGINETES finding themselues very ill and cruelly handled, did send secretely to make their mone and complaints to the LACEDÆMONIANS, being afraid openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While these things were a doing, the citie of POTIDÆA, subiect at that time vnto the ATHENIANS (and was built in old time by the CORINTHIANS) did rebell, and was besieged by the ATHENIANS, which did hasten on the warres. Notwithstanding this, ambassadors were first sent vnto ATHENS vpon these complaints, and *Archidamus*, king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, did all that he could to pacifie the most part of these quarrels and complaints, intreating their friends and allies. So as the ATHENIANS had had no warres at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would haue graunted to haue reuoked the decree they had made against the MEGARIANS. Whereupon, *Pericles*, that aboue all other stood most against the reuocation of that decree, & that did stur vp the people, & made them stand to that they had once decreed, and ordered, against the MEGARIANS: was thought the originall cause and author of the PELOPONNESIAN warres. For it is saide that the LACEDÆMONIANS sent ambassadours vnto ATHENS for that matter *Cimons sonnes.* *The Athenians accused at Lacedæmon.* *Pericles author of the warres against Peloponnesus.*

only. And when *Pericles* alledged a law, that did forbid them to take away the table whereupon before time had bene written any cõmon law or edict: *Polyarces*, one of the LACEDÆMONIANS ambassadours, said vnto him. Well, said he, take it not away then, but turne the table once your law I am sure forbiddeth not that. This was pleasantly spoken of the ambassadour, but *Pericles* could neuer be brought to it for all that. And therefore it seemeth he had some secret occasion of grudge against the MEGARIANS: yet as one that would finely conuey it vnder the common cause and cloke, he tooke from them the holy lands they were breaking vp. For to bring this to passe, he made an order, that they should send an herauld to summone the MEGARIANS to let the land alone, and that the same herauld should goe also vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to accuse the MEGARIANS vnto them. It is true that this ordinance was made by *Pericles* meanes, as also it was most iust and reasonable: but it fortuned so, that the messenger that was sent thither died, and not without suspition that the MEGARIANS made him away. Wherefore *Charinus* made a lawe presently against the MEGARIANS: that they should be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for euer, without any hope of after reconciliation. And also if any MEGARIAN should once put his foote within the territories of ATTICA, that he should suffer the paines of death. And moreouer, that their captaines taking yearely the ordinarie oth, should sweare among other articles, that twise in the yeare they should go with their power, and destroy some part of the MEGARIANS lande. And lastly, that the herauld *Anthemocritus* should be buried by the place called then the gates *Thriasienes*, and now called *Dipylon*. But the MEGARIANS stoutly denying, that they were any cause of the death of this *Anthemocritus*: did altogether burthen *Aspasia* and *Pericles* with the same, alledging for proofe thereof, *Aristophanes* verses the Poet, in his comedie he intituled the *Acharnes*, which are so common, as euery boye hath them at his tongues end.

Pericles malice against the Megarians.

The young men of our land (to dronken bibbing bent)
ran out one day vnruilly, and towards Megara went.
From whence in their outrage, by force they tooke away,
Simatha noble curtisan, as she did sporte and play.
Wherewith enraged all (with pepper in the nose)
the proud Megarians came to vs, as to their mortall foes,
And tooke by stelthe away, of harlos eke a paire,
attending on Aspasia, which were both young and faire.

But in very deed, to tell the originall cause of this warre, and to deliuer the trothe thereof, it is very hard. But all the historiographers together agree, that *Pericles* was the chiefe author of the warre: because the decree made against the MEGARIANS, was not reuoked backe againe. Yet some holde opinion, that *Pericles* did it of a noble minde and iudgement, to be constant in that he thought most expedient. For he iudged that this commaundement of the LACEDÆMONIANS was but a triall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would grant them: and if they yeelded to them in that, then they manifestly shewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarily say, that it was done of a selfe will and arrogancy, to shew his authoritie and power, and how he did despise the LACEDÆMONIANS. But the shrewdest proofe of all that bringeth best authority with it, is reported after this sort. *Phidias* the image maker (as we haue tolde you before) had vndertaken to make the image of *Pallas*: and being *Pericles* friend was in great estimation about him. But that procured him many ill willers. Then they being desirous to heare by him what the people would iudge of *Pericles*: they intised *Menon*, one of the worke men that wrought vnder *Phidias*, and made him come into the market place to pray assurance of the people that he might openly accuse *Phidias*, for a fault he had committed about *Pallas* image. The people receiued his obedience, and his accusation was heard openly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: because that *Phidias* (through *Pericles* counsell and deuise) had from the beginning so laide on the gold vppon the image, that it might bee taken off and wayed euery whit. Whereupon *Pericles* openly said vnto his accusers, take off the gold and waie it. The glorie of his workes did purchase him this enuy. For he hauing graue vpon the scutchiõ of the goddesse, the battell of the AMAZONES, had cut out the portraiture of himselfe maruellous liuely, vnder the perso of

Phidias the image maker.

old bauld man, lifting vp a great ſtone with both his hands. Further he had cut out *Pericles* image, excellently wrought & artificially, ſeeming in manner to be *Pericles* ſelfe, fighting with an AMAZON in this ſort. The AMAZONES hand being lift vp high, holdeth a dart before *Pericles* face, ſo paſſing cunningly wrought, as it ſeemed to ſhadow the likenes & reſemblance of *Pericles*: and yet notwithſtanding appeareth plainely to be *Pericles* ſelfe on either ſide of the portraiture. So *Phidias* was clapt vp in priſon, and there died of a ſickneſ, or els of poiſon (as ſome ſay) which his enemies had prepared for him: & all to bring *Pericles* into further ſuſpition, and to giue them the more cauſe to accuſe him. But howſoeuer it was, the people gaue *Menon* his freedome, and ſet him free for payment of all ſubſidies, following the order *Glycon* made, and gaue the captaines charge they ſhould ſee him ſafely kept, and that he tooke no hurt. And about the ſame time alſo *Aſpaſia* was accuſed, that ſhe did not beleeue in the goddes: and her accuſer was *Hermippus*, maker of the commedies. He burdened her further, that ſhe was a bawde to *Pericles*, and receiued citizens wiues into her houſe, which *Pericles* kept. And *Diopithes* at the ſame time made a decree, that they ſhould make ſearch and enquirie for heretikes that did not beleeue in the goddes, and that taught certaine new doctrine and opinion touching the operations of thinges aboue in the element; turning the ſuſpition vpon *Pericles*, becauſe of *Anaxagoras*. The people did receiue and confirme this inquiſition: and it was moued alſo then by *Drasontides*, that *Pericles* ſhould deliuer an account of the money he had ſpent, vnto the hands of the *Prytanes*, who were treaſurers of the common fines and reuenues, and that the iudges deputed to giue iudgement, ſhould giue ſentence within the citie vpon the aultar. But *Agnon* put that worde out of the decree, and placed in ſtead thereof, that the cauſe ſhould be iudged by the fifteene hundred iudges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for theft, for batterie, or for iniuſtice. As for *Aſpaſia*, he ſaued her, euen for the verie pittie and compaſſion the iudges tooke of him, for the teares he ſhed in making his humble ſute for her, all the time he pleaded her caſe: as *Æſchines* writeth. But for *Anaxagoras*, fearing that he could not do ſo much for him: he ſent him out of the citie, and himſelfe did accompanie him. And furthermore, ſeeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for *Phidias* fact, and for this cauſe fearing the iſſue of the iudgement: he ſet the warres a fire againe, that alwaies went backward, and did but ſmoake a litle, hoping by this meanes to weare out the accuſations againſt him, and to roote out the malice ſome did beare him. For the people hauing waightie matters in hand, and very dangerous alſo: he knewe they would put all into his hands alone, he hauing wonne already ſuch great authoritie and reputation among them. And theſe be the cauſes why he would not (as it is ſaid) ſuffer the ATHENIANS to yeeld vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing: howbeit the truthe cannot certainly be knowne. But the LACEDÆMONIANS knowing well, that if they could weed out *Pericles*, and ouerthrow him, they might then deale as they would with the ATHENIANS; they commaunded them they ſhould purge their city of *Cylons* rebellion, becauſe they knew well enough that *Pericles* kinne by the mothers ſide were to be touched withall, as *Thucydides* declareth. But this practiſe fell out contrary to their hope and expectation, that were ſent to ATHENS for this purpoſe. For, weening to haue brought *Pericles* into further ſuſpition and diſpleaſure, the citizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiaunce in him then before, becauſe they ſaw his enemies did ſo much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before king *Archidamus* entred with the army of the PELOPONNESIANS into the countrey of ATTICA, he told the ATHENIANS, that if king *Archidamus* fortuned to waſt and deſtroy all the countrey about, and ſhould ſpare his landes and goods for the old loue and familiaritie that was betweene them, or rather to giue his enemies occaſion falſely to accuſe him: that from thenceforth, he gaue all the landes and tenements he had in the countrey, vnto the common wealth. So it fortuned that the LACEDÆMONIANS with all their friendes and confederates, brought a maruellous army into the countrey of ATTICA, vnder the leading of king *Archidamus*: who burning & ſpoyling all the countrey he came alongeſt, they came vnto the towne of ACHARNES, where they encamped, ſuppoſing the ATHENIANS would neuer ſuffer them to approche ſo neare, but that they would giue them battell for the honor and defence of their countrey, and to ſhew that they were no cowardes. But *Pericles* wiſely conſidered how the

Aſpaſia accuſed.

Prytani, treaſurers of the common fines.

The Lacedæmonians inuade Attica.

daunger was too great to hazard battell, where the losse of the citie of ATHENS stoode in p
rill, seeing they were threescore thousand footmē of the PELOPONNESIANS, & of the Bo
TIANS together: for so many was their number in the first voyage they made against the A
THENIANS. And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and to put themselues to any ha
zard, being mad to see their countrie thus wasted and destroyed before their eyes, *Pericles* di
comfort and pacifie them with these words. That trees being cut and hewen downe, di
spring againe in short time: but men being once dead, by no possibilitie could be brought a
gaine. Therefore he neuer durst assemble the people in counsell, fearing least he should be in
forced by the multitude, to doe something against his will. But as a wise man of a shippe,
when he seeth a storme comming on the sea, doth straight giue order to make all things sa
the shippe, preparing euery thing ready to defend the storme, according to his arte and skil
not harkening to the passengers fearefull cries and pittifull teares, who thinke themselues ea
away: euen so did *Pericles* rule all things according to his wisedome, hauing walled the citi
substantially about and set good watch in euery corner: and passed not for those that we
angry and offended with him, neither would be perswaded by his friends earnest requests an
intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threates nor accusations against him, nor yet reckon
ned of all their foolish scoffing songes they sung of him in the citie, to his shame and re
proch of gouernement, saying that he was a cowardly captaine, and that for dastardlinesse he
let the enemies take all, and spoile what they would. Of which number *Cleon* was one tha
most defamed him, and began to enter into some pretie credit and fauour with the common
people, for that they were angrie, and misliked with *Pericles*: as appeareth by these slanderou
verses of *Hermippus*, which were then abroade:

An excellent comparison to stay the soul diers desire to fight.

Cleon accuseth Pericles.

O King of Satyres thou, who with such manly speache
of bloudy warres and doughtie deeds, doost dayly to vs preache:
VVhy art thou now afraide, to take thy launce in hand,
or with thy pike against thy foes, couragiously to stand?
Synce Cleon stoute and fierce, doth dayly thee prouoke,
VVith biting words, with trenchant blades, & deadly daunting stroke.

All these notwithstanding, *Pericles* was neuer mooued any thing, but with silence did pa
ciently beare all iniuries and scoffings of his enemies, and did send for all that a nauie of
hundred saile vnto PELOPONNESVS, whither he would not go in person, but kept himself
at home, to keepe the people in quiet: vntill such time as the enemies had raised their campe
and were gone away. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angrie
at this warre: he comforted the poore people againe, with causing a certaine distribution to
be made amongst them of the common treasure, and diuision also of the landes that were
got by conquest. For after he had driuen all the ÆGINETES out of their countrie, he caused
the whole Ile of ÆGINA to be deuided by lot amongest the citizens of ATHENS. And then
it was a great comfort to them in this aduersity, to heare of their enemies hurt and losse in
such manner as it did fall out. For their army that was sent by sea vnto PELOPONNESVS
had wasted and destroyed a great part of the champion countrey there, and had sacked be
sides many small cities and townes. *Pericles* selfe also entring into the MEGARIANS country
by land, did waste the whole countrey al afore him. So the PELOPONNESIANS receiuing by
sea as much hurt and losse at the ATHENIANS hands, as they before had done by land vn
the ATHENIANS: they had not holden out warres so long with the ATHENIANS, bu
would soone haue giuen ouer (as *Pericles* had told them before) had not the gods abouet
cretly hindered mans reason and pollicie. For first of all there came such a sore plague amon
the ATHENIANS, that it tooke away the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakened the for
of the whole city besides. Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aliue being infecte
with this disease, their hearts also were so sharpely bent against *Pericles*, that the sickenesse ha
uing troubled their braines, they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the patient against hi
phisitian, or children against their father, euen to the hurting of him, at the prouocation o
his enemies. Who bruted abroade, that the plague came of no cause else, but of the great mul
titude of the countrey men that came into the city on heapes, one vppon anothers necke in th

Note Pericles pollicie to pacifie the peoples anger.

Ægina wonne by the Athenians.

Plague at Athens.

hea

hart of the ſommer, where they were compelled to lye many together, ſmothered vp in litle tentes and cabines, remaining there all day long, cowring downewardes, and doing nothing, where before they liued in the countrie in a freſh open ayer, and at liberte. And of all this, (ſay they) *Pericles* is the only cauſe who procuring this war, hath pent and ſhrowded the countrie men together within the walles of a cittie, employing them to no manner of vſe nor ſeruice, but keeping them like ſheepe in a pinnefold, maketh one to poyſon another with the infection of their plague ſores running vpon them, and giuing them no leaue to chaunge ayer, that they might ſomuch as take breath abroade. *Pericles* to remedie this, and to do their enemies a litle miſchiefe: armed a 150 ſhippes, and ſhipped into them a great number of armed footemen and horſemen alſo. Hereby he put the cittizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, ſeeing ſo great a power. But when he had ſhipped all his men, and was himſelfe alſo in the admirall ready to hoyſe ſayle: ſodainly there was a great eclypſe of the ſunne, and the day was very darke, that all the armie was ſtriken with a maruellous feare, as of ſome daungerous and very ill token towardes them. *Pericles* ſeing the maſter of his gally in a maſe withall, not knowing what to doe: caſt his cloake ouer the maſters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harme or no. The maſter aunſwered him, he thought it none, Then ſayed *Pericles* againe to him. There is no difference betwene this and that, ſauing that the bodye which maketh the darknes is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eyes. Theſe things are thus diſputed of in the ſchooles of the philoſophers. But *Pericles* hoiſing ſayle notwithſtanding, did no notable nor ſpeciall ſeruice, aunſwerable to ſo great an armie and preparation. For he laying ſiege vnto the holy cittie of EPIDAVRVM, when euery man looked they ſhould haue taken it, was compelled to rayſe his ſiege for the plague that was ſo vehement: that it did not onely kill the ATHENIANS themſelues, but all other alſo (were they neuer ſo ſewe) that came to them, or neere their campe. Wherefore perceiuing the ATHENIANS were maruellouſly offended with him, he did what he could to comforte them, and put them in hart againe: but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them. For by the moſt parte of voyces, they depriued him of his charge of generall, and condemned him in a maruellous great fine and ſumme of money, the which thoſe that tell the leaſt do write, that it was the ſumme of fifteene talentes: and thoſe that ſay more, ſpeake of fiftie talentes. The accuſer ſubſcribed in this condemnation, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus*, or *Simmias* ſay, or as *Theophraſtus* writeth: yet *Heraclides Ponticus* ſayth, one *Lacratidas*. Now his common griefes were ſoone blowen ouer: for the people dyd eaſely let fall their diſpleaſures towardes him, as the waſpe leaueth her ſting behind her with them ſhee hath ſtong. But his owne priuate affaires and houſehold cauſes were in very ill caſe: both for that the plague had taken awaye many of his friendes and kinſmen from him, as alſo for that he and his houſe had continued a long time in diſgrace. For *Xanthippus* (*Pericles* ſonne & heire) being a man of a very ill diſpoſition and nature, and hauing maried a young woman very prodigall and lauiſh of expence, the daughter of *Iſander*, ſonne of *Epilychus*: he grudged much at his fathers hardnes, who ſcantly gaue him money and but a litle at a time. Wherupon he ſent on a time to one of his fathers friends in *Pericles* name, to pray him to lend him ſome money, who ſent it vnto him. But afterwardes when he came to demaund it againe, *Pericles* did not onely refuſe to paye it him, but further alſo, he put him in ſute. But this made the young man *Xanthippus* ſo angrie with his father, that he ſpake very ill of him in euery place where hee came: and in mockerie reported how his father ſpent his time when he was at home, and the talke he had with the Sophiſters, and the maſter Rhetoritians. For a miſchaunce fortuning on a time, at the game of the throwing of the darte, who ſhould throwe beſt, that he that threwe, did vnfortunately kill one *Epitimius* a THESSALIAN: *Xanthippus* went pratling vp and downe the towne, that his father *Pericles* was a whole daye diſputing with *Protagoras* the Rhetoritian, to know which of the three by law and reaſon ſhould be condemned for this murther. The darte: he that threwe the darte: or the deuiſer of the game. Moreouer *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that the brute that ranne abroade through the cittie, how *Pericles* did keepe his wife, was ſowen abroade by *Xanthippus* himſelfe. But ſo it is, this quarrell and hate betwixt the father and the ſonne cõtinued without reconciliation vnto the death. For *Xanthippus* died in the great plague, and *Pericles* owne

Accuſations againſt Pericles.

An Eclypſe of the ſunne.

Pericles hard fortune.

Pericles depriued of his charge.

Pericles home troubles.

sister also: moreouer he lost at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kin folkes, and those specially that did him greatest pleasure in gouerning of the state. But all *Pericles constancie.* did neuer pull down his countenaunce, nor any thing abate the greatnes of his mind, w misfortunes soeuer he had sustained. Neither saw they him weep at any time, nor mourn the funeralles of any of his kinsmen or friends, but at the death of *Paralus*, his yonger and l full begotten sonne: for, the losse of him alone did onely melt his hart. Yet he did strive shew his natural constancie, and to keepe his accustomed modestie. But as he would haue a garland of flowers vpon his head, sorrow did so pierce his hart when he saw his face, then he burst out in teares and cryed a mayne: which they neuer saw him doe before: all dayes of his life. Furthermore, the people hauing proued other captaines and gouernors and finding by experience that there was no one of them of iudgment and authoritie suffici for so great a charge: In the end, of themselues they called him againe to the pulpit for ons to heare their counselles, and to the state of a captaine also to take charge of the state. at that time he kept himselfe close in his house, as one bewayling his late grieuous losse sorrowe. Howbeit *Alcibiades*, and other his familiar friendes, persuaded him to shew h selfe vnto the people: who did excuse themselues vnto him, for their ingratitude towa him. *Pericles* then taking the gouernment againe vpon him, the first matter he entred was: that he prayed them to reuoke the statute he had made for base borne children, fear least his lawfull heirs would fayle, and so his house & name should fall to the ground. B *A lawe at Athens for base borne children.* for that law, thus it stood. *Pericles* whē he was in his best authority, caused a law to be m that they onely should be compted cittizens of ATHENS, which were naturall ATHENI borne by father and mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of EGYPT ha sent a gift vnto the people of ATHENS, of forty thousand bushells of corne, to be distrib among the cittizens there: many by occasion of this lawe were accused to be base bor and specially men of the baser sorte of people, which were not knowne before, or a least had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were falsely and wrongfully c demned. Whereupon so it fell out that there were no lesse then fiue thousand of th conuicted and solde for slaues: and those that remained as free men, and were iudged w naturall cittizens, amounted to the number of fourteene thousand and fortye persones. N this was much misliked of the people, that a law enacted, and that had beene of such fo should by the selfe same maker and deuiser of the same be againe reuoked and called Howbeit *Pericles* late calamitie that fortuned to his house, did breake the peoples harde hartes against him. Who thinking these sorrowes smarte, to be punishment enough w him for his former pryde, and iudging that by goddes diuine iustice and permission, t plague and losse fell vpon him, and that his request also was tolerable: they suffered him enrolle his base born sonne in the register of the lawful cittizens of his familie, giuing him owne name, *Pericles*. It is the selfsame *Pericles*, who after he had ouercome the PELOPO NESIANS in a great battel by sea, neere vnto the Iles ARGINVSES, was put to death by t tēce of the people, with other captaines his cōpanions. Now was *Pericles* at that time infe *Pericles the the base borne put to death. Pericles sickues.* with the plague, but not so vehemētly as other were, rather more tēperately: & by long sp of time, with many alterations & changes, that did by little and little decay and consume strengh of his bodie, and ouercame his sences and noble mind. Therfore *Theophrastu* his morralles declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners doe chan with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe so alter men, t *A philosophicall question touching the chaung of mens manners by misfortunes.* they forget vertue, and abandon reason: that *Pericles* in his sicknes shewed a friend of that came to see him, I cannot tel what a preseruing charme the woman hath tyed (as a c kanet) about his necke, to let him vnderstand he was very ill, since he suffered them to ap such a foolish bable to him. In the ende, *Pericles* drawing fast vnto his death, the Nobl *Pericles death.* of the cittie, and such his friendes as were left aliue, standing about his bed, beganne to spe of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, considering the greatnes of his no acts, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine for ten battelles being generall of the ATHENIANS, and had set vp so many tokens and t umphes in honour of his countrie) they reckoned vp among themselues all these matters,

he had not vnderſtood them, imagining his ſences had bene gone. But he contrarilie being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had ſayed, and thus he beganne to ſpeake vnto them. That he maruelled why they had ſo highly praiſed that in him, which was common to many other captaines, & wherein fortune delt with them in equalitie alike, and all this while they had forgotten to ſpeake of the beſt and moſt notable thing that was in him, which was: that no ATHENIAN had euer worne blacke gowne through his occaſion. And ſure ſo was he a noble and worthie perſon. For he did not onely ſhewe himſelfe mercifull and curteous, euen in moſt weightie matters of gouernment, among ſo enuious people and hatefull enemies: but he had this iudgment alſo to thinke, that the moſt noble actes he did were theſe, that he neuer gaue himſelfe vnto hatred, enuie, nor choller, to be reuenged of his moſt mortall enemie, without mercy ſhewed towardes him, though he had committed vnto him ſuch abſolute power and ſole gouernment among them. And this made his ſurname to be *Olympius* (as to ſaye, diuine or celeſtiall) which otherwiſe for him had bene too prowde and arrogant a name, becauſe he was of ſo good and gentle a nature, and for that in ſo great libertie he had kept cleane handes and vndefiled: euen as we eſteeme the goddes authors of all good, and cauſers of no euill, and ſo worthie to gouerne and rule the whole monarchie of the world. And not as Poets ſay, which do confound our wittes by their follies, and fond fayninges, and are alſo contrarie to themſelues, conſidering that they call heauen (which conteineth the goddes) the euerlaſting ſeate, which trembleth not, and is not driuen nor moued with windes, neither is darkened with cloudes, but is alwayes bright and cleare, and at all times ſhining equally with a pure bright light, as being the onely habitation and manſion place of the eternall God, onely happy and immortall. And afterwardes they deſcribe it themſelues, full of diſſentions, of enmities, of anger and paſſions, which doe nothing become wiſe and learned men. But this diſcourſe peraduenture would be better ſpoken of in ſome other booke. Now the troubles of the ATHENIANS felt immediately after *Pericles* death, made them then lamente the loſſe of ſo noble a member. For thoſe who vnpaciently did brooke his great authoritie while he liued, becauſe it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other ſpeakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confeſſe, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor graue, with lenitie and mercie, then his was. And that moſt hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, did then moſt plainely appeare vnto them, to haue beene the manifeſt ramper and bullwarke of the ſafetie of their whole ſtate and common weale: ſuch corruption and vice in gouernment of the ſtate did then ſpring vp immediately after his death, which when he was aliue, he did euer ſuppreſſe and keepe vnder in ſuch ſort, that either it did not appeare at all, or at the leaſt it came not to that hed and libertie, that ſuch faultes were committed, as were vnpoſſible to be remedied.

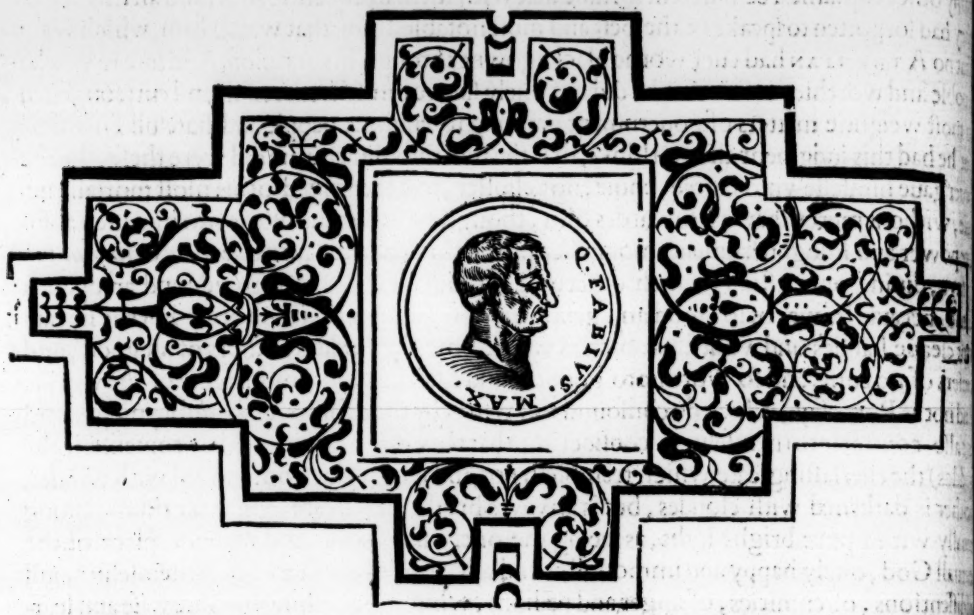
A notable ſaying of Pericles at his death.

Pericles deſeruedly called Olympius.

The Athenians lamented the loſſe of Pericles being dead.

The ende of Pericles life.

THE LIFE OF
Fabius Maximus.



HAVING already declared vnto you ſuch things worthy memo as we could collect, and gather of the life of *Pericles*: it is now go time we ſhould proceede to write alſo of the life of *Fabius Maxim* It is ſayed the firſt *Fabius*, from whom the houſe and familie of the *bians* did deſcend (being the greateſt and nobleſt houſe of all othe ROME) was begotten by *Hercules*, whom he got of a *Nymphe* (or other ſay, a woman of the country by the riuer of Tyber. And ſo ſay, that the firſt of this houſe, were called at the beginning *Fodi* becauſe they did hunte wilde beaſtes, with pittefalles and ditche For vnto this preſent the ROMAINES call ditches, *Foſſæ*: and to digge *Fodere*. Since that tim the two ſecond letters haue beene chaunged, and they haue called them *Fabians*. But howſ uer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that houſe: and among ther, there was one of that houſe called *Fabius Rullus*, whome the ROMAINES for his noble acts did ſurname *Maximus*, very great. After him *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe life we haue no in hand, was the fourth lineally deſcended of the ſame line, and he was ſurnamed *Verrucoſ* becauſe of a certen birth marke he had vpon one of his lippes, like a litle wart. And he w alſo ſurnamed *Ouicula*, a litle lambe, for his ſoftnes, ſlownes, and grauitie of his doings whil he was a childe. But becauſe of nature he was dull, ſtill, and very ſilent, & that he was ſeldo ſeene to play at any paſtime among the boyes, and for that they ſaw he was but of ſlowe citie, and hard to learne and conceiue, and withall that the boyes might doe to him w they would, he was ſo lowly to his fellowes: this made men iudge that looked not into h that he would proue a very foole and idiotte. Yet other were of contrarie opinion of hi who conſidering more deeply the man, perceiued in his nature a certaine ſecret conſtanc and the maieſty of a lion. But *Fabius* ſelfe when he was called to ſerue the common weale, quickly ſhewe to the world, that which they tooke for dulnes in him, was his grauitie, whi neuer altered for no cauſe or reſpect: and that which others iudged fearefulnes in him, w very wiſdome. And where he ſhewed himſelfe not haſtie, nor ſodaine in any thing: it w found in him an aſſured & ſettled conſtancie. Wherefore when he came to conſider the gre ſoueraintie of their common weale, and the continuall warres it was in: he did vſe his bod to all hardnes, and brought vp himſelfe therewithall, that he might be the better able to ſe

Fabius Rullus Maximus called Verrucoſus and Ouicula.

in the field: and he gaue himselfe much to eloquence also, as a necessarie instrument to persuade souldiers vnto reason. His tongue likewise did agree with his conditions, and manner of life. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfeat finenes in his speach, but his wordes were euer very graue and profound, and his sentences euen grafted in him by nature, and (as some say) were muchlike *Thucydides* sayings. As appeareth in a funerall oration he made before the people in the praise of his sonne, who died when he came out of his Consulshippe, which is yet extant to be seene. Now as for him, hauing bene fiue times chosen Consul, in his first yere of his consulshippe, he triumphed ouer the LIGVRIANS (which be people of the mountaines, and vpon the coast of GENVA) who being ouerthrowen by him in a great battell, where they had lost many men, they were compelled to goe their way, and to take the ALPES for their succour, & durst no more appeare vpon the borders of ITALIE, whereupon they did confine. *Hannibal* entring ITALIE afterwards with a great armie, and hauing wonne the first battel neere vnto the riuer of TREBIA: he passed further, and went through THVSCAN, wasting and destroying all the country as he passed by. This made ROME quake for feare. Besides they saw many signes & tokens, some common vnto them, as thundering, lightning, and such other like: but other also more straunge, neuer seene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certen targets were waxen all bloudy of themselues, and that about the cittie of ANTIVM they found wheat eares, which were all bloudie when they were reaped: that there fell from heauen, burning stones all in a flame of fire: and in the countrie of the PHALERIANS how the element seemed to open, and many litle written scrolles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written these wordes, word for word: *Marcus doth now handle his weapons.* But all these signes and wonders did nothing appawle nor daunt the boldnes of *Caius Flaminius*, Consul then: who besides the naturall great courage, & aspiring minde he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the wonderfull good successe he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellowe Consul stoode against his intent: he for all that did giue battell to the GAVLES, in despight of them all, and wanne the victorie. Likewise, though al these signes and wonders in the aire, did greatly trouble, and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble *Fabius*, for he saw no apparant cause to be troubled withall. But he vnderstanding the small number of his enemies and the lacke of money that was among them: gaue counsell, and was of opinion they should patiently forbeare a litle, and not to hazarde battell against a man, whose armie had bene long trained in warres, and by many foughten fieldes was growen valiant and expert. Moreouer, he thought good they should send ayde to their subiects, and other their allies and confederates, as neede required, to keepe their cities still vnder their obedience: and in the meane season by tract of time, to weare out *Hanniballs* force & power, which was like straw set on fire, that straight giueth forth a blase, and yet hath no substance to holde fire long. When *Fabius* had thus sayed enough to perswade *Flaminius*, yet it would not sinke into *Flaminius* heade: for, sayeth he, I will not tarie vntill the warres come to ROME gates, neither will I be brought to fight vpon the walles of the cittie, to defend it, and as *Camillus* did, that fought within the cities selfe in old time. Whereupon he commaunded his captaines to set out their bandes to the field, and he himselfe tooke his horse backe: which vpon the sodaine, without any cause was so afeard, and tooke so on with him selfe, that he cast the Consul to the ground with his heade forward. For all this fall he would not chaunge his minde, but helde on his iorney toward *Hannibal*, & presented him battell in THVSCAN, by the lake called *Thrasimena*, which is the lake of PERVSIA. This battel was so fiercely fought on both sides, that notwithstanding there was such a terrible earthquake therewhile, that some cities were ouerthrowen and turned topsy turuey, some riuers had their streames turned against their course, and the foote of the mountaines were torne in sunder, and broken open: yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any such thing at all. *Flaminius* the Consul selfe was slaine at that battell, after he had in his owne person done many a valiant acte, and many of the worthiest gentlemen and valiantest souldiers of his armie laye dead about him: the residue being fled, the slaughter was great, for the bodies slaine were fifteene thousand, and so many prisoners left aliue. After this ouerthrow, *Hannibal* made al the search he could possible to finde the body of *Flaminius*,

Fabius fiue times Consul.

Hannibal destroyeth the citie of Thuscie.

wonders.

Flaminius vaynes.

Fabius wise counsell.

The Romaines slaine by the lake of Thrasimena.

Flaminius the Consul slaine.

nius, to burie him honorably, becauſe of his valiantnes: but he could neuer be found amongeſt the dead bodies, neither was it euer heard what became of it. Now as touching the firſt ouerthrow at TREBIA, neither the generall that wrote it, nor the poaſte that brought the firſt newes to ROME, tolde the trothe of it as it was, but fayned that the ende was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the beſt. But of this battell, ſo ſoone as *Prætor Pomponius* had receiued the newes, he called all the people to counſell, where without diſguiſing or diſſembling at all, he playnely ſayed thus vnto them. My Lordes, we have loſt the battell, our armie is ouerthrowne, and the Conſul himſelfe is ſlaine in the field: wherefore conſider what you haue to doe, and prouide for your ſafety. Theſe wordes ſpoken to the people, as it had beene a boyſterous ſtorme of weather that had fallen on them from the ſea, to put them in daunger, did ſo terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole citie for feare: that they were all in a maze, and knew not what to determine. Yet in the end they all agreed that it ſtoode them vpon to haue a chiefe magiſtrate, called in Latin *Dictatura*, that ſhould be a man of courage, and could ſtoutely vſe it without ſparing or feare of any perſon. And for this, *Fabius Maximus* was thought the onely man meete to be choſen: as he, whoſe noble courage and graue behauiour was aunſwerable, to the dignitie and grauitie of the office: and moreouer, that to his grauitie and wiſdome there was ioyned (for reaſonable age) ſtrengh of bodie, and valiantneſſe with experience. This counſell being confirmed by them all, *Fabius* was choſen *Dictator*, who named *Lucius Minutius* generall of the horſemen. Then he firſt required the Senate, that they would graunt him he might haue his horſe in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the *Dictator*, but expreſſely forbidden by an auncient order. Either becauſe they thought the chiefeſt force of their armie dyd conſiſt in their footemen, which cauſed the making of this lawe: whereby the generall ſhould be amongeſt them in the daye of the battell, and in no wiſe ſhould forſake them. Or els becauſe the authoritie of this magiſtrate in all other thinges was ſo great, that it was in manner after the ſtate of a King: yet all this notwithſtanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the *Dictator* ſhould haue abſolute power ouer the people. *Fabius* at his firſt coming, becauſe he would ſhewe the maieſtie and dignitie of his office, that euery man ſhould be the more obedient and readye at his commaundement: when he went abroad he had foure and twentie ſergeantes before him, carying the bundelles of roddes, and axes. And when one of the conſulls came to him, he ſent a ſergeant to commaund his bundell of roddes that were caried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layed aſide: and that he ſhould come and ſpeake with him, as a priuate man. And firſt to make a good foundation, and to beginne with the ſeruice of the goddes; he declared vnto the people, that the loſſe they had receiued, came through the raſhnes and wilfull negligence of their captaine, who made no reckoning of the goddes nor religion: and not through any defaulte and cowardlines of the ſouldiers. And for this cauſe he did perſuade them not to be afrayde of their enemies, but to appeaſe the wrath of the goddes, and to ſerue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby ſuperſticious, but did confirme their valiantneſſe with true religion and godlines: and beſides did vtterly take awaye and aſſwage their feare of their enemies, by giuing them certaine hope and aſſuraunce of the ayde of the goddes. Then were the holy bookes of the *Sibylles* propheſies peruſed, which were kept very ſecret, and therein they found certaine auncient propheſies and oracles, which ſpake of the preſent miſfortunes of the time. But what were conteyned therein, it is not lawfull to be vttered of any perſon. Afterwardes the *Dictator*, before the open aſſemblie of the people, made a ſolemne vowe vnto the goddes, that he would ſacrifice all the profittes and frutes that ſhould fall the next yere, of ſheepe, of ſowes, of milch kine, and of goats in all the mountaines, champion countrie, riuers, or meadowes of ITALIE. And he would celebrate playes of muſicke, and ſhewe other ſightes in the honour of the goddes, and would beſtow vpon the ſame the ſumme of three hundreth three and thirtie Seſtercians, & three hundreth three and thirtie Dramaine pence, and a thirde part ouer. All which ſumme reduced into Grecian money, amounteth to foure ſcore three thouſand, fiue hundreth, and foure ſcore, and three ſiluer drachmes and two obolos. Nowe it were a harde thing to tell the reaſon why he doth mention

Fabius Dictator.

The Dictator might not ride in the warres.

The maieſtie of Fabius the Dictator.

Fabius religio.

The Sibylles bookes of propheſies.

Fabius vowe.

summe so precisely, and why he did deuide it by three, vnlesse it were to extoll the power of the number of three: because it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the first of the odde numbers, which is the beginning of diuerse numbers, and conteineth in it selfe the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and ioyned together. So *Fabius* hauing brought the people to hope, and trust to haue the ayde and fauour of the gods: made them in the end the better disposed to liue well afterwards. Then *Fabius* hoping after victorie, and that the gods would send good luck and prosperitie vnto men, through their valiantnesse and wisdome: did straight set forwards vnto *Hannibal*, not as minded to fight with him, but fully resolued to weare out his strength and power, by delayes and tract of time: and to increase his pouertie by the long spending of his owne money, and to consume the small number of his people, with the great number of his souldiers. *Fabius* camped alwaies in the strong and high places of the mountaines, out of all danger of his enemies horsemen, and coasted still after the enemie: so that when *Hannibal* stayed in any place, *Fabius* also stayed: if *Hannibal* remooued, he followed him straight, and would be alwayes neere him, but neuer forsooke the hilles, neither would he come so neere him, as that he should be inforced to fight against his will. Yet alwayes he followed the enemie at his tayle, and made him euer afeard of him, thinking still that he sought to get the vantage, to giue the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this sort: he became disliked of euery body. For euery man both in his owne campe, and abroade, spake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better, then a ranke coward, *Hannibal* onely excepted. But he perceiuing his great reache and policie, and foreseeing the maner of fight, sawe there was no remedie, but by plaine force or slight to bring him to the fight: for otherwise his delay would ouerthrowe the CARTHAGINIANS, when they should not come to handie strokes with him, wherein onely consisted all their hope and strength, and in the meane time his souldiers should fall away, and dye, and his money was scant, and himselfe should growe the weaker. Thereupon *Hannibal* began to bethinke him, and deuise all the stratagems and policies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wrestler, to seeke out all the trickes he could to giue his aduersarie the fall. For sodainely, he would go and giue alarum to his campe: by and by againe he would retire. Another time he would remooue his campe, from one place to another, and giue him some aduantage, to see if he could plucke his lingring deuise out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for *Fabius*, he continued still resolute in his first determination: that delay of fight was the best way to ouerthrowe him. Howbeit *Minutius*, generall of his horsemen, did trouble him much. For he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and brauling of a lustie courage, crept into opinion with the souldiers, by his hotte furie and desire to fight. Which wrought much in them, and so stirred vp their courages, that they mocked *Fabius* altogether: and called him *Hannibals* schoolemaister: and contrariwise they commended *Minutius*, for a valiant captaine, and worthie ROMAINE. This made *Minutius* looke high, and haue a proude opinion of himselfe, mocking *Fabius* because he euer lodged on the hilles, with saying, the *Dictator* would make them goodly sportes, to see their enemies waste and burne ITALY before their face. Moreouer, he asked *Fabius* friends, whether he would in the end lodge his campe in the skie, that he did climbe vp so high vpon mountaines, mistrusting the earth: or else that hee was so affrayde, his enemies would finde him out, that hee went to hide him selfe in the cloudes. *Fabius* friendes made reporte of these ieasts, and aduised him rather to hazard battell, then to beare such reproachefull wordes as were spoken of him. But *Fabius* aunswered them, If I should yeeld to that you counsell me, I should shewe my selfe a greater coward then I am taken for now: by leauing my determination, for feare of their mockes and spightfull wordes. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearefull, and iealous, of the welfare and safetie of his countrey: but otherwise to be afeard of the wagging of euery strawe, or to regarde euery common prating, it is not the parte of a worthie man of charge, but rather of a base minded person, to seeke to please those whome hee ought to commaunde and gouerne, because they are but fooles. After this, *Hannibal* chaunced to

Fabius doings against Hannibal.

Minutius generall of the horsemen, despised Fabius counsell.

Hannibal fell into great errour.

fall into a great errour. For intending to leaue *Fabius* to bring his armie into the plaine where there was plentie of victuals, and store of pasture to feede his horse and cattell, commaunded his guides to bring him straight after supper, into the plaine of CASINVM. They mistaking his words, and not vnderstanding well what he said, because his ITALIAN tongue was but meane: tooke one thing for another, and so brought him and his armie to the end of a field neere the citie of CASILINVM, through the middest of the which runneth a riuer, the ROMAINES call *Vulturnus*. Now the countrie lying by it, was a valley enuironed passed in with mountaines round about, sauing that the riuer went to the sea: where leauing his owne banckes, it spreadeth abroade into the marisses, and banckes of sand very deepe, and in the ende fell into that parte of the sea which is most daungerous, and there without neither succour nor couert. *Hannibal* being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a sacke, *Fabius* that knewe the countrie, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereabout followed him step by step, and stopped his passage, where he should haue come out of the valley, with foure thousand footemen, which he planted there to keepe the straight: and disposed the rest of his armie vpon the hangings of the hilles, in the most apt and meete places all about. Then with his light horsemen he gaue a charge, vpon the rereward of the enemies battell: which put all *Hannibals* armie by and by out of order, and so there were slaine eight hundred of his men. Whereupon *Hannibal* would haue remooued his campe thence immediatly, and knowing then the faulte his guides had made, taking one place for another, and the danger wherein they had brought him: he roundly trussed them vp and hung them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the toppes of the hilles, and to winne them from their strength, he sawe it was vnpossible, and out of all hope. Wherefore, perceiuing his souldiers both afraide and discouraged, for that they sawe themselues hemmed in on all sides, without any order to escape: *Hannibal* determined to deceiue *Fabius* by a deuise. He caused straight two thousand oxen to be chosen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their spoiles, and tyed to their hornes great bundels of reedes, and fallowe faggots, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commaunded the droners that had the charge of them, that when they sawe any signe or token lift vp in the ayre in the night, they should then straight set fire on those bundels or bunches, and driue vp the beasts to the hilles, toward the wayes where the enemies laye. Whilest these things were a preparing, he on the other side ranged his armie in order of battell: and when night came, caused them to marche faire and softly. Now these beasts whilest the fire was but little that burnt vpon their hornes, went but faire and softly vp the hill from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driuen. In so much as they that heard men that were on the toppe of the mountaines, wondered maruellously to see the flames and fires about the hornes of so many beasts, as if it had bene an armie marching in order of battell with liglues and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the stumpes, and that the force of the fire did frie their very flesh: then beganne they to fight together, and to shake their heads, whereby they did set one another a fire. Then they their soft pace, and went no more in order as they did before, but for the extreame paine they felt, beganne to runne heere and there in the mountaines, carrying fire still about their hornes, and in their tailes, and set fire of all the boughes and coppesies they passed by. It was a strange sight to looke vpon, and did much amaze the ROMAINES that kept the passages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne heere and there with torches in their hands. Whereupon they were in a maruellous feare and trouble, supposing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuiron them on all sides: so as they durst no more keepe the passages which they were commaunded, but leauing their straights, began to flie toward their maine and great campe. Thereupon *Hannibals* light horsemen immediatly possessed the straights that were kept: by reason whereof the rest of his armie marched out at their ease and leisure, without feare or daunger, notwithstanding that they were loden and troubled with marueilous great spoiles, and of all kinde of sortes. *Fabius* then perceiued very well the same night, that it was but a slight of *Hannibal*: for some of the oxen that fled here and there fell vpon his armie. Where-

Casilinum a citie.
Vulturnus fl.

Hamiball set vpon by Fabius.

Hamibals stratagem.

feare

feating to fall vpon ſome ambuſhe by reaſon of the darke night, he kept his men in battell raye, without ſturring, or making any noiſe. The next morning by breake of day, he began to follow his enemie by the tracke, and fell vpon the taile of the rereward, with whome he skirmiſhed within the ſtraites of the mountaines: and ſo did diſtreſſe ſomewhat *Hannibals* armie. *Hannibal* thereupon ſent out of his vauntgarde a certaine number of Spaniards (very luſtie and nimble fellowes, that were vſed to the mountaines, and acquainted with climing vp vpon them) who comming downe, and ſetting vpon the ROMAINES that were heauie armed, ſlue a great number of them, and made *Fabius* to retire. Thereupon they deſpiſed *Fabius* the more, and thought worſe of him then they did before: becauſe his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with *Hannibal*, but by wiſedome and policie to ouerthrowe him, where as he him ſelfe by *Hannibal* was firſt finely handled and deceiued. *Hannibal* then to bring *Fabius* further in diſliking and ſuſpition with the ROMAINES, commaunded his ſouldiers when they came neere any of *Fabius* lands, that they ſhould burne and deſtroye all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wiſe to medle with *Fabius* lands, nor any thing of his, and did purpoſely appoint a garriſon to ſee that nothing of *Fabius* ſhould miſcarie, nor yet take hurt. This was ſtraight caried to ROME, which did thereby the more incenſe the people againſt him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceaſed crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by *Metellus* ſpeciall procurement and perſwaſion: who of himſelfe had no cauſe to miſlike with *Fabius*, but onely becauſe he was *Minutius* kinſeman (generall of the horſemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bare to *Fabius*, would turne to the praiſe and aduauncement of *Minutius*. The Senate alſo were much offended with *Fabius*, for the compoſition he made with *Hannibal*, touching the priſoners taken of either ſide. For it was articled betweene them, that they ſhould chaunge priſoners, deliuering man for man, or elſe two hundred and fiftie ſiluer drachmas for a man, if the one chaunced to haue moe priſoners then the other. When exchange was made betweene them, it appeared that *Hannibal* had left in his hands of ROMAINE priſoners, two hundred and fortie moe, then *Fabius* had to exchange of his. The Senate commaunded there ſhould be no money ſent to redeeme them, and greatly found fault with *Fabius* for making this accorde: becauſe it was neither honorable, nor profitable for the common weale, to redeeme men that cowardly ſuffered themſelues to be taken priſoners of their enemies. *Fabius* vnderſtanding it, did pacientlie beare this diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him by the Senate. Howbeit hauing no money, and meaning to keepe his word, and not to leaue the poore cittizens priſoners behinde him: he ſent his ſonne to ROME, with commiſſion to ſell his lands, and to bring him money immediatly. The young man went his waye to ROME, and ſould his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the campe: *Fabius* therewith redeemed the priſoners, and ſent their ranſome vnto *Hannibal*. Many of the priſoners whom he had redeemed, offered to repay him their ranſome: but he would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ranſome freely. Afterwards being called to ROME by the prieſts to do certaine ſolemne ſacrifices, he left the armie in charge with *Minutius*, to gouerne the ſame in his abſence, with condition not to ſet vpon the enemie, nor to fight with him at all: the which not onely by his authoritie he did expreſſely forbid him, but alſo as his very friend, he did warne and intreate him in no wiſe to attempt. Howbeit *Minutius* litle regarding his commaundements or requeſts, ſo ſoone as *Fabius* backe was turned, began to bee ſomewhat luſtie, and doing with his enemies. So one day amongſt the reſt, *Minutius* perceiuing *Hannibal* had ſent a great part of his armie abroad to forrage and get victuales: came and ſet vpon them that remained behinde, and draue them into their campe, with great ſlaughter, and did put them in a maruellous feare that were ſaued, as men that looked for no leſſe, but to haue bene beſieged in their campe. Afterwards alſo, when their whole armie came together againe: he retired backe in ſpight of them all, and loſt not a man. This exploite ſet *Minutius* in a pride, and brought the ſouldiers to be more raſhe then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrowe went with ſpeede to ROME, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. *Fabius* hearing of it, ſaied: he was more afeard of *Minutius* proſperitie then of his owne ad-

Hannibals craftineſſe againſt Fabius.

Fabius changeth priſoners with Hannibal

Fabius redeemeth the priſoners with his money.

Fabius leaueth Minutius his lieutenant in the field.

Minutius raſhneſſe.

Fabius accused of treason by Metellus the Tribune.

uersitie. But the common people reioyced maruellouslie, and made great shewe of ioye vp and downe the market place. Whereupon *Metellus* one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highly magnified *Minutius*, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged *Fabius* no more of cowardlinesse but with flat treason. Furthermore, he did accuse the Nobilitie and greatest men of Rome saying: that from the first beginning they had layde a plotte to drawe these warres out at length, onely to destroy the peoples power and authoritie, hauing brought the whole commonweale, to the state of a monarchie, and into the handes of a priuate person. Who by his remissenesse and delaies, would giue *Hannibal* leisure to plante himselfe in ITALIE, and by time giue open passage to the CARTHAGINIANS, at their pleasure to send *Hannibal* a second aide and armie, to make a full conquest of all ITALIE. *Fabius* hearing these words, rose vp straight, and spake to the people, and taried not about the aunswering of the accusations the Tribune had burthened him withall, but prayed them they would dispatch these sacrifices and ceremonies of the goddes, that he might speedily returne againe to the campe, to punish *Minutius*, for breaking his commaundement, in fighting with the enemie. He had no sooner spoken these wordes, but there rose a maruellous tumult and hurley burley presently among the people, for the danger *Minutius* stoode in then: because the *Dictator* had absolute power and authoritie to imprison and put to death, whom he thought good without ordinarie course of lawe or araignement. Moreouer, they did iudge, since *Fabius* had of late left his accustomed mildnesse and affabilitie, that he would grow to such seueritie in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appease him. Wherefore euery man held their peace for feare, saunig onely *Metellus* the Tribune. He hauing authoritie by vertue of his office, to say what he thought good, and who onely of all other kept still his place and authoritie, when any *Dictator* was chosen: then all the officers that were put downe, instantlie besought the people not to forsake *Minutius*, nor to suffer the like to be done to him, as *Manlius Torquatus* did of late to his sonne, who stroke off his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemie and ouercome them, for breaking his commaundement. And began to perswade them rather, to take this tyrannicall power of the Dictatorship from *Fabius*: and to put their affaires into the hands of him, that would and could tell how to bring them safely to passe. The people were tickled maruellouslie with these seditious words, but yet they durst not force *Fabius* to resigne his Dictatorship, though they bare him great grudge, and were angrie with him in their hearts. Howbeit they ordained that *Minutius* thenceforth should haue equall power and authoritie with the *Dictator* in the warres, a thing that was neuer seene nor heard of before and yet the very same done in that sort againe, after the battell of Cannes. For *Marcus Iunius* being at that time *Dictator* in the campe, they did choose another *Dictator* at Rome which was *Fabius Buteo*, to name and create new Senators in the place of those that were slaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and restored the full number againe of the counsell of the Senate: he discharged the selfe same day the sergeants that caried the rods before him, and sent away the traine that waited vpon him, and did so put himselfe in preasse of the people in the market place, and followed his owne peculiar businesse as a priuate person. Nowe the ROMAINES imagined, that when *Fabius* should see how they had made *Minutius* equall in authoritie with him, it would greeue him to the heart for very anger: but they came shorte to iudge of his nature, for he did not thinke that their follie should hurt or dishonour him anall. But as wise *Diogenes* aunswered one that saied vnto him, lookes they mocke thee: tushe (saied he) they mocke not me. Meaning thereby, that he took them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus *Fabius* tooke euery thing quietly, that the people offered him, and did comfort himselfe with the Philosophers sayings and examples: who do maintaine, that an honest and wise man, can no waye be iniured nor dishonoured. For all the displeasure he receiued by the peoples follie, was in respect of the commonwealth: because they had put a sworde into a madde mans hand in giuing *Minutius* authoritie to followe his rashe humour, and fonde ambition in the warres. Wherefore, fearing least he being blinded with vaine glorie, and presumptuous opinion of himselfe, should rashelie (and vpon a head) haste to do some great

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Diogenes words.

hunt before he came to the campe: he departed sodainly out of ROME without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the campe, where he found *Minutius* so proud and stout, that he was not to be delt with. For he would needes haue the authoritie to command the whole armie when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not consent to that, but deuided the one halfe of the armie betweene them: thinking it better he should alone commande the one halfe, then the whole armie by turnes. So he chose for himselfe, the first and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the second and fourth, and deuided also betweene them the aide of their friends. And when *Minutius* made his boast, that the maiestie of the highest magistrate was brought lower for his sake: *Fabius* tolde him that he might thinke, if he were wise, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hannibal*: and if he would needes contend against his companion, yet he should haue a special regarde and consideration, that hauing wonne now the citizens good willes, by whom he was so much honoured, he should haue more care of their health and safetie, then he had, who was now trodden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. *Minutius* tooke his lesson, for a counterfeat mocke, after old mens manners & fashion: and so taking the one halfe of the armie vnto him, went and lodged alone by himselfe. *Hannibal* hearing of their iarre and squaring together, sought straight oportunitie to make their discord finely to serue his turne. Now there was a hill betweene both their campes not very harde to be wonne, and it was an excellent place to lodge a campe safely in, and was very fitte and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, did seeme a farre off to be very plaine & euen ground, because they had no couert of wood to shadow them, yet were there many ditches and little vallies in them: wherefore *Hannibal* though he might easily haue taken it at his pleasure if he had listed, did let it alone in the middest betweene them, for a baite to drawe out his enemies to the battell. Now when *Hannibal* saw *Fabius* and *Minutius* lodged a sunder, he placed certaine bandes in the night, among those ditches and vallies. Afterwardes the next morning by breake of day, he sent a small number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this pollicie to traine *Minutius* out to the field, as it fell out in deede. For first *Minutius* sent thither his light horsemen, and afterwardes all his men at armes: and lastly perceiuing that *Hannibal* himselfe came to relieue his men that were vpon the hill, he himselfe marched forward also with all the rest of his armie in order of battell, and gaue a whot charge vpon them that defended the hill, to driue them thence. The fight continued equall a good space betweene them both, vntill such time as *Hannibal* saw his enemie come directly within his danger, and shewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had laide in ambush: he straight raised the signall he had giuen them. They vpon that discouered all together, and with great cries did set vpon the rereward of the ROMAINES; and slew a great number of them at the first charge: and did put the rest in such a feare and disorder, as it is impossible to expresse it. Then was *Minutius* rash braueries and fonde boastes much cooled, when he looked first vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and saw in none of them any courage to tarie by it, but rather that they were all readie to runne away. Which if they had done, they had bene cast away euery man: for the NVMIDIANS finding they were the stronger, did disperse themselues all about the plaine, killing all straglers that fled. *Minutius* souldiers being brought to this daunger and distresse, which *Fabius* foresaw they would fall into, and hauing vpon this occasion his armie readie ranged in order of battell, to see what would become of *Minutius*, not by report of messengers, but with his owne eies: he got him to a litle hill before his campe, where when he saw *Minutius* and all his men compassed about on euery side, and euen staggering and readie to flie, and heard beside their cries not like men that had harts to fight, but as men scared, and readie to flie for feare to saue themselues: he clapped his hande on his thigh, and fetched a great sigh, saying to those that were about him: O goddes, how *Minutius* is gone to cast himselfe away, sooner then I looked for, and later then he desired? But in speaking these words, he made his ensignes march on in haste, crying out loud. O my friends, we must dispatch with speede to succour *Minutius*: for he is a valiant man of person, and one that loueth the honour of his countrie. And though with ouermuch hardines he hath ventred too farre, & made a fault, thinking to haue put the enemies to flight: time serueth not nowe to accuse him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he presently brake

Minutius pride.

Hannibal laid ambush for Minutius.

Fabius foresight in the warre.

Fabius accused of treason by Metellus the Tribune.

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The Dictator and generall of the horsemen made equall in authoritie.

Diogenes words.

hunt before he came to the campe: he departed sodainely out of ROME without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the campe, where he found *Minutius* so proud and stout, that he was not to be delt with. For he would needes haue the authoritie to command the whole armie when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not consent to that, but deuided the one halfe of the armie betweene them: thinking it better he should alone commande the one halfe, then the whole armie by turnes. So he chose for himselfe, the first and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the second and fourth, and deuided also betweene them the aide of their friends. And when *Minutius* made his boast, that the maiestie of the highest magistrate was brought lower for his sake: *Fabius* tolde him that he might thinke, if he were wise, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hannibal*: and if he would needes contend against his companion, yet he should haue a special regarde and consideration, that hauing wonne now the citizens good willes, by whom he was so much honoured, he should haue no lesse care of their health and safetie, then he had, who was now trodden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. *Minutius* tooke his leason, for a counterfeat mocke, after old mens manners & fashion: and so taking the one halfe of the armie vnto him, went and lodged alone by himselfe. *Hannibal* hearing of their iarre and squaring together, sought straight opportunitie to make their discord finely to serue his turne. Now there was a hill betweene both their campes not very harde to be wonne, and it was an excellent place to lodge a campe safely in, and was very fitte and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, did seeme a farre off to be very plaine & euen ground, because they had no couert of wood to shadow them, yet were there many ditches and little vallies in them: wherefore *Hannibal* though he might easily haue taken it at his pleasure if he had listed, did let it alone in the middest betweene them, for a baite to drawe out his enemies to the battell. Now when *Hannibal* saw *Fabius* and *Minutius* lodged a sunder, he placed certaine bandes in the night, among those ditches and vallies. Afterwardes the next morning by breake of day, he sent a small number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this pollicie to traine *Minutius* out to the field, as it fell out in deede. For first *Minutius* sent thither his light horsemen, and afterwardes all his men at armes: and lastly perceiuing that *Hannibal* himselfe came to relieue his men that were vpon the hill, he himselfe marched forward also with all the rest of his armie in order of battell, and gaue a whot charge vpon them that defended the hill, to driue them thence. The fight continued equall a good space betweene them both, vntill such time as *Hannibal* saw his enemie come directly within his danger, and shewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had laide in ambush: he straight raised the signall he had giuen them. They vpon that discouered all together, and with great cries did set vpon the rereward of the ROMAINES; and slew a great number of them at the first charge: and did put the rest in such a feare and disorder, as it is impossible to expresse it. Then was *Minutius* rash braueries and fonde boastes much cooled, when he looked first vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and saw in none of them any courage to tarie by it, but rather that they were all readie to runne away. Which if they had done, they had bene cast away euery man: for the NVMIDIANS finding they were the stronger, did disperse themselues all about the plaine, killing all straglers that fled. *Minutius* saulditers being brought to this daunger and distresse, which *Fabius* foresaw they would fall into, and hauing vpon this occasion his armie readie ranged in order of battell, to see what would become of *Minutius*, not by report of messengers, but with his owne eies: he got him to a litle hill before his campe, where when he saw *Minutius* and all his men compassed about on euery side, and euen staggering and readie to flie, and heard beside their cries not like men that had harts to fight, but as men scared, and readie to flie for feare to saue themselues: he clapped his hande on his thigh, and fetched a great sigh, saying to those that were about him: O Goddes, how *Minutius* is gone to cast himselfe away, sooner then I looked for, and later then he desired? But in speaking these words, he made his ensignes march on in haste, crying out aloud. O my friends, we must dispatch with speede to succour *Minutius*: for he is a valiant man of person, and one that loueth the honour of his countrie. And though with ouermuch hardines he hath ventred too farre, & made a fault, thinking to haue put the enemies to flight: he serueth not nowe to accuse him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he presently brake

Minutius pride.

Hannibal laid ambush for Minutius.

Fabius foresight in the warre.

Fabius rescueth Minutius generall of the horsemen.

the NVMIDES, and dispersed them, that lay waiting in the fields for the ROMAINES, which they thought would haue fled. Afterwards he went further, and did set vppon them that gaue charge vpon the reteward of *Minutius* battell, where he slew them that made head against him. The residue, fearing least they should fall into the daunger they had brought the ROMAINES vnto before, they were enuironned in of all sides, did turne taile straight vnto *Fabius*. Now *Hannibal* seeing his chaunge, and considering how *Fabius* in person, with more courage then his age required, did make a lane in the middest of those that fought against him side of the hill, to come to the place where *Minutius* was: he made the battell to cease, and commaunded to sound the retreate, and so drew backe his men againe into his campe, the ROMAINES being very glad also they might retire with safetie. They say *Hannibal* in his retiring said merrily vnto his friends, haue not I tolde you (Sirs) many a time and oft, of the hailing cloude we saw vpon the toppe of the mountaines, howe it would breake out in the end with a tempest that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, *Fabius* hauing stript those that were left dead in the field, retired againe to his owne campe, & spake not an ill word of *Minutius* companions. *Minutius* then being come to his campe, assembled his souldiers, and spake vnto them. My friends, not to erre at all, enterprising great matters, it is a thing passing mans nature: but to take warning hereafter, by faultes that are past and done, it is the part of a wise and valiant man. For my selfe, I acknowledge I haue no lesse occasion to praise fortune, than I haue also cause to complaine of her. For that which long time could neuer teach me, I haue learned by experience in one little peece of a day: and that is this. That I am not able to commaunde, but am my selfe fitter to be gouerned and commaunded by another: and that I am but a foole to stande in mine owne conceipt, thinking to ouercome those, of whom it is more honour for me to confesse my selfe to be ouercome. Therefore I tell you, that the *Dictator Fabius* henceforth shalbe he, who alone shall commaund you in all things. And to let him know that we doe all acknowledge the fauour which we haue presently receiued at his handes: we will lead you to giue him thankes, and will my selfe be the first man to offer to obey him in all things he shall commaund me. These wordes being spoken, he commaunded his ensigne bearer to follow him, and he him selfe marched formost towards *Fabius* campe. When he came thither he went directly to the *Dictators* tent, whereat euery man wondered, not knowing his intent. *Fabius* came out to meete him. *Minutius* after he had set downe his ensignes at his feete, cried with a loud voice, O father: and his souldiers vnto *Fabius* souldiers, O masters, which name the bondmen that are infranchised, doe vse to them that haue manumissed them. After which euery man being silent, *Minutius* beganne a loud to say vnto him. My lorde *Dictator*, this day you haue wonne two victories. The one of *Hannibal*, whom valiantly you haue ouercome: the second, of my selfe your companion, whom also your wisedome and goodnes haue vanquished. By the one, you haue saued our liues: and by the other, you haue wisely rangfied. So haue we also bene ouercome in two sortes: the one by *Hannibal* to our shame, and the other by your selfe, to our honour and preseruation. And therefore doe I now call you my father, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honour you, acknowledging my selfe more bound vnto you for the present grace and fauour I haue receiued of you, then vnto my naturall father that begot me. For by him onely I was begotten: but by you, mine, and all these honest citizens liues haue bene saued. And hauing spoken these wordes, he embraced *Fabius*: and so did the souldiers also, heartily embracing one another, and kisse one another. Thus the ioy was great through the whole campe, and one was so glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their cheekes for ioy. Now when *Fabius* was afterwardes put out of his office of Dictatorshippe, there were new Consuls chosen: against the two first followed directly *Fabius* former order he had begunne. For they kept themselues from giuing *Hannibal* any battell, and did alwaies sende aide to their subiectes & friendes, to keepe them from rebellion: vntill that *Terentius Varro* (a man of meane birth, but knowen to be very bolde and rash) by flattering of the people, wanne credit among them to be made Consull. Then they thought that he by his rashnesse and lacke of experience, would inconsiderately hazard battell: because he had cried out in all the assemblies before, that the warre would be euerlasting, so long as the people did chuse any of the *Fabians* to be their

The great modestie of Fabius Minutius oration to his souldiers.

The wisedome of Minutius acknowledging his fault.

Minutius wordes to Fabius.

The rashnes of Terentius Varro.

Terentius Varro, Paulus Aemilius Consuls.

metals, and vaunted him selfe openly, that the first day he came to see his enemies, he would ouerthrow them. Imagining out these braue wordes, he assembled such a power, that the ROMANES neuer saw so great a number together, against any enemie that euer they had: for he put into one campe, foure score and eight thousand fighting men. This made *Fabius* and the other ROMAINES, men of great wisedome and iudgement, greatly affraide: because they saw no hope for ROME to rise againe, if it fortuned that they should loose so great a number of goodly youth. Therefore *Fabius* talked with the other Consull, called *Paulus Aemilius*, a man very skilfull and expert in warres, but ill beloued of the common people, whose furie he yet feared, for that they had condemned him a little before to pay a great fine to the treasurie: and after he had somwhat comforted him, he beganne to perswade and encourage him to resist the fond rashnesse of his companion, telling him, that he should haue as much to doe with *Terentius Varro* for the preseruation and safety of his countrie, as to fight with *Hanniball* for defence of the same. For they were both Marshall men, and had alike desire to fight: the one because he knew not wherein the vantage of his strength consisted, and the other because he knewe very well his weaknes. You shall haue reason to beleeue me better, for matters touching *Hanniball*, then *Terentius Varro*. For I dare warrant you, if you kepe *Hannibal* from battell but this yere: he shall of necessitie, if he tarrie, consume himselfe, or els for shame be driuen to flie with his armie. And the rather, because hitherto (though he seeme to be lorde of the field) neuer one yet of his enemies came to take his part: and moreouer because there remaines at this day in his campe not the third part of his armie, he brought with him out of his countrie. Vnto these perswasions, the Consull (as it is reported) answered thus. When I looke into my selfe, my lorde *Fabius*, mee thinkes my best way were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes, then once againe to light into the hands and voices of our citizens. Therefore, sith the estate of the common wealth so requireth it, that it behoueth a man to doe as you haue saide: I will doe my best indeuour to shewe my selfe a wise captaine, for your sake only, rather then for all other that should aduise me to the contrarie. And so *Paulus* departed from ROME with this minde. But *Terentius* his companion would in any case, they should cõmaund the whole armie by turnes, ech his day by himselfe: and went to encampe hard by *Hanniball*, by the riuer of Aufide, neere vnto the village called CANNES. Now when it came to his day to commaund by turnes, early in the morning he caused the signall of battell to be set out, which was a coate armour of skarlet in graine, that they did lay out vpon the pauilion of the generall: so that the enemies at the first sight, beganne to be affeard, to see the lustinesse of this new come generall, and the great number of souldiers he had also in his hoast, in comparison of them that were not halfe so many. Yet *Hannibal* of a good courage, commaunded euery man to arme, and to put them selues in order of battell: and him selfe in the meane time taking his horse backe, followed with a few, gallopped vp to the toppe of a litle hill not very steepe, from whence he might plainely discerne all the ROMAINES campe, and sawe how they did range their men in order of battell. Now one *Giscon* (a man of like state and nobilitie as him selfe) being with him at that time, tolde him, that the enemies seemed a farre off to be a marueilous number. But *Hannibal* rubbing his forehead, aunswered him. Yea, said he, but there is another thing more to be wondred at then you thinke of *Giscon*. *Giscon* straight asked him: What? marie saith he this: that of all the great number of souldiers you see yonder, there is not a man of them called *Giscon* as you are. This merry answere deliuered contrarie to their expectation that were with him, looking for some great waightie matter, made them all laugh a good. So downe the hill they came laughing a loud, and tolde this pretie iest to all they met as they rode, which straight from one to another ranne ouer all the campe, in so much as *Hanniball* himselfe could not holde from laughing. The CARTHAGINIAN souldiers perceiuing this, beganne to be of a good courage, imagining that their generall would not be so merily disposed as to fall a laughing, being so neere daunger, if he had not perceiued him selfe a great deale to be the stronger, and that he had good cause also to make no reckoning of his enemies. Furthermore, he shewed two policies of a skilfull captaine in the battell. The first was, the situation of the place, where he put his men in order of battell, so as they had the winde on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raised a sharpe dust out of

The Romaines campe vnder Terentius Varro, 88000 men.

Fabius counsell to Paulus Aemilius.

Aufidius fl.

Hanniballs stratagemes at the battell of Cannes.

the open sandy vallie, and passing ouer the CARTHAGINIANS squadron, blew full in the ROMAINES faces, with such a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, & to trouble their owne rankes. The second policie was, the forme and order of his battell. For he placed on either side of his winges, the best and valiantest souldiers he had in all his armie: and did fill vp the middest of his battell with the worst of his men, which he made like a point, and was farther out by a great deale, then the two winges of the front of his battell. So he commaunded those of the winges, that when the ROMAINES had broken his first front, and followed those that gaue backe, whereby the middest of his battell should leaue an hollow place, and the enemies should come in still increasing within the compasse of the two winges, that then they should set vpon them on both sides, and charge their flanks immediatly, and so inclose them in behind. And this was cause of a greater slaughter. For when the middle battell beganne to giue backe, and to receiue the ROMAINES within it, who pursued the other very hotly, *Hannibals* battell chaunged her forme: and where at the beginning it was like a point, it became now in the middest like a cressant or halfe moone. Then the captaines of the chosen bandes that lay out in both the winges, made their men to turne, some on the left hand, and some on the right, and charged the ROMAINES on the flankes, and behind, where they were all naked: so they killed all those that could not saue themselues by flying, before they were enuironned. They say also, that there fell out another mischiefe by misfortune, vnto the horsemen of the ROMAINES, and by this occasion. The horse of *Paulus Æmilius* the Consull being hurt, did throwe his master on the ground: whereupon those that were next him did light from their horse backes to helpe him. The residue of the horsemen that were a great way behinde him, seeing them light, thought they had bene all commaunded to light: and so upon euery man forsooke their horse, and fought it out a foote. *Hannibal* when he saw them, said: yea marie, I had rather haue them so, then deliuered me bound hand and foote. But in those matters, the historiographers doe dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Consuls, *Varro* saued himselfe by his horse, with a fewe following him, within the citie of VENVSA. *Paulus* being in the middest of the throng of all the armie, his bodie full of arrowes that stucke fast in his woundes, and his heart sore loden with grieuous sorrowe and anguish to see the ouerthrow of his men: was set downe by a rocke, looking for some of his enemies to come and rid him out of his paine. But fewe could knowe him, his head and face was so all such a gore bloud: insomuch as his friendes and seruantes also passed by him, and knewe him not. And there was but one young gentleman of a noble house, of the *Patricians*, called *Cornelius Lentulus*, that knew him, who did his best endeuour to saue him. For he lighted a foote presently, & brought him his horse, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could saue him selfe for the necessitie of his countrie, which now more then euer had neede of a good and wise captaine. But he refused the gentlemans offer and his intreatie, and compelled him to take his horse backe againe, though the teares ranne downe his cheekes for pittie: and raising himselfe vp to take him by the hand, he saide vnto him. I pray you tell *Fabius Maximus* from me, and witnesse with me, that *Paulus Æmilius* euen to his last houre hath followed his counsell, and did neuer swarue from the promise he made him: but that first he was forced to it by *Varro* and afterwards by *Hannibal*. When he had deliuered these words, he bad *Lentulus* farewell: and running againe into the furie of the slaughter, there he died among his slaine companions. It is thought there were slaine at this battell, fiftie thousand ROMAINES, and foure thousand taken prisoners: and other ten thousand that were taken prisoners in two campes after the battell. When this noble victorie was gotten, *Hannibals* friends gaue him counsell to follow his good fortune: and to enter ROME after the scattered number that fled thither: so as within fewe daies following he might suppe in their capitoll. A man cannot easily gesse what was the cause that stayed him, that he went not, vnlesse it was (as I thinke) some good fortune, or fauourable God toward the ROMAINES that withstood him, & made him afeard and glad to retire. Whereupon they say, that one *Barca* a CARTHAGINIAN, in his anger said to *Hannibal*: Sir, you haue the way to ouercome, but you cannot vse victorie. Notwithstanding, this victorie made a maruellous chaunge for him. For hereupon, all ITALY in manner came in to submit them selues to him: where before he had no towne at commaun-

Hannibals order of battell at Cannæ.

The slaughter of the Romains at the battell of Cannes.

Paulus Æmilius slaine at the battell of Cannes.

50000. Romaines slaine at the battell of Cannes.

All Italy reuolted and submitted themselues to Hannibal.

commaundement, nor any ſtorehouſe or port through all ITALY, yea hee did maruellous hardly, and with much a doe vittell his army with that he could daily robbe and ſpoile, hauing no certaine place to retire vnto, nor grounded hope to entertaine theſe warres, but kept the field with his army, remouing from place to place, as they had bene a great mũber of murderers and theeues together. For the moſt part of the country, did yeeld immediatly vnto him: as the city of CAPVA, being the chiefeſt and greateſt city of all ITALY but ROME, and did receiue *Hannibal*, and were at his deuotion. Thus we may plainely ſee, that as the poet *Euripides* ſaieth: it is a great miſchiefe not onely to be driuen to make triall of friends, but proofe alſo of captaines wiſdome. For that which before they acounted cowardlineſſe and faint heart in *Fabius*, immediatly after the battell, they thought it more then mans reaſon, and rather a heauenly wiſdome and influence, that ſo long foreſaw the thinges to come, which the parties ſelues that afterwardes felt them, gaue litle credite vnto before. Vpon this occaſion, ROME repoſed incontinently all their hope and truſt in *Fabius*, and they repaired to him for counſell, as they would haue run vnto ſome temple or altar for ſanctuary. So as the firſt and chiefeſt cauſe of ſtaying the people together from diſperſing themſelues abroade, as they did when ROME was taken by the GAVLES: was the onely opinion and confidence they had in *Fabius* wiſedome. For where before he ſeemed to be a coward, and timerous, when there was no danger nor misfortune happened: then when euery man wept and cried out for ſorrow, which could not helpe, and that all the world was ſo troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone vp and downe the city very modeſtly, with a bold conſtant countenaunce, ſpeaking curteouſly to euery one, and did appeaſe their womaniſh cries and lamentations, and did forbid the common aſſemblies and fond ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corſe at their burials. Then he perſwaded the Senat to aſſemble in counſell, and did comfort vp thoſe that were magiſtrates, and hee alone was the onely force and power of the city: for there was not a man that bare any office, but did caſt his eye vppon *Fabius*, to know what he ſhould do. He it was that cauſed the gates of the city ſtraight to be warded, and to keepe thoſe in for going their waie, that would haue forſaken the citie. Hee moreouer did appoint the time and place of mourning, and did commaund whoſoeuer was diſpoſed to mourne, that he ſhould doe it priuately in his owne houſe, and to continue onely but thirty daies. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, and that the city might be cleane from ſuch vnclean things. So the feaſt of *Ceres* falling about that time, he thought it better to leaue off the ſacrifices and proceſſion they were wont to keepe on *Ceres* day: then by their ſmall number that were left, and ſorrow of thoſe that remained, to let their enemies vnderſtand their exceeding great loſſe. For the goddes delight to be ſerued with glad and reioyſing hearts, and with thoſe that are in proſperity. But all this notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer the prieſts would haue done, either to pacifie the wrath of the goddes, or to turne away the threatninges of theſe iniſter ſignes, it was forthwith done. For they did ſend to the oracle of *Apollo*, in the citie of DELPHES, one of *Fabius* kinſemen ſurnamed *Pictor*. And two of the *Veſtall Nuns* being defloured: the one was buried aliue according to the law and cuſtome, and the other made her ſelfe away. But herein the great courage and noble clemency of the ROMAINES, is maruellouſly to be noted and regarded. For the Conſull *Terentius Varro* returning backe to ROME, with the ſhame of his extreame misfortune and ouerthrow, that he durſt not looke vpon any man: the Senate notwithſtanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the citie to meete him, and did honorably receiue him. Nay furthermore, thoſe that were the chiefe magiſtrates and Senators, among whom *Fabius* was one, when ſilence was made, they commended *Varro* much: becauſe he did not deſpaire of the preſeruation of the common weale after ſo great a calamitie, but did returne againe to the citie, to helpe to reduce things to order, in vſing the authoritie of the law, and the ſeruice of the citizens, as not being altogether vnder foote, but ſtanding yet in reaſonable termes of good recouerie. But when they vnderſtoode that *Hannibal* after the battell was gone into other partes of ITALIE: then they beganne to be of good cheere againe, and ſent a new army and generalles to the field, among which, the two chiefe generals were, *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, both which by contrary meanes in manner, wanne a like glorie and reputation. For *Marcellus* (as we haue declared in his life, was a man

Fabius conſtancy after the ouerthrow at Cannes.

Fabius order for mourning.

The magnanimity of the Romaines after the ouerthrow at Cannes.

Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus generalles.

of ſpeedy execution, of a quicke hand, of a valiant nature, and a right martiall man, as Homer calleth them, that valiauntly put themſelues in any daunger: by reaſon whereof, hauing to deale with another captaine a like venturous and valiaunt as himſelfe, in all ſeruice and exec-tion, he ſhewed the ſelfe boldneſſe and courage that *Hannibal* did. But *Fabius* perſiſting ſtil vppon his firſt determination, did hope that though he did not fight with *Hanniball*, not ha him at all, yet continuall warres would conſume him and his army in the end, and bring the both to naught: as a common wreſtler that forceth his body aboue his naturall ſtrengt doth in the end become a lame and bruſed man. Hereupon *Poſſidonius* writeth, that the on was called the ROMAINES ſword, and the other their target. And that *Fabius* conſtancy a reſoluteneſſe in warres to fight with ſecurity, and to commit nothing to hazard and daunge being mingled with *Marcellus* heate and fury: was that onely, which preſerued the R MAINS empire. For *Hanniball* meeting alwaies in his way the one that was furious, as a ſtron running ſtreame, found that his army was continually turmoyled and ouerharried: and th ther that was ſlow as a litle prety riuer, he found that his army ranne ſoftly vnder him wit out any noiſe, but yet continually by litle and litle it did ſtill conſume and diminiſh him, vn he ſaw him ſelfe at the laſt brought to that paſſe, that he was weary with fighting with *Mar cellus*, and affraide of *Fabius* becauſe he fought not. For during all the time of theſe warres had euer theſe two captaines almoſt againſt him, which were made either Prætors, Conſu or Proconſuls: for either of them both had bene fiue times before choſen Conſull. Yet as *Marcellus*: *Hanniball* had laide and ambuſh for him in the fift and laſt yeare of his Conſ ſhippe, where he ſet vppon him on a ſodaine, and ſlue him. But as for *Fabius*, he laide ma baites for him, and did what he could by all the skill and reach he had, by ambuſhes, and o ther warlike policies to entrappe him: but he could neuer draw him within his daunger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a litle trouble, and was in good hope then to haue ma him fall vppon his ambuſh he had laide for him: and by this policy. He had counterfey letters written and ſent vnto him from the city of METAPONT, to pray him to come them, and they would deliuer their city into his handes: and withall, that ſuch as were pri to the contents of the ſame, deſired no other thing but his repaire thither. Theſe letters p tily quickned *Fabius*, inſomuch as he was determined one night to haue taken part of his my, and to haue gone to them. But becauſe the ſignes of the birdes did promiſe him no go ſucceſſe, he left off his purpoſe. Soone after he vnderſtoode they were counterfaite letter made by *Hannibals* fine deuiſe to haue drawn him out, and to haue entrapped him, for whom him ſelfe lay in perſon in ambuſh neare the citie, looking and waiting for his comming but the goddes who would haue him ſaued, were onely to be thanked for his happy ſcape. Furthermore, concerning the reuolt of the cities that were ſubiect vnto them, and the ſtr of their allies and friends againſt them: *Fabius* thought it far better to intreat them e utteruo making them aſhamed without occaſion to rebell againſt them, rather then openly to ſuſpe them, and to deale ſtraightly with thoſe that were ſo to be ſuſpected. Now for this matter, is reported that *Fabius* had a ſouldier in his campe that was a MARSIAN borne by nation, valiaunt man of his perſon, and alſo of as noble a houſe, as any that were of all the allies of t ROMAINES: who had practiſed with other his fellowes of the band he ſerued in, to go ſer the enemy. *Fabius* hearing of this practiſe he went about, gaue him no ill countenaunce f it, but calling him to him, he ſaide. I muſt confeſſe there is no reckoning made of you, as yo good ſeruice doth deſerue: wherefore for this time (ſaieth he) I blame the pety captaines on ly, which in ſuch ſort doe beſtow their good will and fauour at aduenture, and not by d ſert. But henceforth it ſhall be your owne fault if you doe not declare your mind vnto m and betweene you and me make me priuy of your lacke and neceſſity. When he had ſpoke theſe wordes to him, he gaue him a very good horſe for ſeruice, and did reward him with o ther honorable giftes, as men of good ſeruice and deſert haue commonly beſtowed on the and this did ſo encourage the ſouldier thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and ſe uiceable ſouldier to the ROMAINES. For *Fabius* thought it more fit, that hunters, riders horſes, and ſuch like as take vppon them to tame brute beaſts, ſhould ſooner make them lea their ſauage and churliſh nature by gentle vſage and manning of them: then by beating, a

Poſſidonius words of Fabius and Marcellus.

Marcellus ſlaine by an ambuſhe of Hannibals.

Hannibals ambuſhe laide for Fabius.

Fabius lenity in correcting of faultes.

Note how Fabius reclaimed an euill ſouldier.

shackling of them. And so a gouernour of men, should rather correct his souldier by patience, gentlenes, and clemency: then by rigour, violence, or seuerity. Otherwise he should handle them more rudely, and sharpely, then husbandmen doe figge trees, oliue trees, & wilde pomegarnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, doe alter their hard and wilde nature, and cause them in the end to bring forth good figs, oliues and pomegarnets. Another time certaine captaines of his brought him word, that there was one of their souldiers which would euer goe out of the campe, and leaue his ensigne. He asked them, what manner of man he was. They aunswered him all together, that he was a very good souldier, and that they could hardly finde out such another, in all their bandes as he: and therewithall they told him of some notable seruice they had seene him doe in person. Whereupon *Fabius* made a diligent enquiry to know what the cause was that made him goe so ofte out of the campe: in the end, he found he was in loue with a young woman, and that to goe see her was the cause he did so oft leaue his ensigne, and did put his life in so great daunger, for that she was so farre off. When *Fabius* vnderstood this, he sent certaine souldiers (vnknowing to the souldier) to bring the woman away he loued, and willed them to hide her in his tent, and then called hee the souldier to him, that was a LVCANIAN borne, and taking him a side, sayd vnto him thus. My friend, it hath bene told me, how thou hast lyen many nightes out of the campe, against the law of armes, and order of the ROMAINES, but therewithall I vnderstand also that otherwise thou art an honest man, and therefore I pardon thy faultes past, in consideration of thy good seruice: but from henceforth I will giue thee in custody to such a one, as shall make me accompt of thee. The souldier was blancke when he heard these wordes. *Fabius* with that, caused the woman he was in loue with to be brought forth, and deliuered her into his hands, saying vnto him. This woman hereafter shall aunswer me thy body to be forth comming in the campe amongest vs: and from henceforth thy deedes shall witnesse for the rest, that thy loue vnto this woman, may be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked practise or intent. Thus much we finde written concerning this matter. Moreouer, *Fabius* after such a sort, recouered againe the city of TARENTVM, and brought it to the obedience of the ROMAINES, which they had lost by treason. It fortuned there was a young man in his campe, a TARENTINE borne, that had a sister within TARENTVM, which was very faithfull to him, and loued him marrellous dearely: now there was a captaine, a BRVTIAN borne, that fell in loue with her, and was one of those to whom *Hannibal* had committed the charge of the city of TARENTVM. This gaue the young souldier the TARENTINE, very good hope, and way, to bring his enterprise to good effect: whereupon he reuealed his intent to *Fabius*, and with his priuity fled from his campe, and got into the city of TARENTVM, giuing it out in the city, that he would altogether dwell with his sister. Now for a few dayes at his first comming, the BRVTIAN captaine lay alone by him selfe, at the request of the maide his sister, who thought her brother had not knowen of her loue: and shortly after the young fellowe spoke his sister a side, and saide vnto her. My good sister, there was a great speach in the ROMAINES campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefest captaines of the garrison: I pray thee if it be so, let me know what he is. For so he be a good fellow, and an honest man (as they say he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all thinges topsi turuey, regardeth not of what place or calling he is of, and still maketh vertue of necessity, without respect of shame. And it is a speciall good fortune, at such time as neither right nor reason rules, to happen yet into the hands of a good and gracious Lord. His sister hearing him speake these wordes, sent for the BRVTIAN captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both their loues, and indeuoured himselfe to frame his sisters loue in better sort towards him, then it was before: by reason whereof, the captaine also beganne to trust him very much. So this young TARENTINE saw it was very easie to winne and turne the minde of this amarous and mercenary man, with hope of great gifts that were promised him, and *Fabius* should performe. Thus doe the most part of writers set downe this storie. Howbeit some writers say, that this woman who was the BRVTIAN captaine, was not a TARENTINE, but a BRVTIAN borne, whom *Fabius* it is sayd, kept afterwards for his concubine: and that shee vnderstanding the captaine of the BRVTIANS (who laie in garrison within the city of TARENTVM) was

Necessity rules for a souldiar.

How Fabius winne Tarentum againe.

Tarentum won by a womans meanes.

also a BRVTIAN borne, and of her owne native countrey, made *Fabius* priuy to her intent, and with his consent, she comming to the wals of the city, spake with this BRVTIAN captaine, whom she handled in such sort, that shee wanne him. But whilest this geare was a brewing, *Fabius*, because he would traine *Hannibal* out of those quarters, wrote vnto the souldiers of RHEGIO: which belonged to the ROMAINES, that they should enter the borders of the BRVTIANS, and lay siege to the city of CAVLONIA, and raze it to the ground. These RHEGIAN souldiers were about the number of eight thousand, and the most of them traytours, and runneagates, from one campe to another: and the worst sort of them, and most defamed of life, were those that *Marcellus* brought thither out of SICILE, so that in losing them all, the losse were nothing to the common weale, and the sorrow much lesse. So *Fabius* thought, that putting these fellowes out for a pray to *Hannibal* (as a stale to draw him from those quarters) he should plucke him by this meanes from TARENTVM: and so it came to passe. For *Hannibal* incontinently went thence with his army to intrappe them: and in the meane time *Fabius* went to lay siege to TARENTVM, where he had not lien sixe daies before it, but the young man (who together with his sister had drawen the BRVTIAN captaine to this treason) stale out one night to *Fabius*, to enforme him of all, hauing taken very good markes of the side of the wall the BRVTIAN captaine had taken charge of, who had promised him to keepe it secret, and to suffer them to enter, that came to assault that side. Yet *Fabius* would not ground his hope altogether vpon the BRVTIANS executing this treason, but went himselfe in person to view the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time: and in the meane season, he gaue a generall assault to all partes of the city (as well by sea as by land) with great shoutes and cries. Then the BRVTIAN captaine seeing all the citizens and garrison run to that part, where they perceiued the noise to be greatest: made a signall vnto *Fabius*, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought a pace, whereupon himselfe with his company scaled the walles, and so wanne the city. But it appeareth here, that ambition ouercame him. For first he commaunded they should kill all the BRVTIANS, because it should not be knowen he had wonne the city by treason. But this bloudy policy failed him: for he missed not only of the glory he looked for, but most deseruedly he had the reproche of cruelty and falsehood.

Fabius tooke the citie of Tarentum.

Fabius ambition cause of foule murder.

At the taking of this city, a marueilous number of the TARENTINES were slaine, besides there were sold thirty thousand of the chiefest of them, and all the city was sacked: and of the spoile thereof was caried to the common store treasure at ROME, three thousand talents. It is reported also, that when they did spoile and carie away all other spoiles behinde, the recorder of the city asked *Fabius*, what his pleasure was to doe with the goddes meaning the tables, and their images: and to that *Fabius* aunswered him. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their goddes that be angry with them. This notwithstanding, he caried from thence *Hercules* statue, that was of a monstrous bignesse, and caused it to be set vp in the Capitoll, and withall did set vp his owne image in brasse a horse backe by him. But in that he shewed himselfe farre harder hearted, then *Marcellus* had done, or to say more truely, then by he made the world know how much *Marcellus* curtesie, clemency, and bounty was to be wondred at: as we haue written in his life. Newes being brought to *Hannibal*, that TARENTVM was besieged, he marched presently with all speede possible to raise the siege: and they he had almost come in time, for he was within 40. furlongs of the city when he vnderstood the troth of the taking of it. Then sayd he out aloud, sure the ROMAINES haue their *Hannibal* to, for as we wanne TARENTVM, so haue we lost it. But after that, to his friends he priuately (and that was the first time they euer heard him speake it) that he saw long before and now appeared plainely, that they could not possibly with this small power keepe it.

Fabius made his triumphe and entry into ROME the second time, by reason of taking this city and his second triumph was much more honorable then the first, as of a valiant captaine that held out still with *Hannibal*, and easely met with all his fine policies, much like the slight tricks of a cunning wrestler, which caried not now the former roughnes & strength any more because that his army was giuen to take their ease, and growen too delicate, partly through the great riches they had gotten, and partly also for that it was sore wasted and diminished through the sundry foughten battelles and blowes they had beene at. Now there was

Fabius second triumph.

Mar

Marcus Liuius a ROMAINE, that was gouernour of TARENTVM at that time, when *Hannibal* tooke it, and neuertheleſſe kept the caſtell ſtill out of *Hannibals* hands, and ſo held it vntill the citie came againe into the hands of the ROMAINES. This *Liuius* ſpighted to ſee ſuch honour done to *Fabius*, ſo that one day in open Senate, being drowned with enuie and ambition, he burſt out and ſaid: that it was himſelfe, not *Fabius*, that was cauſe of taking of the citie of TARENTVM againe. *Fabius* ſmiling to heare him, anſwered him openly: indeed thou ſaieſt true, for if thou hadſt not loſt it, I had neuer wonne it againe. But the ROMAINES in all other reſpects did greatly honour *Fabius*, and ſpecially for that they choſe his ſonne Conſul. He hauing alreadie taken poſſeſſion of his office, as he was diſpatching certaine cauſes touching the warres, his father (whether it was for debilitie of his age, or to prooue his ſonne) tooke his horſe to come to him, and rode through the preaſe of the people that thronged about him, hauing buſineſſe with him. But his ſonne ſeeing him comming a farre off, would not ſuffer it, but ſent an officer of his vnto him, to commaund him to light off his horſe, and to come a foote if he had any thing to do with the Conſull. This commaundement miſliked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon *Fabius*, but ſaid not a word: thinking with themſelues, that the Conſull did great wrong to his fathers greatneſſe. So he lighted ſtraight, and went a good round pace to embrace his ſonne, and ſaid vnto him. You haue reaſon ſonne, and do well to ſhewe ouer whom you commaund, vnderſtanding the authoritie of a Conſull, which place you haue receiued. For it is the direct courſe, by the which we and our anceſters haue increaſed the ROMAINE empire: preferring euer the honour and ſtate of our countrie, aboue father, mother, or children. And truly they ſay, that *Fabius* great grandfather being the greateſt and moſt noble perſon of ROME in his time, hauing fiue times bene Conſull, and had obtained manie triumphes, for diuerſe honourable and ſundrie victories he had wonne: was contented after all theſe, to be his ſonnes lieutenant, and to go to the warres with him, he being choſen Conſull. And laſt of all, the Conſull his ſonne returning home to ROME a conqueror, in his triumphing chariot drawne with foure horſes, he followed him a horſe backe alſo, in troope with the reſt: thinking it honour to him, that hauing authoritie ouer his ſonne in the right of a father, and being alſo the nobleſt man of all the citizens, ſo taken and reputed, neuertheleſſe he willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to the lawe and magiſtrate, who had authoritie of him. Yet beſides all this, he had farre more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then thoſe alreadie ſpoken of. But it fortuned that this ſonne of *Fabius* died before him, whoſe death he tooke patiently, like a wiſe man, and a good father. Now the cuſtome being at that time, that at the death of a noble man, their neereſt kinſeman ſhould make a funerall oration in their praiſe at their obſequies: he himſelfe made the ſame oration in honour of his ſonne, and did openly ſpeake it in the market place, and moreouer wrote it, and deliuered it out abroad. About this time, *Cornelius Scipio* was ſent into SPAINE, who draue out the CARTHAGINIANS from thence, after he had ouerthrowne them in many battels, and had conquered many great cities, and greatly aduanced the honour and eſtimation of the ſtate of ROME: for the which at his returne, he was aſmuch, or rather more honoured, beloued and eſteemed, then any other that was in the citie of ROME. Hereupon *Scipio* being made Conſull, conſidered that the people of ROME looked for ſome great matter at his hands, aboue all other. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight againſt *Hannibal* in ITALIE, he ſhould but follow the olde manner, and treade too much in the ſteps of the olde man: whereupon he reſolued immediatly to make warres in AFRICKE, and to burne and deſtroy the countrie euen vnto CARTHAGE gates, and ſo to transfer the warres out of ITALIE into LIBYA, procuring by all poſſible deuiſe he could, to put it into the peoples heads, and to make them like of it. But *Fabius* contrarilie, perſwading himſelfe that the enterpriſe this young raſhe youthe tooke in hand, was vtterly to ouerthrowe the commonweale, or to put the ſtate of ROME in great danger: deuiſed to put ROME in the greateſt feare he could poſsible, without ſparing ſpeech or deede he thought might ſerue for his purpoſe, to make the people change from that minde. Now he could ſo cunningly worke his purpoſe, what with ſpeaking and doing, that he had drawne all the Senate to his opinion. But the people iudged, it was the ſecret enuie he bare to *Scipioes* glorie, that drue him to encounter this deuiſe, onely to bleamiſh *Scipioes* noble

Fabius wittie anſwer.

A ſtrange commandement of the ſonne to the father.

The father obeyeth his ſonnes authoritie and commendeth him.

Scipio Conſull.

Fabius was againſt the counſell and deuiſe of Scipio African.

fortune, fearing, leaſt if he ſhould happen to do ſome honourable ſeruice (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwiſe to drawe *Hanniball* out of ITALIE) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bene too ſoft, or too negligent, to draw this warre out to ſuch length. For my part, me thinkes the onely matter that mooued *Fabius* from the beginning to be againſt *Scipio*, was the great care he had of the ſafetie of the commonweale, by reaſon of the great danger depending vpon ſuch a reſolution. And yet I do thinke alſo, that afterwards he went further then he ſhould, contending too ſore againſt him (whether it was through ambition or obſtinacie) ſeeking to hinder and ſuppreſſe the greatneſſe of *Scipio*: conſidering alſo he did his beſt to perſwade *Craſſus*, *Scipioes* companion in the Conſulſhip, that he ſhould not graunt vnto him the leading of the armie, but if he thought good to go into AFRICKE to make warres vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that he ſhould rather go himſelfe. And moreouer, he was the let that they gaue him no money for maintenance of theſe warres, *Scipio* hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furniſh himſelfe as he could: he leauied great ſummes of money in the cities of THVSCAN, who for the great loue they bare him made contribution towards his iourney. And *Craſſus* remained at home, both becauſe he was a ſoft and no ambitious, nor contentious man of nature: as alſo, becauſe he was the chiefe Prelate and high biſhop, who by the lawe of their religion, was conſtrained to keepe ROME.

Craſſus, high biſhop of Rome.

Fabius ſeeing his labour loſt that way, tooke againe another courſe to croſſe *Scipio*, deuiſing to ſtay the young men at home, that had great deſire to go this iourney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all aſſemblies of the Senate and people, that *Scipio* was not contented onely to flie *Hanniball*, but that he would carie with him beſides the whole force of ITALIE that remained: alluring the youth with ſweete baites of vaine hope, and perſwading them to leaue their wiues, their fathers, mothers, and their countrey, euen now when their enemie knocked at ROME gates, who did euer conquer, and was yet neuer conquered. Theſe words of *Fabius* did ſo dampe the ROMAINES, that they appointed *Scipio* ſhould furniſh his iourney onely with the armie that was in SICILIA, ſauing that he might ſupply to them if he would three hundred of the beſt ſouldiers that had ſerued him faithfully in SPAINE. And ſo it doth appeare euen to this preſent, that *Fabius* both did and ſaid all things, according to his worne manner, and naturall diſpoſition. Now *Scipio* was no ſooner arriued in AFRICKE, but newes were brought to ROME incontinently, of wonderfull exploits, and noble ſeruice done beyond meaſure: and of great ſpoiles taken by him, which argued the trothe of the newes. As, the king of the NVMIDIANS taken priſoner, two campes of the enemies burnt and deſtroyed at a time, with loſſe of a great number of people, armour, and horſes, that were conſumed in the ſame: letters and poſtes for hſe running in the neck one of another from CARTHAGE to *Hanniball* home, and to pray him to hunt no longer after vaine hope that would neuer haue end, haſting himſelfe with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the reſcue of his countrie. The wonderfull great fortunes of *Scipio*, made him of ſuch renowme and fame within ROME that there was no talke but of *Scipio*. *Fabius* notwithſtanding deſiſted not to make a new queſt, being of opinion they ſhould ſend him a ſucceſſour, alledging no other cauſe nor reaſon but a common ſpeeche of euery bodie: that it was a dangerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, ſo great exceeding proſperitie and good ſucceſſe, becauſe it is a rare matter to ſee one man happie in all things. Theſe words did ſo much miſlike the people, that they thought him an enuious troubleſome man, or elſe they thought his age had made him fearefull: and that his courage failed with his ſtrength, fearing *Hanniball* more doubtfully than he needed. For nowe though *Hanniball* was forced to leaue ITALIE, and to returne into AFRICKE, yet *Fabius* would not graunt, that the peoples ioy and ſecuritie they thought they were in, was altogether cleare, and without feare and miſtruſt: but gaue it out that they were in greateſt danger, and that the commonweale was breeding more miſchiefe now, then before. For when *Hanniball* (ſaid he) ſhall returne home into AFRICKE, and come before CARTHAGE walles, the ROMAINES ſhall be leſſe able to abide him than they haue bene before: and *Scipio* moreouer, ſhall meete with an armie yet warme, and embrued with the bloud of ſo many Prætors, Dictators, and Conſuls of ROME, which they haue ouercome, and put to the ſword in ITALIE. With theſe vncomfortable ſpeeches, he

The famous actes done in Africke by Scipio Africanus.

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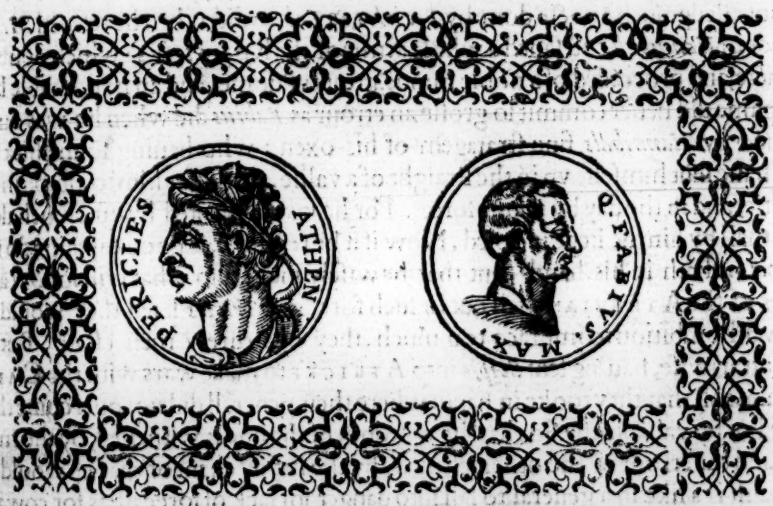
troubled and disquieted the whole citie, perswading them that notwithstanding the warre was transferred out of ITALIE into AFRICK, yet that the occasion of feare was no lesse neere vnto ROME, then it was euer before. But within short space after, *Scipio* hauing ouercome *Hanniball* in plaine battell in the field, and troden vnder foote the glory and pride of CARTHAGE, he brought a greater ioy to ROME, then they euer looked for: and by this noble victorie of his, he shored vp againe the declining state of the empire of ROME, which a litle before was falling downe right. Howbeit *Fabius* liued not to the end of this warre, nor euer heard while he liued the ioyfull newes of *Hannibals* happy ouerthrow, neither were his yeres prolonged to see the happy assured prosperitie of his countrie: for about that time that *Hanniball* departed out of ITALIE, a sickenesse tooke him, whereof he died. The stories declare, that the THEBANS buried *Epaminondas*, at the common charges of the people: because he died in so great pouertie, that when he was dead, they found nothing in the house but a litle iron spit. Now the ROMAINES buried not *Fabius* so, at the common charge of the citie, but euery man of beneuolence gaue towards his funerall charges, a peece of coine that caried the least value of their currant money: not for that he lacked abilitie to bring him to the ground, but onely to honour his memory: in making his obsequies at their charges, as of one that had bene their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honourable end and butiall.

The death of Fabius Max.

The funerals of Epaminondas.

THE COMPARISON OF *Pericles with Fabius.*



HERE haue you heard what is written, of these two great persons. And forasmuch as they haue both left behinde them, many noble examples of vertue, aswel in martiall matters, as in ciuil gouernment, let vs begin to compare them together. First of all, *Pericles* began to gouerne the commonweale, at what time the people of ATHENS were in their chiefest prosperitie, and of greater power and wealth, then euer they had bene of before or since. The which might seeme to be a cause of the continuall maintenance of the same in securitie without danger of falling, not so much for their worthinesse, as for their common power and felicitie: where contrariwise *Fabius* acts fell out in the most dishonorable & vnfortunate time, that euer happened to his countrie, in the which he did not only keepe the citie in good state from declining, but raised it vp, and deliuered it from calamitie, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, *Cimons* great good fortune and successe, the victories and triumphes of *Myronides*, and of *Leocrates*, and many notable valiant deedes of armes of *Tolmides*, gaue good cause to *Pericles*, to entertaine his citie in feasts, and

playes, whileſt he did gouerne the ſame: and he did not finde it in ſuch ill caſe and diſtreſſe, that he was driuen to defend it by force of armes, or to conquer that againe which he had loſt. But *Fabius* in contrary manner, when he ſaw before him many ouerthrowes, great flying away, much murther, great ſlaughters of the generals of the ROMAINE armies, the lakes, the plaines, the woods filled with ſcattered men, the people ouercome, the flouds and riuers running all a gore bloud (by reaſon of the great ſlaughter) and the ſtreame carying downe the dead bodies to the maine ſea: did take in hande the gouernment of his countrie, and a courſe farre contrarie to all other: ſo as he did vnderproppe and ſhore vp the ſame, that he kept it from flat falling to the ground, amongeſt thoſe ruines and ouerthrowes other had brought it too, before him. Yet a man may ſay alſo, that it is no great matter of difficultie to rule a citie already brought lowe by aduerſitie, and which compelled by neceſſitie, is contented to be gouerned by a wiſe man: as it is to bridle and keepe vnder the inſolencie of a people, puft vp with pride, and preſumption of long proſperitie, as *Pericles* found it amongſt the ATHENIANS. The great multitude alſo of ſo many grieuous calamities, as lighted on the ROMAINES neckes at that time, did plainely ſhew *Fabius* to be a graue and a conſtant man, which would neuer giue way vnto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could euer be remooued from that he had at the firſt determined. The winning and recouering againe of TARENTVM, may well be compared to the taking of SAMOS, which *Pericles* wan by force: and the cities of CAMPANIA, vnto the Ile of EVBOEA: excepting the citie of CAPVA, which the Conſuls *Fuluius* and *Appius* recouered againe. But it ſeemeth that *Fabius* neuer wanne battell, ſaue that onely for which he triumphed the firſt time: where *Pericles* ſet vp nine triumphes, of battels and victories he had wonne, aſwell by ſea as by land. And ſo alſo, they cannot alledge ſuch an acte done by *Pericles*, as *Fabius* did, when he reſcued *Minutius* out of the hands of *Hannibal*, and ſaued a whole armie of the ROMAINES: which doubtleſſe was a famous acte, and proceeded of a noble minde, great wiſdome, and an honourable heart. But *Pericles*, againe did neuer commit ſo groſſe an errour as *Fabius* did when he was outreached and deceiued by *Hannibals* fine ſtratagem of his oxen: who hauing found his enemie by chance to haue ſhut himſelfe vp in the ſtraight of a vallie, did ſuffer him to eſcape in the night by a ſubtiltie, and in the day by plaine force. For he was preuented by ouermuch delaye, and fought withall by him he kept incloſed. Now if it be requiſite, a good captaine do not onely vſe well that he hath in his hands, but that he wiſely iudge alſo what will follow after, then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in ſuch ſort, as *Pericles* ſaied they would come to paſſe: for with ambition to imbrace too much, they ouerthrew their eſtate. But the ROMAINS contrariwiſe, hauing ſent *Scipio* into AFRICKE to make wars with the CARTHAGINIANS, wanne all that they tooke in hand: where their generall did not ouercome the enemie by fortune, but by valiantneſſe. So that the wiſedom of the one is witneſſed, by the ruine of his countrie: and the errour of the other teſtified, by the happy euent of that he would haue left.

The gift of a good generall.

Now the fault is a like in a general, to fall into danger, for lack of forecaſt: as for cowardlineſſe to let ſlip a fit opportunitie offred, to do any notable peece of ſeruice. For like default and lack of experience, maketh the one too hardie, and the other too fearfull. And thus much touching the warres. Now for ciuill gouernement: it was a foule blot to *Pericles*, to be the author of warres. For it is thought, that he alone was the cauſe of the ſame, for that he would not haue them yeeld to the LACEDÆMONIANS in any reſpect. And yet me thinkes *Fabius Maximus* alſo would no more giue place vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, but ſtood firme and bold in the danger, to maintaine the empire of his countrie againſt them. But the good nature and clemencie *Fabius* ſhewed vnto *Minutius*, doth much condemne *Pericles* acculations and practiſes againſt *Cimon* and *Thucydides*: both of them being noble and good men, and taking part with the Nobilitie, whom he expulſed out of ATHENS, and baniſhed for a time. So was *Pericles* power & authoritie in the commonweale greater: by reaſon whereof he did euer foreſee, that no generall in all his time did raſhly attempt any thing hurtful vnto the commonweale, except *Tolmides* only: who fled from him, & in deſpight of him went to fight with the BOEOTIANS where he was ſlaine. As for all other generals, they wholly put themſelues into his hands, and did obey him for the greatneſſe of his authoritie. But *Fabius*, although for his part he neuer commit-

The faults of generals.

The compariſon betwixt Pericles and Fabius for ciuil gouernment.

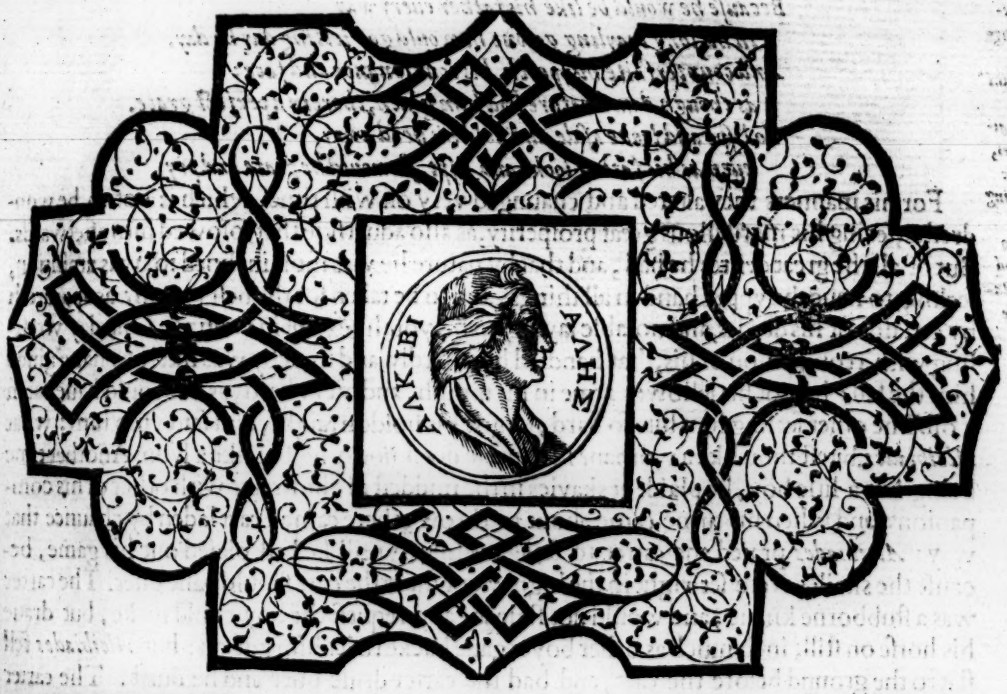
committed any fault, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernement: yet because he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was defectiue. For if *Fabius* had caried like authoritie in ROME, as *Pericles* did in ATHENS: the ROMAINES had not fallen into so great miserie as they did. And for liberalitie: the one shewed it, in refusing the money offred him: and the other, in giuing vnto those that needed, and redeeming his poore captiue country men. And yet *Fabius* might dispend no great reuenue for his whole receiptes came only to sixe talents. But for *Pericles*, it is hard to say how rich he was, who had comming in to him, great presents by his authoritie, aswell of the subiects, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as also of Kings and straunge Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any person liuing. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of temples, the stately workes and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that euer were in ROME, before the times of the *Cæsars*, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith *Pericles* did beautifie and adorne the citie of ATHENS. For neither in qualitie nor quantitie was there any proportion or like comparison, betweene the exceeding sumptuousnes of the one, and of the other.

Fabius reuenue.

The buildings of Rome nothing comparable to Pericles workes.

The end of Fabius Maximus life.

THE LIFE OF *Alcibiades.*



ALCIBIADES by his fathers side, was anciently descended of *Eurysaces*, that was the sonne of *Aiax*, and by his mother side of *Alcmæon*: for his mother *Dinomacha*, was the daughter of *Megacles*. His father *Clinias* hauing armed, and set forth a gallie, at his owne proper costes and charges, did winne great honour in the battell by sea, that was fought alongest the coast of ARTEMISIVM, and he was slaine afterwardes in another battell fought at CORONEA, against the BOEOTIANS. His sonne *Alcibiades* tutors, were *Pericles*, and *Ariphron Xanthippus* sonnes: who were also his neere kinsmen. They say, and truely: that *Socrates* good will and friendshippe did greatly further *Alcibiades* honour. For

Alcibiades stocke.

Alcibiades tutors.

The mothers of famous men neuer knowen what they were

it appeareth not, neither was it euer written, what were the names of the mothers of *Nicias* of *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus*, of *Phormion*, of *Thrasibulus*, and of *Theramenes*: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrarie, we find the nource of *Alcibiades*, that she was a LACEDÆMONIAN borne, and was called *Amicla*, and that his schoolemaster was called *Zopyrus*; of the which, *Antisthenes* mentioneth the one, and *Plato* the other. Now for *Alcibiades* beautie, it made no matter if we speake not of it, yet I will a litle touch it by the way: for he was wonderfull faire, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruellous amiable, and beloued of euery man. For where *Euripides* saith, that of all the faire times of the yere, the Autumne or latter season is the faireſt: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proued true in *Alcibiades*, though in few other: for he was passing faire euen to his latter time, and of good temperature of bodie. They write of him also that his tongue was somewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, but gaue a certaine naturall pleasant grace in his talke: which *Aristophanes* mentioneth, mocking one *Theorus* that did counterfaite a lisping grace with his tongue.

Alcibiades beautie.

Alcibiades lisped by nature.

This Alcibiades, with his fat lisping tongue,
into mine eares, this trustie tale, and song full often sung.
Looke vpon Theolus (quoth he) lo there he bowes,
behold his comely crow-bright face with fat and flatling blowes.*
The sonne of Clinias, would lispe it thus somewhiles,
and sure he lisped neuer a lie, but rightly hit his wiles.

* *The equiuocation of these two Greeke wordes* Κῶα *and* Κόλα, *is hard to be expressed in English, in stead whereof I haue set flatling blowes, for flattering browes, obseruing the grace of lisping as neere as I could, like to the Latin and Frenchtranslations, likewise Theolus for Theorus.*

And *Archippus* another poet also, mocking the sonne of *Alcibiades*, saith thus:

Because he would be like his father euery way
in his long trayling gowne he would goe ietting day by day.
And counterfaite his speech, his countenance and face:
as though dame nature had him giuen, therein a perfect grace.
To lispe and looke aside, and hold his head awry,
euen as his father lookt and lispt, so would he prate and pry.

For his manners they altered and chaunged very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, seeing his maruellous great prosperity, as also aduersitie that followed him afterwards. But of all the great desires he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition, seeking to haue the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best person: as appeareth by certaine of his deedes, and notable sayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to haue gotten him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit so hard, as he would haue eaten it off. The other feeling him bite so hard, let goe his holde straight, and said vnto him: what *Alcibiades*, bitest thou like a woman? No marie doe I not (quoth he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boy, he plaide at skayles in the middest of the streete with other of his companions, and when his turne came about to throw, there came a cart laden by chaunce that way: *Alcibiades* praied the carter to staie a while, vntill he had plaied out his game, because the skailes were set right in the high way where the cart should passe ouer. The carter was a stubborne knaue, and would not staie for any request the boy could make, but drue his horse on still, in so much as other boyes gaue backe to let him goe on: but *Alcibiades* lay flat to the ground before the cart, and bad the carter driue ouer and he durst. The carter being afeard, plucked backe his horse to staie them: the neighbours flighted to see the danger, ranne to the boy in all haste crying out. Afterwards when he was put to schoole to learne he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him any thing, sauing that he disdained to learne to plaie of the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no gentlemanly qualitie. For, said he, to play on the violl with a sticke, doth not alter mans fauour, nor disgraceth any gentleman: but otherwise, to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and chaungeth so, that his familiar friends can scant know him. Moreouer, the harpe or violl doth not let him that plaieth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so hard to it, that it taketh not onely his wordes from him, but his voice. Therefore, said he, let the children of the THEBANS play on the flute, that can

Alcibiades ambitious.

Alcibiades studies.

A vile thing to play of a flute.

tell how to speake: as for the ATHENIANS, we haue (as our forefathers tell vs) for protectors and patrones of our countrie, the goddesse *Pallas*, and the god *Apollo*: of the which the one in olde time (as it is saide) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne ouer his eares, that played vpon a flute. Thus *Alcibiades* alledging these reasons, partly in sport, and partly in good earnest: did not onely himselfe leaue to learne to play on the flute, but he turned his companions mindes also quite from it. For these wordes of *Alcibiades*, ranne from boy to boy incontinently: that *Alcibiades* had reason to despise playing on the flute, and that hee mocked all those that learned to play on it. So afterwards, it fell out at ATHENS, that teaching to play on the flute, was put out of the number of honest and liberall exercises, and the flute it selfe was thought a vile instrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accusations *Antiphon* wrote against *Alcibiades*, it is declared: that when he was a boy, he fled out of his tutors house, into the house of *Democrates* one of his louers, and how *Ariphron* one of his tutors thought to haue made a beadle crie him through the citie. But *Pericles* would not suffer him, saying: that if he were dead, they should know it but one day sooner by crying of him: and if he were aliue, that it would be such a shame to him while he liued, that he had bene better he had neuer bene heard of againe. The same *Antiphon* accuseth him further, that he had killed a seruant of his that attended on him, in the wrestling place of *Sibyrtius*, with a blow of a staffe. But there is no reason to credite his writing, who confesseth he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he did beare him. Now straight there were many great and rich men that made much of *Alcibiades*, and were glad to get his good will. But *Socrates* loue vnto him had another ende and cause, which witnessed that *Alcibiades* had a naturall inclination to vertue. Who perceiuing that vertue did appeare in him, and was ioyned with the other beautie of his face and bodie, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignitie and authoritie, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefest of the citie, as of straungers, seeking to entise him by flatterie, and by many other pleasures: hee tooke vpon him to protect him from them all, and not to suffer so goodly an ympe to loose the hope of the good frute of his youth. For fortune doth neuer so intangle nor snare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let and hinder him so, that philosophy should not take holde on him with her free, seuere, and quicke reasons. So *Alcibiades* was at the beginning, assaied with all delightes, and shut vp as it were in their companie that feasted him with all pleasures, only to turne him that he should not hearken to *Socrates* wordes, who sought to bring him vp at his charge, and to teach him. But *Alcibiades* notwithstanding, hauing a good naturall wit, knewe what *Socrates* was, and went to him, refusing the companie of all his rich friendes and their flatteries, and fell in a kinde of familiar friendshippe with *Socrates*. Whom when he had heard speake, he noted his wordes very well, that they were no perswasions of a man seeking his dishonesty, but one that gaue him good counsell, and went about to reforme his faultes and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and presumption that was in him: then, as the common prouerbe saith,

Socrates loue to Alcibiades.

Like to the crauen cocke, he drooped downe his winges,
which cowardly doth runne away, or from the pit out flinges.

And did thinke with himself, that all *Socrates* loue & following of yong men, was indeede a thing sent from the goddes, & ordeined aboue for them, whom they would haue preserued, and put into the path way of honour. Therefore he beganne to despise himselfe, and greatly to reuerence *Socrates*, taking pleasure of his good vsing of him, and much imbraced his vertue: so as he had (he wist not how) an image of loue grauen in his heart, or rather (as *Plato* saieth) a mutuall loue, to wit, an holy & honest affection towards *Socrates*. Insomuch as all the world wondred at *Alcibiades*, to see him commonly at *Socrates* board, to play, to wrestle, and to lodge in the warres with *Socrates*: and contrarily to chide his other well willers, who could not so much as haue a good looke at his handes, and besides became daungerous to some, as it is saide he was vnto *Anytus*, the sonne of *Anthemion*, being one of those that loued him well. *Anytus* making good cheere to certaine straungers his friendes that were come to see him, went and praied *Alcibiades* to come and make merie with them: but he refused to goe. For he went to make merie with certaine of his companions at his own house, & after he had well

Alcibiades insolencie vnto Anytus.

taken in his cuppes, he went to *Anytus* house to counterfeate the foole amongest them, ſtaying at the hall doore, and ſeeing *Anytus* table and cubberd full of plate of ſiluer and gol he commaunded his ſeruants to take away halfe of it, and carie it home to his houſe. But wh he had thus taken his pleaſure, he would come no neerer into the houſe, but went his w home. *Anytus* friendes and gueſtes miſliking this ſtraunge part of *Alcibiades*, ſaide it ſhamefully and boldly done ſo to abuſe *Anytus*. Nay, gently done of him, ſaide *Anytus* he hath left vs ſome, where he might haue taken all. All other alſo that made much of him ſerued after that ſort. Sauing a ſtraunger that came to dwell in ATHENS: who being poore man as the voyce went, ſold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred ſt which he brought vnto *Alcibiades*, and praied him to take it at his hands. *Alcibiades* beg to be merie, and being very glad to vnderſtand his good will towards him, tooke his offer, and praied him to come to ſupper to him: ſo he welcomed him very hartily, and him good cheere. When ſupper was done, he gaue him his money againe, and comma him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the farmes and landes of the citi wont to be let out to thoſe that bid moſt, and charged him he ſhould out bid all. The po man would faine haue excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, the farmes were too great for him to hire *Alcibiades* threatned to whippe him, if he would not doe it. For beſides the deſire he ha pleaſure him, he bare a priuate grudge againſt the ordinarie farmers of the citie. The morning the ſtraunger was readie in the market place, where they did cry out the letting their farmes, and he raiſed one to a talent more, then all other did offer. The other far were as mad with him as they could be, that they all did ſet vpon him, crying out: let him in ſuertie ſtraight, ſuppoſing he could haue found none. The ſtraunger was marue blanke thereat, and beganne to ſhrinke backe. Then cried *Alcibiades* out aloud to the cers that ſate there to take the beſt offers: I will be his ſuertie, ſaieth he; put me in the bo for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him ſay ſo, were at their wittes ende, wiſte not what to doe. For they being alwaies accuſtomed to pay their yerely rent as it before, by the helpe of the reſt of the yeres that followed after: perceiuing nowe that ſhould not be able to pay the arrerages of the rentes due to the common weale, and ſo no other remedie, they praied him to take a peece of money, and to leaue the bargaine. *Alcibiades* would in no wiſe he ſhould take leſſe then a talent, which they gaue him willin So *Alcibiades* ſuffered the ſtraunger then to depart, and made him gaine by his deuiſe. *Socrates* loue which he bare him, though it had many mightie and great aduerſaries, did ſtaie much *Alcibiades*, ſometime by his gentle nature, ſometime by his graue counſel aduiſe: ſo as the reaſon thereof tooke ſo deepe roote in him, and did ſo peirce his hear many times the teares ranne downe his cheekes. Another time alſo being caried away the intiſement of flatterers, that helde vp his humour with all pleaſure and delightes, he away from *Socrates*, and made him runne after him to fetch him againe, as if he had b ſlaue that had runne away from his maſters houſe: for *Alcibiades* ſtoode in awe of no but of *Socrates* only, and in deede he did reuerence him, and did deſpiſe all other. And be fore *Cleanthes* was wont to ſay, that *Alcibiades* was held of *Socrates* by the eares: but th gaue his other louers holde, which *Socrates* neuer ſought for: for to ſay truely, *Alcib* was much giuen ouer to luſt and pleaſure. And peraduenture it was that *Thucydides* me him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of bodie, and diſſolute of life. Thoſe that *Alcibiades* quite, did ſtill pricke forward his ambition and deſire of honour, and did pu in the head to thruſt himſelfe into great matters betimes, making him beleeue that if he but once beginne to ſhewe himſelfe to deale in matters of ſtate, he would not onely b and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell *Pericles*, in authoritie and power amo GRECIANS. For like as iron by fire is made ſoft, to be wrought in any forme, and by c alſo doth ſhut and harden in againe: euen ſo *Alcibiades* being puffed vp with vanitie and nion of himſelfe, as oft as *Socrates* tooke him in hande, was made faſt and firme againe b good perſwaſions, inſomuch that when he ſaw his owne fault and follie, and how farre he had ſtraied from vertue, he became ſodainely very humble and lowly againe. Now time when he was growen to mans ſtate, he went into a grammer ſchoole, and asked

Alcibiades liberall fact.

Alcibiades ranne from Socrates.

Alcibiades giuen to pleaſure.

ſchoo

ſcholemaiſter for one of *Homers* bookes. The ſchoolemaiſter aunſwered him, he had none of them. *Alcibiades* vp with his fiſte and gaue him a good boxe on the eare, and went his way. Another grammarian told him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meaneſt thou, to ſtand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teach young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, deſirous to ſpeake with him: aunſwere was made him, he was not at leyſure now, for that he was buſily occupied by himſelf, thinking on his reckonnings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, ſaid he, going his way: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boie, he was at the iourney of POTIDÆA, where he laie ſtill with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battels and skirmiſhes he was in: among which there was one, very whot and bloudy, where they both fought valiantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurt. But *Socrates* ſtepped before him, and did defend him ſo valiantly before them all, that he ſaued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reaſon, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* ſide, becauſe he was of a noble houſe. But *Socrates*, becauſe he would increaſe his deſire of honor, & would pricke him forward to honeſt and commendable things, was the very firſt that witneſſed *Alcibiades* had deſerued it: and therefore praide the captaines to iudge him the crowne and complet armour. Afterwards, in the battell of DELION, the ATHENIANS hauing receiued the ouerthrow, *Socrates* retired with a few other a foote. *Alcibiades* being on horſe backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him againſt a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and flue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto *Hipponicus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greateſt men of power in the city, being a noble man borne, and of great poſſeſſions, which was done vpon a brauerie and certaine luſtines, as hauing laid a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that hee bare the man. This light part was ſtraight ouer all the citie, and euerie one that heard it, ſaide it was lewdly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his houſe, and knocking at his gate was let in: ſo he ſtripping himſelfe before him, deliuered him his body to be whipped, and puniſhed at his pleaſure. *Hipponicus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, & gaue him his daughter *Hipparete* afterwardes in mariage. Howbeit ſome ſay, it was not *Hipponicus* that gaue her to him: but *Callias* ſonne, with ten talents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of the firſt childe hee had by her, he asked ten talents more, ſaying: they were promiſed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing leaſt this was an occaſion ſought of him to lye in waite to kill him for his goods: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if he died without heires ſpeciall of his body. This gentlewoman *Hipparete* being an honeſt true wife to *Alcibiades*, miſliking her husband did ſo much miſuſe her, as to entertain cõmon light ſtrũpets, aſwell citizens as ſtrangers: ſhe went abroad one day to her brothers houſe, and tolde him of it. *Alcibiades* paſſed not for it, and made no further reckonning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if ſhe would, preſent her cauſe of diuorce before the iudge. So ſhee went thither her ſelfe, to ſue the diuorce betweene them, according to the law: but *Alcibiades* being there alſo, tooke her by the hand, and caried her through the market place home to his houſe, and no man durſt meddle betweene them, to take her from him. And ſo ſhee continued with him all the daies of her life, which was not long after: for ſhe died, when *Alcibiades* was in his iourney he made to EPHESVS. This force *Alcibiades* vſed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, becauſe it ſeemeth that the law was grounded vpon this cauſe: that the wife which would be diuorced from her husband, ſhould goe her ſelfe openly before the iudge to put vp her complaint, to the end, that by this meanes, the husband might come to ſpeake with his wife, and ſeeke to ſtay her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruellous faire great dogge, that coſt him three ſcore and tenne minas, and he cut off his taile that was his chiefe beautie. When his friends reproued him, and told him how euerie man blamed him for it: he fell a laughing, and told them he had that he ſought. For, ſaith he, I would haue the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they ſhould ſay worſe of me. Moreouer, it is ſaide, the firſt time

Alcibiades ſtrake a ſchoolmaſter, becauſe he had not Homer in his ſchoole.

Alcibiades firſt ſouldier ware with Socrates.

Alcibiades ſaued by Socrates

Alcibiades ſaued Socrates life after the ouerthrow at the battell of Delion.

Alcibiades maried.

Hipparete ſueth to be diuorced from Alcibiades.

Alcibiades great dogge.

Alcibiades largesse.

that *Alcibiades* spake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, wa
pon a gift of money he gaue vnto the people, & not of any pretence or former purpose he
to do it. One day as he came through the market place, hearing the people very loud, he as
what the matter was: they told him it was about money certain men had giuen to the peo
Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purse. The peo
were so glad at that, as they fell to shouting and clapping of their hands, in token of thanki
nes: and him selfe was so glad for company, that hee forgat a quaile he had vnder his gow
which was so afeard of the noise, that she tooke her flight away. The people seeing the qua
made a greater noise then before, and many rose out of their places to runne after her: so tha
the end, it was taken vp by a master of a ship called *Antiochus*, who brought him the quail
gain, & for that cause *Alcibiades* did loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobility of his ho
his goods, his worthines, and the great number of his kinsmen and friends made his way op
to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the onely way he desired to wi
the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To prooue he was e
quent, all the Comicall poets do testifie it: and besides them, *Demosthenes* the prince of ora
also doth say, in an oration he made against *Midias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities
had, was most eloquent. And if we may beleeue *Theophrastus*, the greatest searcher of antiq
ties, & best historiographer aboue any other philosopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades*
as good a wit to deuise & consider what he would say, as any man that was in his time How
beit sometimes studying what he should say, as also to deliuer good wordes, not hauing th
very readily at his tongues end: he many times tooke breath by the way, and paused in t
middest of his tale, not speaking a word, vntill he had called it to mind, that he would say. H
charge was great, and much spoken of also, for keeping of running horses at games: not on
because they were the best and swiftest, but for the number of coches hee had besides. For
uer priuat person, no nor any prince, that euer sent seuen so well appointed coches, in all fi
ture vnto the games Olympicall, as he did: nor that at one course hath borne away the
the second, and the fourth prise, as *Thucydides* saieth: or as *Euripides* reporteth, the third.
in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer striued for victory therein.

Alcibiades wit and imperfection.

Alcibiades comming into the common wealth.

Alcibiades marueilous eloquent.

Alcibiades victory at the games Olympicall.

Euripides pronounced his praise, in a song he made of him, as followeth.

O sonne of Clinias, I will resound thy praise:
for thou art bold in martiall deedes, and ouercommest alwaies.
Thy victories therewith, doe farre exceede the rest,
that euer were in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them best.
For at th Olympike games, thou hast with chariots wonne,
the first prise, second, third and all, which there in race were ronne.
VVith praise and litle paine, thy head hath twise bene crownde,
with oliue boughes for victorie, and twise by trumpets sound,
The Herauldes haue proclaimed thee victor by thy name:
aboue all those which ranne with thee, in hope to get the game.

Howbeit the good affection diuers cities did beare him, contending which should grati
him best, did much increase his fame and honour. For the EPHESIANS did set vp a tent
him, verie sumptuously and richly furnished. Those of the citie of CHIO, furnished him w
prouander for his horse, and gaue him muttons besides, and other beastes to sacrifice with
They of LESBOS also sent him in wine and other prouision for vittels, to helpe him to
fray the great charges he was at in keeping open house, and feeding such a number of mou
dailie. Yet the spite they did beare him, or rather his breach of promise which hee o
made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gaue the people more cause to speak
him then before. For they say there was one *Diomedes* at ATHENS, a friend of *Alcibia*
and no ill man, who desired once in his life to win a game at the playes Olympicall. This m
being enformed that the ARGIVES had a coch excellently furnished, belonging to their co
mon weale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could do very much in the citie of ARGOS, beca
he had many friends in the same: he came to intreate *Alcibiades* to buie this coche for hi
Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to him selfe, not regarding *Diomedes* request h

Alcibiades a breaker of promise.

had made. *Diomedes* seeing that fell starke mad for anger, and called the gods and men to witnesses, that *Alcibiades* did him open wrong: and it seemeth, that there fell out sute in law vpon the same. For *Isocrates* wrote an oration, and drue a plea in defence of *Alcibiades*, being yet but a childe, touching a couple of horses: yet in this plea, his aduersarie was called *Tisias*, and not *Diomedes*. Furthermore, *Alcibiades* being yet but a young man, when he came to practise and pleade publikelie, he put all other Orators to silence, but only two that were euer against him: the one was *Phæax* the sonne of *Erasistratus*, and the other *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*. Of these two, *Nicias* was a man growen, and had won the name and reputation of a good captaine. And *Phæax* began also to come forward as he did, being of a good and honourable house: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence specially. For, he could more properly talke and discourse among his friends priuately, then he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as *Eupolis* sayeth:

Alcibiades aduersaries in the common wealth when he came to plead.

Phæax lacked eloquence.

VVords enow, but no eloquence.

There is a certaine oration extant in writing against *Alcibiades* and *Phæax*: where among other accusations is brought in, how *Alcibiades* was ordinarily serued in his house, with gold and siluer plate that belonged to the common weale, and which were vsed to be born for state and magnificence, in solemne processions before them, and how he vsed them as boldly, as if they had bene his own. Now there was one *Hyperbolus* in ATHENS at that time, borne in the village of Perithoide: of whō *Thucydides* maketh mention, as of a naughty wicked mā, whose tongue was a fit instrument to deliuer matter to all the Comicall poets of that time, to powre out all their taunts and mocks against them. Howbeit he was so impudent a person, and cared so litle what men said of him, that he passed not though hee were defamed, neither did anie thing grieue him, whatsoeuer they reported of him: which some do call boldnes, and corage, being no better indeede then plaine impudency, extreme madnes, & desperate folly. He would neuer please any man: and if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magistrate, whom they would any way accuse, *Hyperbolus* wicked tongue was their instrument to vtter their spite. Now the people (by *Hyperbolus* procurement) being assembled, were ready to proceede to the banishment of *Ostracismon* by most voices. The manner and custome of this kinde of banishment was for a time to banish out of their citie such a one, as seemed to haue great authority and credit in the city: and that was, rather to satisfie their enuy, then for to remedy their feare. And because it was manifest it would fall out to one of them three to be banished (to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, or *Phæax*) *Alcibiades* found means to ioine all their three factions in one, becomming friends one to another: and hauing conferred with *Nicias* about it, he made *Hyperbolus* selfe to be banished, who was the chiefe instrument to prepare the way of their banishment. Howbeit other say, he spake not with *Nicias* about it, but with *Phæax*, and ioyning his part with *Phæax*, he caused *Hyperbolus* to be banished, who fearing nothing lesse, for it was neuer seene before, that a man of meane countenance, and of small authority, fell into the hap of this banishment. As *Plato* the Comicall poet testifieth, speaking of *Hyperbolus*.

The manner of the punishment of the Ostracismon.

Hyperbolus banished for 10. yeares.

Although for his desert, this paine to him is due,
or greater punishment prepard, the which might make him rue
Yet since he was by birth, a person meane and base,
such punishment therefore did seeme (for him) too great of grace.
Since Ostracismon was, not made at first to be,
nor yet deuisde as punishment, for such meane folke as he.

But of this matter, we haue spoken more at large before: and now to returne againe to *Alcibiades*. *Nicias* had great reputation among straungers, and his enemies grieued at it no lesse, then at the honour the citizens selues did vnto him. For his house was the common inne for all LACEDÆMONIANS when they came to ATHENS, and they euer laie with him. Moreouer he had very well entertained the LACEDÆMON prisoners, that were taken at the port of PYLE. And afterwards when peace was concluded betweene LACEDÆMON and ATHENS, and their prisoners redeliuered home againe by *Nicias* meanes onely and procurement: they loued him more then euer they did before. This was blowen abroade through GREECE, that *Pericles* had kindled the warres amongest them, and *Nicias* had quenched

Nicias peace. *Alcibiades breaketh the peace of the Grecians.*

it: so some called this peace *Nicium*, as one would say, *Nicias* worke. But *Alcibiades* stom- king this, and enuying *Nicias* glorie, determined to breake the peace whatsoeuer came of it. Wherefore to compasse this matter, knowing first of all that the ARGIVES had no liking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but were their mortall enemies, and that they did but seeke matter to fall out with them: he secretly put them in hope of peace and league with the ATHENIANS. Moreouer hee did perswade them to it, both by letters and word of mouth, speaking with the magistrates, and such as had greatest authority and credite amongest the people, declaring vnto them, that they should not feare the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yeelde to them in all, but to sticke to the ATHENIANS, who would soone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwards when the LACEDÆMONIANS had made league with the BOEOTIANS, and had redeliuered the city of PANACTVM to the ATHENIANS defaced and spoyled, contrarie to the league: *Alcibiades* perceiuing how the people were much offended thereat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithall brought *Nicias* in disgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelyhood, at that time when he was generall: that hee would neuer take anie of the LACEDÆMONIANS, when they were shut vp within the Ile of SPHACTERIA, and much lesse distresse them when he might: and moreouer that when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had found the meanes to deliuer them, and send them home againe, to gratifie the LACEDÆMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friend, hee did not his duety to disswade the people from making of league offensiue, & defensiue with the BOEOTIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and againe also, if there were any people of GREECE that had a desire to become friends and allies with the ATHENIANS, that he did the best he could to let them, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as *Nicias* was thus in disgrace with the people, for the causes aboue sayd: in the middest of this sturre, ambassadours came by chance from LACEDÆMON to ATHENS, who at their comming gaue very good wordes, saying they had full power and commission to compound all controuersies, vnder reasonable and equall conditions. The Senate heard them, and receiued them curteously, and the people the next day should assemble in counsell to giue them audience: which *Alcibiades* fearing much, he went to labour the ambassadours, and spake with them apart in this sort. What meane you, my Lordes of SPARTA: doe yee not know that the Senate hath alwaies accustomed to be gracious and fauourable vnto those that sue vnto them for any matter, and that the people contrarily are of a proude nature, and desirous to imbrace all great matters? If therefore at the first sight, yee doe giue them to vnderstand that you are come hither with full power, to treate freely with them in all manner of causes: doe you not thinke that they make you stretch your authoritie farre, to graunt them all that they will demaund. Therefore, my Lords ambassadours, if you looke for indifferency at the ATHENIANS hands, and that they shall not presse you too farre against your willes, to graunt them any thing of aduantage: I would wish you a litle to couer your full commission, and in open manner to propound certaine articles, as reasonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things: and for my part, I will assure you of my good will in fauour of the LACEDÆMONIANS. When he had tolde them this tale, he gaue them his faithfull promise, and vowed as it were to performe his word. Hereupon *Alcibiades* turned the ambassadours from the trust they reposed in *Nicias*, and wanne them on his side: in so much as they gaue credit to no man but to him, wondring much at his great wisedome & ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were assembled to giue the ambassadours audience. They were sent for, and brought into the market place. There *Alcibiades* gently asked them, what was the cause of their comming. They answered: that they were come to treate of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then began *Alcibiades* to be angrie with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he anie to them, calling them vnfaithfull, vnconstant, and fickle men, that were come neither to doe, nor say any thing worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: whereat *Nicias* was so ashamed and amased withall, that hee could not tell what to say, to see so sodaine a chaunge, knowing nothing of *Alcibiades* malice

Alcibiades beguileth the Lacedæmonians.

subtill practise with the ambassadours. So the ambassadours of LACEDÆMON were dispatched without anything done, and *Alcibiades* chosen generall who presently brought the ARGIVES, the ELIANS, and the MANTINIANS in league with the ATHENIANS. Though no man did commend this practise of his, in working it after this sort: yet was it a marueilous thing of him to deuise to put all PELOPONNESVS in armes, and to procure such a number of souldiers against the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he did before the citie of MANTINEA, and to shift off the miseries of warre and hazard of battell, so farre from ATHENS. Which if the LACEDÆMONIANS did winne, could not profit them much: and if they lost it, they could hardly saue their citie of SPARTA. After this battell of MANTINEA, the thousand men whom the citie by an ancient order did keepe continually in pay, as well in peace as in warre, within the citie of ARGOS, thinking now opportunitie serued them very trimly: attempted to take the soueraigne authoritie from the common people, and to make themselues Lords of the citie. And to bring this to passe, the LACEDÆMONIANS comming in the meane time, did aide them in their purpose, and so did put downe the gouernement of the people: notwithstanding, immediatly after the people tooke armes againe, and became the stronger. *Alcibiades* comming thither euen at that time, did warrant them the victorie, and so set vp againe the authoritie of the people. Then he perswaded them to make their walles longer to ioyne their citie to the sea, to the end they might more easily be ayded by sea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them also from ATHENS, many carpenters, masons, stone hewers, and other workmen: and to conclude, he shewed them by all the meanes and waies he could, that he did beare good will vnto them, and thereby wanne himselfe no lesse fauour particularly among them, then generally he did good vnto his countrie. He did perswade also the citizens of PATRAS to ioyne their towne to the sea, by making long walles, which they built out euen to the cliffes of the sea. And when one said vnto them, alas, poore people of PATRAS, what do yee meane? the ATHENIANS will eate you out. *Alcibiades* answered him, it may well be, but it shall be by litle and litle, beginning first at the feete: but the LACEDÆMONIANS will deuoure you all at once, and begin at the head. Now although *Alcibiades* did make the citie of ATHENS strong by sea, yet he did not leaue to perswade the ATHENIANS also, to make themselues strong by land. For he did put the young men oftentimes in minde of the othe they were made to sweare in AGRAVLOS, and did aduise them to accomplish it in deed. Which was, that they should take all corne fields, vines, and olyue trees, to be the borders and confines of ATTICA, whereby they were taught to reckon all land theirs, that was manured, and did bring forth fruite. Yet with all these goodly deedes and faire words of *Alcibiades*, and with this great courage and quicknesse of vnderstanding, he had many great faults and imperfections. For he was too daintie in his fare, wantonly giuen vnto light women, riotous in banketts, vaine and womanish in apparrell: he ware euer a long purple gowne that swept the market place as he walked vp and downe, it had such a traine, and was too riche and costly for him to weare. And following these vaine pleasures and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the planckes of the poope thereof to be cut and broken vp, that he might lie the softer: for his bed was not laide vpon the ouerlop, but lay vpon girthes strained ouer the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides, and he caried to the warres with him a gilded scutchion, wherein he had no cognizance, nor ordinarie deuise of the ATHENIANS, but onely had the image of *Cupid* in it, holding lightning in his hand. The noblemen, and best cittizens of ATHENS perceiuing this, they hated his fashions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afeard withall of his rashnesse and insolencie: he did so contemne the lawes and customes of their countrie, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be King, and would subuert and turne all ouer hand. And as for the good will of the common people towards him, the poet *Aristophanes* doth plainely expresse it in these words:

Alcibiades chosen generall.

The walles brought to the sea by the Argiues.

Alcibiades vice.

The people most desire, what most they hate to haue:
and what their minde abhorres, euen that they seeme to craue.

And in another place he said also, aggrauating the suspition they had of him.

For state or commonweale, much better should it be,
to keepe within the countrie none such lyons lookes as he.

But if they needs will keepe a lyon to their coſt,
then muſt they needs obey his will, for he will rule the roſte.

For to ſay truely: his curteſies, his liberalities, and noble expences to ſhew the people great pleaſure and paſtime as nothing could be more: the glorious memorie of his anceſtors the grace of his eloquence, the beautie of his perſon, the ſtrength and valiantneſſe of his body ioyned together with his wiſedome and experience in martiall affaires I were the very cauſes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the Athenians did patiently endure all his light parts, and did couer his faults, with the beſt wordes and termes they could, calling them youthfull, and gentlemens ſports. As when he kept *Agatharcus* the painter priſoner in his houſe by force, vntill he had painted all his walles within: and when he had done, did let him go, and rewarded him very honeſtly for his paines. Againe when he gat the boxe of the care to *Taureus*, who did pay the whole charges of a companie of commoners, in ſpight of him, to carie away the honour of the games. Alſo when he tooke away a young woman of Melia by his authoritie, that was taken among certaine priſoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a childe, which he cauſed to be brought vp. Which they called a worke of charitie, albeit afterwards they burthened him that he was the onely cauſe of murthering of the poore Melians, ſauing the litle childe: becauſe he had fauoured and perſwaded that vnnaturall and wicked decree, which another had propounded. Likewiſe where one *Ariſtophon* a painter, had painted a curtiſan named *Nemea*, holding *Alcibiades* in her armes, and ſitting in her lap, which all the people ran to ſee, and tooke great pleaſure to behold it: the graue and ancient men, were angrie at theſe ſhamefull parts, accompting them impudent things, and done againſt all ciuill modeſtie and temperancie. Wherfore it ſeemed *Archeſtratus* words were ſpoken to good purpoſe, when he ſaid that Greece could not abide two *Alcibiades* at once. And on a day as he came from the common hall and aſſembly of the citie, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obtained the thing he deſired: he was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: *Timon*, ſurnamed *Miſanthropus* (as who would ſay, *Lorde-garon*, or the manhater) meeting *Alcibiades* thus accompanied, did not paſſe by him, nor gaue him way (as he was wont to do all other men) but went ſtraight to him, and tooke him by the hand, and ſaid. O, thou dooſt well my ſonne, I cannot thanke, that thou goeſt on, and climeſt vp ſtill: for if euer thou be in authoritie, woe be to thoſe that follow thee, for they are vtterly vndone. When they heard theſe words, thoſe that ſtood by fell a laughing: other reuiled *Timon*, other againe marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after, ſuch ſundrie opinions they had of him for the vncertaincie of his life, and waiwardneſſe of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of Sicile, the Athenians did marueilouſlie couet it in *Pericles* life, but yet they did not medle with it vntill after his death: and then they did it at the firſt vnder colour of friendſhip, as to aide thoſe cities which were oppreſſed, and ſpoiled by the Syracuſans. This was in maner but a plaine bridge made, to paſſe afterwards a greater power and armie thither. Howbeit the firſt procurer of the Athenians, and perſwader of them, to ſend ſmall companies thither firſt and more, but to enter with a great armie at once to conquer all the countrie together, was *Alcibiades*: who had ſo allured the people with his pleaſant tongue, that vpon his perſwaſions they built caſtles in the ayre, and thought to do greater wonders, by winning onely of Sicilia. For where other did ſet their mindes vpon the conqueſt of Sicile, being that they onely hoped after: it was to *Alcibiades*, but a beginning of further enterpriſes. And where he commonly in all his perſwaſions, did turne the Athenians from their purpoſe to make warres againſt the Syracuſans, as being too great a matter for them to take the citie of Syracuſa: *Alcibiades* againe had a further reache in his head, to go conquer Libie and Carthage, and that being conquered, to paſſe from thence into Italie, and Peloponneſus: ſo that Sicilia ſhould ſerue but to furniſh them with victuals, and the ſouldiers for their conqueſts which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently caried away with a maruellous hope and opinion of this iorney, and gaue good eare to old mens tales that told the wonders of the countries: inſomuch as there was no other pa-

Alcibiades diſhoneſtie & wantonneſſe.

Archeſtratus ſaying.

Alcibiades the author of the warres in Sicilia.

nor exercise among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to set round together, drawe plats of SICILE, and describe the situation of LIBYA and CARTHAGE. And yet they say, that neither *Socrates* the Philosopher, nor *Meton* the Astronomer did euer hope to see any good successe of this iourney. For the one by the reuealing of his familiar spirit, who told him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: and *Meton*, whether it was for the feare of the successe of the iourney he had by reason, or that he knew by diuination of his arte what would follow, he counterfeited the mad man, and holding a burning torche in his hand, made as though he would haue set his house a fire. Other say, that he did not counterfeit, but like a mad man indeed, did set his house a fire one night, & that the next morning betimes he went into the market place to pray the people, that in consideration of his great losse & his grieuous calamity so late happened him, it would please them to discharge his sonne for going this voyage. So by this mad deuise, he obteined his request of the people for his sonne, whom he abused much. But *Nicias* against his will was chosen captaine, to take charge of men in these warres, who misliked this iourney, alwell for his companion and associate in the charge of these wars, as for other misfortunes he foresaw therin. Howbeit the ATHENIANS thought the warre would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to *Alcibiades* rashnesse and hardinesse, but did ioyne with him the wisedome of *Nicias*: and appointed *Lamachus* also for their third captaine, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somewhat olde, as one that had shewed himselfe no lesse venturous and hardie in some battels, then *Alcibiades* himselfe. Now when they came to resolue of the number of souldiers, the furniture and order of these warres, *Nicias* sought crookedly to thwart this iourney, and to breake it off altogether: but *Alcibiades* withstood him, and got the better hand of him. There was an orator called *Demostratus*, who mooued the people also, that the captaines whom they had chosen for these warres, might haue full power and authoritie to leuie men at their discretion, and to make such preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condescended, and did authorise them. But when they were euen ready to go their way, many signes of ill successe lighted in the neck one of another: and amongst the rest this was one. That they were commanded to take ship on the day of the celebration of the feast of *Adonis*, on the which the custome is, that women do set vp in diuers places of the citie, in the middest of the streets, images, like to dead corses which they carie to burial, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with lamenting, and beating themselues, in token of the sorrow the goddesse *Venus* made, for the death of her friend *Adonis*. Moreouer, the *Hermes* (which are the images of *Mercurie*, and were wont to be set vp in euery lane and streete) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled specially in their faces: but this put diuerse in great feare and trouble, yea euen those that made no account of such toyes. Whereupon it was alledged that it might be the CORINTHIANS that did it, or procured that leude acte to be done, fauouring the SYRACUSIANS, who were their auncient kinsemen, and had beene the first founders of them, imagining vpon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake off the enterprise, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hand. Nuertheless, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their words that said, they should not reckon of any such signes or tokens, and that they were but some light brained youthes, that being tippled, had played this shamefull part in their braueric, or for sporte. But for all these reasons, they tooke these signes very greeuously, and were indeed not a little afeard, as thinking vndoubtedly that no man durst haue bene so bolde to haue done such an abhominable facte, but that there was some conspiracie in the matter. Hereupon, they looked vpon euery suspition and coniecture that might be (how litle or vnlikely soeuer it were) and that very seuerely: and both Senate and people also met in councell vpon it very oft, and in a fewe dayes. Now whilest they were busilie searching out the matter, *Andocides* a common counseller and orator in the commonwealth, brought before the counsell certaine slaues and strangers that dwelt in ATHENS: who deposed that *Alcibiades*, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that sort, and in a mockerie had counterfeited also in a banket that he made, the ceremonies of the holy mysteries, declaring these matters particularly. How one *Theodorus* counterfeited

The diuination of Socrates and Meton.

Images hewen and mangled at Athens.

Alcibiades accused for prophaning the holy mysteries.

the herauld, that is wonte to make the proclamations: *Polytion* the torche bearer, and *Alci-*
ades the priest, who shewed the holy signes and mysteries: and that his other compani-
were the assistants, as those that make sute to be received into their religion and order, and
to the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call *Mystes*. These v
words are written in the accusation *Thessalus* (*Cimons* sonne) made against *Alcibiades*, ch
ging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddesses, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*. When
the people being maruellously moued and offended, and the orator *Androcles* his mortall e
mie, aggrauating and stirring them vp the more against him: *Alcibiades* a little at the first
gan to be amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were prepared for
voyage of SICILIA, and the souldiers also that were gathered, did beare him great good
and specially how the aide, and that bande that came from ARGOS, and *Mantinea* (being
thousand footemen, well armed and appointed) did say openly, how it was for *Alcibi*
sake they did take vpon them so long a voyage beyond sea, and that if they went about to
him any hurt or wrong, they would presently returne home againe from whence they ca
he began to be of a good courage againe, and determined with this good fauourable opp
nitie of time, to come before the counsell, to answer to all such articles and accusations
The craft of Alcibiades enemies. should be laide against him. Thereupon his enemies were a little cooled, fearing least
people in this iudgement would haue shewed him more fauour, because they stood in ne
of him. Wherefore to preuent this danger, they had fed other oratours, who set a good
on the matter, as they had beene *Alcibiades* friends, and yet bare him no lesse goodwill, t
the rankest enemies he had. These fine fellowes rose vp in open assembly, and said: it was
reason, that he that was now chosen one of the generals of so mightie and puissant an a
(being ready to hoyse saile, and the aide also of their allies and friends) should be driue
stay now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilest they should go about to tho
iudges, and appoint him his houres and time of answer. Therefore, they said, it was
should take his iourney before, and when warres were done, that he should present him
to require iustice and to purge himselfe of such matters as should be obiected against him.
Alcibiades smelling straight the effect he, and perceiuing the practise of his stay, stept vp,
declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a genera
so great an armie, his minde being troubled with continuall feare of so grieuous curses,
should leaue vpon him: and that he deserued death, if he could not purge and iustifie h
selfe, of all the vniust and surmized accusations against him. And if he had once cle
himselfe of all things, and had published his innocencie: he should then haue nothing
head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to go on lustely to fight with his enemies,
to cast behinde him the danger of all his slanderous detracters. But all this could not
swade them. And so he was presently commanded in the behalfe of the people, to imba
Alcibiades iourney into Sicile. and ship away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the seas with his other compan
hauing in their navie about a hundred and fortie galleys, all hauing three owers to a ban
and fiue thousand one hundred footemen, very well armed and appointed, and throwers
slings, archers and other light armed men, to the number of thirteene hundred, sufficientl
nished of all warlike and necessarie munition. Now after they were arriued on the co
ITALIE, they landed in the citie of RHEGIO, where, holding counsell in what sor
should direct their warres, it was resolued in the end that they should go straight vnto S
LIA. This opinion was followed, although *Nicias* did contrarie it, when *Lamachus* gaue
consent thereunto: and at his first comming, he was the occasion of winning the cit
CATANA. But he neuer after did any exploite, for he was called home (although by
ATHENIANS, to come and answer certaine accusations laide to his charge. For as wel
you before there was at the beginning, certaine light suspicions and accusations put vp
him by some slaues and strangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enfor
them, and hurtened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken
images of *Mercurie*: and had committed sacrilege in counterfeiting in ieast and mock
the holy ceremonies of the mysteries, and how into the eares of the people; that both
one and the other proceeded of one set conspiracie, to change and alter the gouernment o

ſtate of the citie. Vpon theſe informations, the people tooke it in ſo ill part, that they committed all to priſon, that were in any ſort accuſed or ſuſpected thereof, and would neuer let them come to their aunſwere: and moreouer did much repent them that they had not condemned *Alcibiades*, vpon ſo great complaints and informations as were exhibited againſt him, while his offence was in queſtion before them. And the furie and hatred of the people was ſuch towards him, that if any of *Alcibiades* friends and acquaintance came within their daunger, they were the worſe handled for his ſake. *Thucydides* did not name his accuſers, but ſome other doe name *Dioclides* and *Teucer*: amongſt whom, *Phrynicus* the Comicall poet is one, who diſcouereth it in his verſes, by bringing in one that ſpeaketh thus to the image of *Mercury*. *Phrynicus* the Comicall poet.

My good friend Mercurie, I pray thee take good heede,
that thou fall not, and breake thy necke: for ſo thou might ſt me breede,
both daunger and diſtruſt, and though I guiltleſſe be,
ſome Dioclides falſely might accuſe and trouble me.

Mercury anſwereth.

Take thou no thought for me, my ſelfe I ſhall well ſaue:
and will foreſee full well therewith that Teucer (that falſe knaue)
ſhall not the money get, which he by law hath wonne,
for his promouters bribing part, and accuſation.

And yet for all this, theſe tokens doe ſhewe no certainetie of any thing. For one of them being asked, how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced theſe images? he anſwered, that he knewe them well enough by the brightneſſe of the moone. And hereby it appeareth plainely that he was periured, becauſe that the ſame night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a coniunction of the moone. This did a litle trouble and ſtay men of iudgement: howbeit the common ſort of people this notwithſtanding, did not leaue to be as ſharpe ſet, to receiue all accuſations and informations, that were brought in againſt him, as euer they were before. Now there was among the priſoners whoſe cauſe was hanging before them, the orator *Andocides* (whom *Hellanicus* the hiſtoriographer deſcribeth to deſcende of the race of *Vlyſſes*) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the gouernment of the common people, and bent altogether to fauour the ſmall number of the nobilitie. But one of the chiefeſt occaſions why he was ſuſpected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his houſe there was a faire great image ſet vp in olde time, by the familie or tribe of the *Ægeides*, and that alone amongeſt all the reſt of ſo many famous images, was left whole and vnbroken: whereupon it is called at this day, the *Mercury* of *Andocides*, and is ſo called generally of euery bodie, albeit the inſcription ſheweth the contrarie. *Andocides* being in priſon, chaunced to fall in acquaintance with one *Timæus*, with whom he was more familiar then with all the reſt, who was alſo priſoner with him for the ſelf cauſe. This *Timæus* was a man not ſo well knowen as he, but beſides, a wiſe man, and very hardie. He perſwaded him, and put into his head, that he ſhould accuſe himſelfe, and certaine other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confeſſing it, he ſhould receiue grace and pardon, according to the courſe and promiſe of the law. Where contrarily, if he ſhould ſtand vpon the courteſie of the iudges ſentence, he might eaſily endaunger himſelfe: becauſe iudgements in ſuch caſes are vncertaine to all people, and moſt to be doubted and feared towarde the rich. And therefore he tolde him it were his beſt way, if he looked into the matter wiſely, by lying to ſaue his life, rather then to ſuffer death with ſhame, and to be condemned vpon this falſe accuſation. Alſo he ſaid if he would haue regard to the common wealth, that it ſhould in like caſe be wiſely done of him, to put in daunger a few of thoſe (which ſtood doubtfull whether in troth they were any of them or not) to ſaue from the furie of the people, and terrour of death, many honeſt men, who in deede were innocent of this lewd fact. *Timæus* words and perſwaſions wrought ſuch effect with *Andocides*, that they made him yeld vnto them, & brought him to accuſe himſelfe, and certaine other with him: by meanes whereof *Alcibiades* according to the lawe had his pardon. But all ſuch as he named and accuſed, were euery man put to death, ſauing ſuch as ſaued themſelues by running away. Furthermore, to ſhadowe his accuſation with ſome apparance of troth, *Andocides* among thoſe *Andocides* the orator caſt into priſon.

that were accuſed, did accuſe alſo certaine of his owne ſeruants. Now though the people
no more occaſion to occupie their buſie heades about the breakers of theſe images, yet
Alcibiades ſent for to anſwere to his accuſation. not their malice thus appeaſed againſt *Alcibiades*, vntil they ſent the galley called *Salamin*
commaunding thoſe they ſent by a ſpeciall commiſſion to ſeeke him out, in no caſe to arre
to take him by force, nor to lay holde on him by violence: but to vſe him with all the g
wordes and courteous manner that they poſſibly could, and to will him onely to appea
perſon before the people, to anſwere to certaine accuſations put vp againſt him. If other
they ſhould haue vſed force, they feared much leaſt the armie would haue mutined on
behalfe within the countrie of their enemies, & that there would haue growen ſome ſedi
amongeſt their ſouldiers. This might *Alcibiades* haue eaſily done, if he had bene diſpo
For the ſouldiers were very ſorie to ſee him depart, perceiuing that the warres ſhou
drawen out now in length, and be much prolonged vnder *Nicias*, ſeeing *Alcibiades* was
from them, who was the only ſpurre that pricked *Nicias* forward to do any ſeruice: and
Lamachus alſo, though he were a valiant man of his handes, yet he lacked honour and au
ritie in the armie, becauſe he was but a meane man borne, and poore beſides. Now *Alcib*
for a farewell, diſappointed the ATHENIANS of winning the citie of MESSINA: for they
uing intelligence by certaine priuate perſons within the citie, that it would yeelde vp
their hands, *Alcibiades* knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them vnto t
that were the SYRACVSANS friendes: whereupon all this practiſe was broken vtterly. A
wardes when he came to the citie of THVRIES, ſo ſoone as he had landed, he went an
himſelfe incontinently in ſuch ſort, that ſuch as ſought for him, could not find him. Yet
was one that knew him where he was, and ſaid: Why, how now *Alcibiades*, dareſt tho
truſt the iuſtice of thy countrie? Yes very well (ꝙ he) and it were in another matter: bu
life ſtanding vpon it, I would not truſt mine owne mother, fearing leaſt negligently ſhe
put in the blacke beane, where ſhe ſhould caſt in the white. For by the firſt, condemna
death was ſignified: and by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the A
NIANS for malice had condemned him to death: well, ꝙ he, they ſhall know I am yet a
Alcibiades accuſation. Now the manner of his accuſation and inditement framed againſt him, was found writ
this ſort. *Theſſalus* the ſonne of *Cimon*, of the village of LACIADES, hath accuſed, and do
cuſe *Alcibiades*, the ſonne of *Clinias*, of the village of SCAMBONIDES, to haue offended ag
the goddeſſes, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, counterfaiting in mockery their holy myſteries, &
ing them to his familiar friends in his houſe, himſelfe apparelled and arraied in a long
ment or cope, like vnto the veſtement the prieſt weareth when he ſheweth theſe holy
myſteries: and naming himſelfe the prieſt, *Polytion* the torch bearer, and *Theodorus* of th
lage of PHYGEA the verger, and the other lookers on, brethren, & felow ſcorners with
and all done in manifeſt contempt and deriſion, of holy ceremonies and myſteries of th
molpides, the religious prieſts and miniſters of the ſacred temple of the citie of ELEVSI
Alcibiades condemned being abſent. *Alcibiades* for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his goods confiſcat
ſides this condemnation, they decreed alſo, that all the religious prieſts and women ſhou
and accurſe him. But hereunto aunſwered one of the Nunnes called *Theano*, the daugh
Menon, of the village of AGRAVLA, ſaying that ſhe was profeſſed religious, to pray & to
not to curſe and banne. After this moſt grieuous ſentence and condemnation paſſed ag
him, *Alcibiades*, departed out of the citie of THVRIES, and went into the countrie of P
PONNESVS, where he continued a good ſeaſon in the citie of ARGOS. But in the end fe
his enemies, and hauing no hope to returne againe to his owne countrie with any ſafe
ſent vnto SPARTA to haue ſafe conduct & licence of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that he m
come and dwell in their countrie, promiſing them he would do them more good being
Alcibiades flyeth to Sparta. their freind, then he euer did them hurt, while he was their enemie. The LACEDÆM
ANS graunted his requeſt, and receiued him very willingly into their citie: where euen
his firſt comming, he did three things. The firſt was: That the LACEDÆMONIANS by
perſwaſion and procurement, did determine ſpeedily to ſend aid to the SYRACVSANS, w
they had long before delaied: and ſo they ſent *Gylippus* their captaine to ouerthrowe t
THENIANS armie, which they had ſent thither. The ſecond thing he did for them, was

he made them of GREECE to beginne warre vpon the ATHENIANS. The third, and greateſt matter of importance, was: That he did counſell them to fortifie the citie of DECELEA, which was within the territores of ATTICA ſelfe: which conſumed, and brought the power of the ATHENIANS lower, then any other thing whatſoeuer he could haue done. And if he were welcome, and well eſteemed in SPARTA, for the ſeruice he did to the common wealth: much more he wanne the loue and good wils of priuate men, for that he liued after the LACONIAN manner. So as they that ſaw his skinne ſcraped to the fleſh, and ſaw him waſh himſelfe in cold water, and how he did eate browne bread, and ſup of their blacke broth: would haue doubted (or to ſay better, neuer haue beleeued) that ſuch a man had euer kept cooke in his houſe, nor that he euer had ſeene ſo much as a perfuming panne, or had touched cloth of tiſſue made at MILETVM. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they ſay was one, whereby he moſt robbed mens hearts: that he could frame altogether with their manners and faſhions of life, transforming himſelfe more eaſily to all manner of ſhapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white colour: but *Alcibiades* could put vpon him any manners, cuſtomes or faſhions, of what nation ſoeuer, & could follow, exerciſe, and counterfaite them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in SPARTA, he was very painefull, and in continuall exerciſe: he liued ſparingly with litle, and led a ſtraight life. In IONIA, to the contrarie: there he liued daintily & ſuperfluouſly, and gaue himſelf to all mirth and pleaſure. In THRACIA, he dranke euer, or was alwaies on horſe back. If he came to *Tiſſaphernes*, lieutenant of the mightie king of PERSIA: he farre exceeded the magnificence of PERSIA in pompe and ſumptuouſnes. And theſe things notwithſtanding, neuer altered his naturall condition from one faſhion to another, neither did his manners (to ſay truely) receiue all ſorts of chaunges. But becauſe peraduenture, if he had ſhewed his naturall diſpoſition, he might in diuers places where he came, haue offended thoſe whoſe companie he kept, he did with ſuch a viſerd and cloke diſguiſe himſelfe, to fit their maners, whom he companied with, by transforming himſelfe into their naturall countenance. As he that had ſeene him when he was at SPARTA, to haue looked vpon the outward man, would haue ſaid as the common prouerbe ſaieth:

Alcibiades more chaungeable then the camelion.

It is not the ſonne of Achilles, but Achilles ſelfe:

Euen ſo it is euen he, whom *Lycurgus* brought vp. But he that had inwardly ſeene his naturall doings, and good will in deede lie naked before him: would haue ſaide contrarily, as they ſay commonly in another language.

This woman is no chaungeling.

For he entertained Queene *Timæa*, King *Agis* wife of SPARTA, ſo well in his abſence, he being abroad in the warres: that he got her with child, and ſhe her ſelfe denied it not. For ſhe being brought a bed of a ſonne, who was named *Leotychides*, openly to the world called him by that name: but when ſhe was amongeſt her familiars and very friends, ſhe called him ſoftly *Alcibiades*, ſhe was ſo farre in loue with him. And *Alcibiades* ieaſting out the matter, ſaide he had done it for no hurt, nor for any luſt of fleſh to ſatisfie his deſire: but onely to leaue of his race, to reigne amongeſt the LACEDÆMONIANS. This matter was brought by diuers vnto King *Agis* eares, who at the length beleeued it: but ſpecially when he beganne to make a reckoning of the time, how long it was ſince he lay with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ranne out of his chamber for feare the houſe would fall on his head: ſo that it was tenne moneths after ere he lay againe with her. Whereupon, her ſonne *Leotychides* being borne at the end of tenne moneths, he ſaide he was none of his: and this was the cauſe that *Leotychides* did not ſucceede afterwards in the Kingdome, becauſe he was not of the bloud royall. After the vtter ouerthrowe of the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, thoſe of the Iles of CHIO and LESBOS, with the CYZICENIANS, did ſend all about a tenne ambaſſadours to SPARTA: to let the LACEDÆMONIANS vnderſtand, they had good will to leaue the ATHENIANS, ſo they would ſend them aide to defende them. The BOEOTIANS fauored thoſe of LESBOS: *Pharnabazus*, the king of PERSIAES lieutenant, fauored the CYZICENIANS. This notwithſtanding, the LACEDÆMONIANS were better affected to help thoſe of CHIO firſt, by the perſwaſion of *Alcibiades*, who tooke their matters in

Alcibiades got Timæa, king Agis wife with child.

Leotychides Alcibiades baſtard.

hande. And he tooke sea himselfe and went into ASIA, where he almost turned the cou
of IONIA against the ATHENIANS: and keeping alwaies with the generals of the LA
DÆMONIANS, he did much hurt the ATHENIANS. Yet notwithstanding, king *Agis*
beare him ill will, partly for the iniurie he did him in dishonouring and defiling his wife,
partly also, for that he enuied his glorie: because the rumour ranne all about, that the most
of the goodly exploites of these warres did happen well, by *Alcibiades* meanes. Other
of the greatest authoritie among the SPARTANS, that were most ambitious among them,
The Lacedæmonians practise to kill Alcibiades. ganne in their mindes to be angrie with *Alcibiades*, for the enuie they bare him: who were
so great power, that they procured their gouernours to write their letters to their capt
in the field, to kill him. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, did no whit desist to doe all he could
the benefite of the LACEDÆMONIANS: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occasio
Alcibiades flying the Lacedæmonians goeth to Tisaphernes. fall into their hands. So in the end, for more suerty of his person, he went vnto *Tisaphernes*
of the king of PERSIAES lieutenantes, with whom he wanne incontinently such credit
he was the first and chiefest person he had about him. For this barbarous man being no
person, but rather malicious, & subtill of nature, and that loued fine & craftie men: did
der how he could so easily turne from one manner of liuing to another, and also at his qui
wit and vnderstanding. Moreouer, his companie and manner to passe the time away,
commonly maruellous full of mirth and pleasure, and he had such pleasant comely de
with him, that no man was of so sullen a nature, but he would make him merie, nor so c
lish, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also enuied h
they were yet glad to see him, & it did them good to be in his company, & vse talke with
In so much as this *Tisaphernes* (that otherwise was a churlish man, and naturally hated
GRECIANS) did giue him selfe so much vnto *Alcibiades* flatteries, and they pleased
so well: that he himselfe did studie to flatter *Alcibiades* againe, and make much of him.
Alcibiades called a pleasant place & goodly prospect. he called *Alcibiades* his faire house of pleasure, and goodly prospect: notwithstanding he
many goodly gardens, sweete springes, greene arbours and pleasant meadowes, and those
all royall and magnificent manner. *Alcibiades* despairing vtterly to finde any safetie or frie
shippe among the SPARTANS, and fearing on the other side king *Agis* also: he beganne
speake ill of them, and to disgrace all that they did, to *Tisaphernes*. By this practise he
Tisaphernes from aiding them so friendly as he might: moreouer, he did not vtterly des
the ATHENIANS. For he perswaded him that he should furnish the LACEDÆMONIANS
with litle money, to let them diminish and consume by litle and litle: to the end that
one had troubled and weakned the other, they both at the length should be the easier for
King to ouercome. This barbarous man did easily consent to this deuise. All the world th
saw he loued *Alcibiades*, and esteemed of him very much: in so much as he was sought
and regarded of all handes of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS sorie, and repe
ted them when they had receiued so great losse and hurt, for that they had decreed so seuer
The inconstancie of the common people. against *Alcibiades*, who in like manner was very sorowfull, to see them brought to so
termes, fearing, if the citie of ATHENS came to destruction, that he himselfe should fall
the ende into the handes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. No
about that time, all the power of the ATHENIANS were almost in the Ile of SAMOS, fro
whence with their armie by sea, they sought to suppresse the rebels that were vp against the
and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily strong to resist their e
mies, at the least by sea: but they stoode in great feare of the power of *Tisaphernes*, and of
hundred & fiftie gallies which were reported to be comming out of the countrie of PHE
CIA, to the aide of their enemies, which if they had come, the citie of ATHENS had bene w
terly spoyled, and for euer without hope of recouerie. The which *Alcibiades* vnderstanding
sent secretly vnto the chiefest men that were in the armie of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS, t
giue them hope he would make *Tisaphernes* their friend: howbeit not of any desire hee ha
to gratifie the people, nor that he trusted to the communaltie of ATHENS, but only to the ho
norable, and honest citizens, and that conditionally so as they had the heart and courage, t
bridle a litle the ouer licentiousnes and insolencie of the common people, & that they would
take vpon them the authoritie to gouerne, and to redresse their state, and to preserue the citie

of ATHENS, from finall and vtter destruction. Vpon this aduertisement, all the heads & chiefe men did giue very good eare vnto it, sauing only *Phrynichus*, one of the captains, & of the town of DRADES. Who mistrusting (that was true in deeds) that *Alcibiades* cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chiefe gouernment of ATHENS, the nobility, or the communalty, and did but seeke all the deuises & waies he could, to returne again if it might be possible, in any maner of sort, and that he did but curry fauour with the nobility, blaming and accusing the people: he stood altogether against the motion, whereupon *Alcibiades* deuise was not followed. And hauing now shewed himselfe open enemy to *Alcibiades*, he did secretly aduertise *Astiochus* then admirall to the LACEDAEMONIANS of *Alcibiades* practise, and warned him to take heed of him, & to lay him vp safe, as a double dealer, & one that had intelligence with both sides: but he vnderstood not how it was but one traitour to speake to another. For this *Astiochus* was a follower of *Tisaphernes* for his priuate cõmodity: and perceiuing *Alcibiades* in such credit with him, he did discouer to *Alcibiades* all that *Phrynichus* had aduertised him. *Alcibiades* straight sent men of purpose to SAMOS, vnto the captains there, to accuse *Phrynichus* of the treason he had reuealed against them. Those of the counsell there, receiuing this intelligence, were highly offended with *Phrynichus*. So, he seeing no better way to saue himselfe for mending of this fault, went about to make amends with cõmitting a worse fault. Thereupon he sent again to *Astiochus*, complaining much he had disclosed him, and yet neuerthelesse promised him if he would keepe his counsell, that he would deliuer the whole fleete and army of the ATHENIANS into his hands. Howbeit this treason of *Phrynichus* did the ATHENIANS no hurt at all, by reason of *Astiochus* counter treason: for he did let *Alcibiades* againe vnderstand what offer *Phrynichus* had made him. *Phrynichus* looking to be charged with this again, the second time before the counsell, by means of *Alcibiades*, did first aduertise the chiefe of the army of the ATHENIANS, That their enemies would come and set vpon them, and where, and how, & gaue them therefore warning to keepe neare their ships, to make a strong watch, and to fortifie themselues with all speed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other letters fro *Alcibiades*, by the which he did warne them againe to take heed of *Phrynichus*, because he had practised againe with their enemies, to deliuer the whole army of ATHENS into their hands. But they gaue no credit to his second letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparations and minds of the enemies, would seruc his owne turne with the false accusing of *Phrynichus*. Notwithstanding this, there was some falshood in fellowship: for one *Hermon* openly in the market place stabbed *Phrynichus* in with a dagger, and killed him. The fact being pleaded in law, & throughly considered of the dead body by the sentence of the people was condemned for a traytour: and *Hermon* the murtherer, and his fellowes, were crowned in recompence of their fact they had done to kill a traitour to the common weale. Wherefore all those that were *Alcibiades* friends, being at that time the stronger and greater men of the counsell of the army at SAMOS: they sent one *Pisander* to ATHENS, to attempt to alter the gouernment, and to encourage the noblemen to take vpon them the authority, and to plucke it from the people: assuring them that *Tisaphernes* would giue them aide to do it, by meanes of *Alcibiades*, who would make him their friend. This was the colour and cloke wherewithall they serued their turne, that did change the gouernment of ATHENS, & that brought it into the hands of a small number of nobility: for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called themselues fiue thousand. But so soone as they felt themselues strong, and that they had the whole authority of gouernment without contradiction in their hands, they made them no more seeme of *Alcibiades* and so they made warres more coldly and slackly then before. Partly because they mistrusted their citizens, who found the chaunge of gouernment very strange: and partly also because they were of opinion that the LACEDAEMONIANS (who at all times did fauour the gouernment of Nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them, then the common people that remained still in the city, stirred not, but were quiet against their wils for feare of danger, because there were many of them slaine, that boldly tooke vpon them in open presence to resist these foure hundred. But those that were in the campe, in the yle of SAMOS, hearing these newes, were so grieuously offended: that they resolued to returne incontinently againe vnto the hauen of PYRAEA. First of all they sent for *Alcibiades*, whom

The murder of Phrynichus and his condemnation.

Alcibiades called home from exile.

they chose their captaine: then they commaunded him straightly to leade them against the tyraunts, who had vsurped the libertie of the people of ATHENS. But neuertheleſſe he not therein, as another would haue done in this caſe, ſeeing him ſelfe ſo ſodainely crept in fauour with the common people: for he did not thinke he ſhould incontinently pleaſe gratifie them in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their and ſo great an army, being before but a baniſhed man, a vacabond, and a fugitiue. But contrary, as it became a generall worthy of ſuch a charge, he conſidered with him ſelfe it was his part wiſely to ſtay thoſe, who would in a rage and fury careleſſly caſt them away, and not ſuffer them to doe it. And truely *Alcibiades* was the cauſe of the preſe of the city of ATHENS at that time, from vtter deſtruction. For if they had ſodainely (according to their determination) departed from SAMOS to goe to ATHENS: the enemies no man to let them, might eaſely haue won all the countrey of IONIA, of HELLESPO of al the other Iles without ſtroke ſtriking, whileſt the ATHENIANS were buſie fighti againſt another in ciuill warres, and within the compaſſe of their owne wals. This *Al* alone, and no other, did preuent, not onely by perſwading the whole army, and declari inconuenience thereof, which would fall out vpon their ſodaine departure: but alſo by ting ſome particularly apart, and keeping a number backe by very force. To bring this one *Thraſibulus* of the towne of STIRA, did helpe him much: who went through the and cried out vpon them that were bent to enterpriſe this iourney. For he had the bigge loudeſt voice as they ſay, of any man that was in all the city of ATHENS. This was a act, and a great peece of ſeruice done by *Alcibiades*: that hee promiſed fiue hundred the PHENICIANS (which the LACEDÆMONIANS aſſuredly looked for, in their aide king of PERSIA) ſhould not come at all, or elſe if they came, it ſhould be in the fauour of THENIANS. For he departed immediatly, and went with great ſpeede to *Tiſapherne*: he handled in ſuch ſort, that he brought not the ſhippes that lay at rode before the city PENDA, and ſo he brake promiſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Therefore *Alcibi* marueilously blamed and accuſed, both of the one and the other ſide, to haue altered *T* nes mind, but chiefely of the LACEDÆMONIANS: who ſaide that he had perſwaded barous captaine, he ſhould neither aide the one nor the other, but rather to ſuffer them deuour and deſtroy each other. For it had beene out of doubt, if this great fleete and the Kings had come, to ioyne their force with either party: that they had taken from of them, the ſigniory and domination of the sea. Shortly after, the foure hundred no that had vſurped the authority and gouernment of ATHENS, were vtterly driuen away uerthrowen, by meanes of the friendly aide and aſſiſtaunce that *Alcibiades* friendes g that tooke the peoples part. So the citizens were very well pleaſed with *Alcibiad* much as they ſent for him to returne when he thought good. But he iudging with it would be no honour nor grace vnto him to returne without ſome well deſerning, he had done ſome greater exploite, as only vppon the peoples fauour and good will, otherwiſe his returne might bee both glorious and triumphant: departed firſt from with a ſmall number of gallies, and went layling vp and downe the Iles of COS and DOS. There he was aduertiſed, that *Mindarus*, the admirall of the LACEDÆMONI gone with all his fleete vnto the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and that the captaines THENIANS gaue chaſe vnto him. Thereupon he went alſo and ſayled thither with aide the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with eighteene gallies very inſtant, when they were both in the middeſt of their fight, with all their ſhips cie of ARYDOS. The battell was cruelly foughten betweene them from morning both the one and the other hauing the better in one part of the battell, and the worſ ther place. Now at the firſt encounter of *Alcibiades* comming, both parties had trary imaginations of him. For the enemies tooke heart vnto them: and the ATH beganne to be afeard. But *Alcibiades* ſet vp ſtraight his flagge in the toppe of the galli admirall, to ſhew what he was. Wherewithall, he ſet vpon the PELOPONNESIANS the better, and had certaine gallies of the ATHENIANS in chaſe: whereupon the PE NESIANS gaue ouer their chaſe, and fled. But *Alcibiades* followed them ſo luſtely, that

Thraſibulus a man of the biggeſt voice of all the Athenians.

The citizens of Athens ſent for Alcibiades to returne.

Battell by ſea before the citie of Arydos, betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

diuerse of them a ground, and brake their ships, and slue a great number of men that leapt into the sea, in hope to saue themselues by swimming a land. So notwithstanding that *Pharnabazus* was come thither to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did his best indeuour to saue their allies by the sea shore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end won thirty gallies of their enemies, and saued all their owne, and so did set vp certaine flagges of triumph and victorie. *Alcibiades* hauing now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs goe shew himselfe in triumph vnto *Tisaphernes*. So hauing prepared to present him with goodly rich presents, and appointed also a conuenient traine and number of saile meete for a generall, hee tooke his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for. For *Tisaphernes* standing in great hazard of displeasure, and feare of punishment at the Kinges handes, hauing long time before bene defamed by the LACEDÆMONIANS, who had complained of him, that hee did not fulfill the Kings commandement, thought that *Alcibiades* was arriued in very happy houre: whereupon he kept him prisoner in the city of SARDIS, supposing the wrong hee had done, would by this meanes easily discharge, and purge him to the King. Yet at the end of thirty daies, *Alcibiades* by fortune got a horse, and stealing from his keepers, fled vnto the city of CLAZOMENES: and this did more increase the suspition they had of *Tisaphernes*, because they thought that vnder hand he had wrought his liberty. *Alcibiades* tooke then sea again, and went to seeke out the army of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had found, & heard newes that *Mindarus*, and *Pharnabazus* were together in the city of CYZICVM: he made an oration to his souldiers, and declared vnto them how it was very requisit they should fight with their enemies, both by sea and by land, and moreouer that they should assault them within their forts and castels, because otherwise they could haue no money to defray their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediatly hoise saile, and so to go lie at anker in the Ile of PROCONESVS: where he tooke order that they should keepe in all the pinnases and brigantines among the shippes of warre, that the enemy might haue no maner of intelligence of his comming. The great showres of raine also, with thunder and darke weather that fell out sodainly vpon it, did greatly further him in his attempt and enterprise. In so much as not onely his enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knew nothing of his comming. So some made their reckonning, that they could doe litle or nothing all that day: yet he made them sodainely imbarke, and hoise saile. They were no sooner in the maine sea, but they descried a farre off the gallies of their enemies, which lay at rode before the hauen of CYZICVM. And fearing least the great number of his fleete would make them flie, and take land before hee could come to them: he commaunded certaine captaines to stay behinde, and to rowe softely after him, and him selfe with forty gallies with him, went towardes the enemies to prouoke them to fight. The enemies supposing there had beene no more shippes, then those that were in sight: did set out presently to fight with them. They were no sooner ioyned together, but *Alcibiades* shippes that came behinde, were also descried: the enemies were so afeard thereat, that they cast about, and fled straight. *Alcibiades* leauing his fleete, followed the chase with twenty of the best gallies he had, and draue them a land. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued them so couragiously at their heeles, that he slue a great number of the on the maine land, who thought by flying to haue saued them selues. Moreouer, *Mindarus*, & *Pharnabazus*, being come out of the city to rescue their people, were ouerthrowen both. He slue *Mindarus* in the field, fighting valiantly: as for *Pharnabazus*, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS spoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and tooke besides all their enemies shippes. After they tooke the city of CYZICVM, *Pharnabazus* hauing left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being slaine, they had not only the possession of the whole country of HELLESPONT, which they kept: but they draue their enemis by force out of all partes of the sea. There were at that time certaine letters intercepted, whereby a secretary gaue aduertisement vnto the *Ephori* at SPARTA, of the ouerthrow in this sort. All is lost, *Mindarus* is slaine, our people die for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the souldiers of ATHENS that had beene at this iourney and ouerthrow, grew to such a pride and reputation of them selues, that they would not, and disdained also to serue with the other souldiers that had bene beaten many times, & went away with the worse. Where they to the

Alcibiades victory of the Lacedemonians by sea.

Alcibiades taken prisoner at Sardis, flieth from Tisaphernes.

Alcibiades victoria ad Cyzicum.

contrary had neuer beene ouercome, as a litle before it happened, that the captaine *Thra*
had bene ouerthrowen by the city of EPHESVS. And for this ouerthow, the EPHESI
had set vp a triumph, and token of brasse, to the vtter shame and ignominie of the AT
ANS. For the which *Alcibiades* souldiers did verie much rebuke *Thrasillus* men, and
ceedingly extoll their captaine and themselues, and would neither encampe with them
ther haue to doe with them, nor yet keepe them companie. Vntill such time as *Pha*
came with a great armie against them, as well of footemen as horsemen, when they
raging vpon the ABYDENIANS: and then *Alcibiades* went to the rescue of them, a
Pharnabazus battell, and ouerthrew him once againe, and did together with *Thrasyl*
him euen vntill darke night. Then both *Alcibiades* and *Thrasyllus* souldiers did com
gether, one reioysing with another: and so returned all with great ioy into one camp
next morning *Alcibiades* set vp a triumph for the victorie hee had the date before, a
went to spoile and destroy *Pharnabazus* countrey, where he was gouernor, and no ma
once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken prisoners, certaine priest
Nuns of the countrey: but *Alcibiades* freely deliuered them afterwards without ransome
preparing to make warre against the CHALCEDONIANS, who were reuolted frō the A
NIANS, and had receiued a garrison and gouernor of the LACEDÆMONIANS into their
he was aduertised that they had brought in all their goods & cattels out of their fields,
deliuered them to the safe custody of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbors &
Hereupon he led his army into their borders, and sent a herauld before to summon the
THYNIANS, to make amends for the wrong they had done the ATHENIANS. The BITH
ANS fearing least *Alcibiades* would set vpon them, did straight deliuer him the goods they
as before in their custody, and moreouer, made a league with the ATHENIANS besides.
Alcibiades victorie at Chalcedonia. done, he went and laid siege to the city of CHALCEDON, the which he enuironed all
from the one side of the sea to the other. *Pharnabazus* came thither, thinking to haue rai
siege. And *Hippocrates*, a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that was gouernour of the
assembled all the force he was able to make within the same, and made a saly out also vpo
ATHENIANS at the very same time. Whereupon *Alcibiades* putting his men in ord
battell, so as they might giue charge vppon them both at one instant: hee fought so valia
that he forced *Pharnabazus* to run his way with shame enough, & slue *Hippocrates* in the
with a great number of his men. Then tooke he the seas againe, to goe towards the cou
Alcibiades tooke the city of Selybrea. of HELLESPONT, to get some money, where vpon the sodaine he did take the city of Se
BREA: because he valiantly put him selfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For
tain of his friends within, with whom he had secret practise, had giuen him a token, that w
time serued, they would shew a burning torch in the aire at midnight: but they were co
led to shew this fire in the aire before they were ready, for feare least one of their confed
would bewraie the matter, who sodainely repented him. Now this torch burning in the
was set vp before *Alcibiades* was readie with his company. But hee perceiuing the sign
tooke about thirtie men with him in his company, and ran with them to the wals of the c
hauing commaunded the rest of his army to follow him with all speede possible. The
was opened to him, and to his thirty men: besides them there followed twenty other
armed men. Howbeit they were no sooner entred the city, but they heard the citizens
med come against them: so that there was no hope to scape, if they did tarie their comm
The present wit of Alcibiades. Neuertheles, considering that vntill that present time he was neuer ouercome in battell, wh
he had taken charge, it grieued him verie much to flie: wherefore it straight came in his
to make silence by sound of trumpet, and after silence made, he caused one of them that w
about him to make proclamation with a loude voice, that the SELYBRIANIANS should
take armes against the ATHENIANS. This cooled them a litle that would faine haue be
doing, because they supposed that all the army of the ATHENIANS had bene alreadie in
city: the other on the contrary side, were verie glad to talke of peace, without any fur
daunger. And as they beganne to parle vpon composition, the rest of *Alcibiades* army w
come on. Now he thinking in deede (which was true) that the SALYBRIANIANS sought
thing but peace, & fearing least the THRACIANS which were many in number (& came w

good will to serue him in that iourney) would sacke and spoile the citie, he made them all to goe out againe: and so concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he did them no more hurt vpon their humble submission, but made them pay him a summe of money, and so leauing a garrison of the ATHENIANS within the citie, he departed thence. Whilest *Alcibiades* was in treatie with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN captaines that lay at the siege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with *Pharnabazus*, that he should giue them a summe of money, and giue vp the towne into the ATHENIANS hands, to enioy it as they had before. And with expresse condition also, that the ATHENIANS should make no rodes into *Pharnabazus* dominions, to hurt or spoile any of his: and likewise should be bound to giue good safe conduct vnto the ambassadours of the ATHENIANS, to go and come safe from time to time, to the King of PERSIA. The other captaines being sworne to this peace, *Pharnabazus* conditioned also that *Alcibiades* at his returne should likewise be sworne to the peace and conditions thereof. But *Alcibiades* said he would not be sworne at all, vnlesse *Pharnabazus* were first sworne for his part. Thus when othes were taken of either side, *Alcibiades* went also against those of BYZANTIVM, who in like case had rebelled against the ATHENIANS. At his first comming thither, he enuironned the citie round about with a wall. Afterwards he practised with two secret friends of his, *Anaxilaus* & *Lycurgus*, & certain others within the citie, who promised him to deliuer it into his handes, so they might be assured he would do them no hurt. To colour this practise, he gaue it out, that he must needes leaue the siege, and depart with speed, for certaine news that were come out of IONIA: & thereupon he imbarked presently, and went out of the hauen at none daies with all his ships, howbeit he returned againe the same night. And going a land with the choicest and best armed men he had, he approached the walles of the citie, without any manner of noise, hauing left order with them that remained in the ships, that in the meane season they should rowe with all force into the hauen, with as great cries and shoutes as might be, to feare and trouble the enemies: partly to feare the BIZANTINES the more with their sodaine comming among them, & partly that his confederates within the citie, might with better opportunitie receiue him and his companie into the towne with the more assured safetie, whilest euery man ran to the hauen, to relist them that were vpon the gallies. Neuertheless they went not away vnfought with. For those that lay in garrison within the citie, some of the PELOPONNESIANS, other BOEOTIANS, & other MEGARIANS, did so valiantly repulse them that came out of their gallies, that they draue them to retire abord againe. Afterwards hearing how the ATHENIANS were entred the city on the other side, they put themselues in battell ray, & went to meet them. The battell was terrible of both parts: but *Alcibiades* in the end obtained victorie, leading the right wing of his battell, & *Theramenes* the left. The victory being gotten, he toke 300 of his enemies prisoners, who had escaped the furie of the battell. But after the battell, there was not a BYZANTINE put to death, neither banished, nor his goods confiscated: because it was capitulated by *Alcibiades* with his confederats, that neither he, nor his, should hurt any of the BIZANTINES either in person or goods, nor any way should riffle them. And *Anaxilaus* being afterwardes accused of treason in LACEDÆMON, for this practise: he answered and iustified himselfe in such sort, that they could not find he had committed the fault laide vnto his charge. For he sayd, that he was no LACEDÆMONIAN, but a BYZANTINE: and that hee saw not LACEDÆMON in daunger, but BYZANTIVM, which the enemies had compassed about with a wall they had built, that it was vnpossible to bring any thing into the city. Moreouer he alledged, that they hauing very small store of corne within the city (as was true indeed) the PELOPONNESIANS, and BOEOTIANS, that laie there in garrison did eate it vp, while the poore BYZANTINES themselues, their wiues and children, died for very hunger. Therefore it could not be saide of him, that he had betrayed his countrey, but rather that he had deliuered it from the miseries and calamities the warres brought vpon it: wherein hee had followed the example of the honestest men of LACEDÆMON, who did acknowledge nothing honest and iust, but that which was necessary and profitable for their country. The LACEDÆMONIANS hearing his reasons he alledged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him goe. Now *Alcibiades* desirous in the end to see his native countrey againe (or to speake more truely,

The Chalcedonians receiue the Athenians.

Alcibiades stratagem at Byzantium.

Alcibiades winneth Byzantium.

that his countrimen should see him) after he had so many times ouerthrowen their enemies battell: he hoised saile and directed his course towards ATHENS, bringing with him all the gallies of the ATHENIANS, richly furnished and decked all about with skutchines & targets and other armor & weapon gotten amongst the spoiles of his enemis. Moreouer, he brought with him many other ships which he had wonne and broken in the warres, besides many ensignes and other ornaments: all which being counted together one with the other, made the number of two hundred ships. Furthermore, where *Duris* SAMIAN writeth (who chalengeth this be came of his house) that at his returne one *Chrysogonus*, an excellent plaier on flute (that had wonne certaine of the *Pythian* games) did play such a note, that at the sound thereof the galley slaues would keepe stroke with their owers, and that *Callipides* another excellent player of tragedies, playing the part of a comedie, did stirre them to row, being in such like garments as euerie master of such science vseth commonly to weare, presenting himself vpon the stage before the people to shew his art: and that the admirall galley wherein himselfe was, was rigged be hauen with a purple sule, as if some maske had come into a mans house to some great banquet made: neither *Ephorus*, nor *Theopompus* nor *Xenophon*, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, me thinkes it should not be true, that he returning from exile after so long a banishment, and hauing passed ouer such sorrowes and calamities as he had sustained, would so proudly and presumptuously shew himselfe vnto the ATHENIANS, whereby contrarie, it is most certaine, that he returned in great feare and doubt. For when he was arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, he would not set foote a land, before he first saw his cosen *Euryptolemus*, and diuerse other of his friends from the hatches of his ship, standing vpon the sands in the hauen mouthe. Who were come thither to receiue and welcome him, and tolde him that he might be bolde to land, without feare of any thing. He was no sooner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to see him: with so great loue and affection that they tooke no heed of the other captaines that came with him, but clustred all to him only, and cried out for ioy to see him. Those that could come neere him, did welcome and embrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers vpon his head: and those that could not come neere him, saw him a far off, and olde folkes did point him out to the yonger sort. But this common ioy was mingled notwithstanding, with teares and sorow, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes & calamities, and to compare them with their present prosperitie: waying with themselues all how they had not lost SICILIA, nor their hope in all things els had failed them, if they had deliuered themselues & the charge of their armie into *Alcibiades* hands, when they sent for him to appeare in person before them. Considering also how he found the citie of ATHENS in manner put from the seigniorie and commaundement on the sea, and on the other side how their force by land was brought vnto such extreamitie, that ATHENS scantly could defend her suburbes, the city selfe being so deuided and turmoiled with ciuill dissention: yet he gathered together those few, and small force that remained, and had not only restored ATHENS to her former power and soueraintie on the sea, but had made her also a conquerer by land. Now the decree for his repaire home againe, was past before by the people, at the instant request of *Callias*, the sonne of *Callæschrus*, who did prefer it: as he him selfe did testifie in his elegies, putting *Alcibiades* in remembraunce of the good turne he had done him, saying:

Alcibiades honorable returne into his countrie.

I was the first that moued in open conference,
the peoples voice to call thee home, when thou wert banisht hence.
So was I eke the first, which there to gaue consent,
and therefore may I boldly say, by truth of such intent:
I was the onely meane, to call thee home againe,
by such request so rightly made, to moue the peoples vaine.
And this may serue for pledge, what friendship I thee beare:
fast sealed with a faithfull tongue, as plainely shall appeare.

But notwithstanding, the people being assembled all in counsaile, *Alcibiades* came before them, and made an oration: wherein he first lamented all his mishappes, and found him selfe greeued a litle with the wronges they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the end to his ow-

ed fortune, and some spightfull god that enuied his glorie and prosperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to haue aduantage of them: and therewithall perswaded the people to be of good courage, and a feard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of golde, and chose him generall againe of ATHENS, with soueraigne power & authority both by land and by sea. And at that very instant was decreed by the people, that hee should be restored againe to his goods, and that the priestes *Eumolpides* should absolue him of all their curses, and that the heraulds should with open proclamation reuoke the execrations and cursings they had thundered out against him before, by commaundement of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, sauing *Theodorus* the Bishop, who saide: I did neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurt to the common wealth. Now *Alcibiades* flourished in his chiefest prosperitie, yet were there some notwithstanding that misliked very much the time of his landing: saying it was very vnlucky and vnfortunate. For the verie day of his returne and arriuall, fell out by chaunce on the feast which they call *Plynteria*, as you would say, the washing day, which they celebrate in honour of *Minerua*: on the which day, the priestes that they call *Praxiergides*, do make certain secret and hidden sacrifices and ceremonies, being the fiue and twentieth day of the moneth of September, and do take from the image of this goddesse, all her rayment and iewels, and keepe the image close couered ouer. Hereupon the ATHENIANS do ascribe that day, for a most vnfortunate day, and are very circumspect to do any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly scanned abroade of euery body, that it seemed the goddesse was not content, nor glad of *Alcibiades* returne: and that she did hide her selfe, because she would not see him, nor haue him come neere her. Notwithstanding all these toyes and ceremonies, when *Alcibiades* found euery thing fall out well at his returne, and as he would haue wished it: he armed a hundred galleys presently, to returne againe to the warres. Howbeit he wisely regarded the time and solemnitie of celebration of these mysteries, and considerately staied vntill they had finished all. And it fell out, that after the LACEDAEMONIANS had taken & fortified the citie of DECELEA, within the territorie of ATTICA, and that the enemies being the stronger in the field, did keepe the way going from ATHENS to ELEVSIN, so as by no possible meanes they could make their solemne procesiō by land, with such honour and deuotion as they were before accustomed to do: and thereby all the sacrifices, daunces, and many other holy deuoute ceremonies they were wonte to do by the way, in singing the holy songe of *Iacchus*, came of very necessitie to be left off, and cleane laide a side. Then *Alcibiades* thought he should do a meritorious deed to the goddes, and an acceptable to men, to bring the olde ceremonies vp againe vpon the said feast: and thereupon purposed to accompanie the procession, & defend it by power against all inuasion and disturbance by the enemies. As one that foresawe one of those two things would come to passe. Either that *Agis* king of the LACEDAEMONIANS would not sturre at all against the sacred ceremonies, and by this meanes should much imbase and diminish his reputation and glory: or if he did come out to the field, that he would make the battell very gratefull to the goddes, considering it should be in defence of their most holy feast and worshippe, and in the sight of his countrey, where the people should see and witnesse both his valiantnesse, and also his courage. *Alcibiades* being fully resolued vpon this procession, went and made the priests *Eumolpides*, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, priuy to his determination. Then he sent out skoutes to watch on the side of the hilles thereabouts, and to view the way of their perambulation. The next morning very early hee sent out light horsemen also to scowre the countrey. Then he made the priests, she professed, and all the ministers of religion, goe in procession, together with those that followed the same: and he himselfe compassed them about with his army on euery side, marching in battell ray, and verie good order, and with great silence. This was an honourable and deuout leading of an army, and such as if his greatest enemies would confesse a troth, they could not but say, *Alcibiades* had as much shewed the office of a high bishoppe, as of a noble souldier and good captaine. So he ended this procession, returning to ATHENS in all safe order againe, and not an enemy that durst once looke out into the field to set vppon them. Now this did more in-

Alcibiades oration to the people.

Alcibiades chosen generall with soueraign authoritie.

Plynteria.

Alcibiades restored the olde ceremonies.

creaſe the greatneſſe of his minde, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his ſufficien
and wiſe conduction of an armie: inſomuch as they thought him vnuincible, hauing th
ueraigne power and authoritie of a generall. Furthermore, he ſpake ſo faire to the poore p
ple, and meaner ſort, that they chiefely wiſhed & deſired he would take vpon him like a
yea, and many went to him to perſwade him in it, as though he ſhould thereby withſta
enuie, and driue away the lawes and cuſtomes of trying of matters by the voices of the peo
and all ſuch fond deuiſes, as did deſtroy the ſtate of the common weale. And further
they ſaid it was very needfull that he alone ſhould take vpon him the whole rule and gou
ment of the citie, that he might diſpoſe all things according to his will, and not ſtan
feare of ſlaunderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether *Alcibiades* euer had any mind
ſurpe the kingdome, the matter is ſomewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greateſt m
the citie fearing leaſt in deede he ment ſome ſuch thing, did haſten his departure as ſoo
they could poſſible, doing all other thinges according to his minde: and did aſſigne him
aſſociates in his charge of generall, as he himſelfe beſt liked. So in the end he departed w
fleete of a hundred gallies, and firſt of all he fell with the Ile of ANDROS, where he ouer
by fight the inhabitants of the ſaid Ile, and certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that were amo
them: but he tooke not the citie, which was one of the firſt matters his enemies did a
him for. For if euer man was ouerthrowen and enuied for the eſtimation they had of hi
lure and ſufficiencie, truly *Alcibiades* was the man. For the notable and ſundrie ſeruices he
done, wonne him ſuch eſtimation of wiſedom and valiantneſſe, that where he ſlacked i
ſeruice whatſoeuer, he was preſently ſuſpected, iudging the ill ſucceſſe not in that he could
but for that he would not: and that where he vndertooke any enterpriſe, nothing could w
ſtand or lie in his way. Hereupon the people perſwading themſelues, that immediatly afte
departure, they ſhould heare that the Ile of CHIO was taken, with all the countrie of Io
they were angrie they could haue no newes ſo ſodainely from him as they looked for. M
ouer, they did not conſider the lacke of money he had, and ſpecially making warre with
enemies, as were euer relieued with the great King of PERSIAES aide, and that for need
ſake he was ſundrie times driuen to leaue his campe, to ſeeke money where he could get
pay his ſouldiers, and to maintaine his armie. Now for teſtimonie hereof, the laſt accuſa
that was againſt him, was onely for this matter. *Lyſander* being ſent by the LACEDÆMO
ANS for admirall and generall of their armie by ſea, vſed ſuch policie with *Cyrus* the kin
PERSIAES brother, that he got into his hands a great ſumme of money: by meanes wh
he gaue vnto his mariners foure oboles a day for their wages, where before they were w
to haue but three, and yet *Alcibiades* had much a doe to furniſh his with three onely a d
For this cauſe, to get money, *Alcibiades* ſailed into CARIA. But in the meane time *A
chus*, whom *Alcibiades* had left his lieutenant behinde him, and had giuen him charge
the ſhippes in his abſence, being a very skilfull ſea man, but otherwiſe a haſtie hare
foole, and of ſmall capacity: hee being expreſly commaunded by *Alcibiades* not to fig
any caſe, though the enemies offered him battell, was ſo fooliſh raſhe, and made ſo litle re
ming of his ſtraight commaundement, that he armed his owne gally, whereof him ſelf
captaine, and another beſides, and went to the city of EPHESVS, paſſing all along his
mies gallies, reuiling and offering villany to thoſe that ſtood vpon the hatches of their g
Lyſander being maruellouſly prouoked by theſe wordes, went and encountred him at th
with a few ſhippes. The other captaines of the gallies of the ATHENIANS, ſeeing *Anti*
in daunger, went to aide him, one after another. Then *Lyſander* of his part alſo ſet out all
whole fleete againſt him, and in the end ouercame them. *Antiochus* ſelfe was killed in the
flict, and many gallies and men were taken priſoners: wherefore *Lyſander* ſet vp ſhewes o
umph in token of victory. *Alcibiades* hearing theſe ill fauoured news, returned preſently w
all poſſible ſpeede to SAMOS: and when he came thither, he went with all the reſt of his f
to offer *Lyſander* battell. But *Lyſander* quietly contenting himſelfe with his firſt victory: w
not out againſt him. Now this victory was no ſooner won, but one *Thraſybulus* the ſonn
Thraſon, *Alcibiades* enemy, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to ATHENS
accuſe *Alcibiades* to the people: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that h

Alcibiades ſecond iourney.

Lack of money, the occaſion of the ouerthrowe of the Athenians armie by ſea.

Antiochus raſhnes, procured his owne death, and the ouerthrow of the Athenians army.

Lyſander being generall of the Lacedæmonians, ouercame the Athenians.

Alcibiades accuſed again by Thraſybulus.

lost many shippes, for that he regarded not his charge, carelessely putting men in trust, whom he gaue too great credit to, because they were good fellowes, and would drinke drunke with him, and were full of marriners mockes and knauish ieastes, such as they vse commonly amongst themselues. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleasure abroad, here and there, scraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheere, and feasting of the Abidenian and Ionian courtisans, when the enemies armie was so neere theirs as it was. Moreouer, they laide to his charge, that he did fortifie a castle in the countrie of Thracia, neere vnto the citie Bisanthe, for a place to retire himselfe vnto, either because hee could not, or rather that he would not, liue any longer in his owne countrie. Vpon those accusations, the Athenians giuing ouer credit to the report: did immediatly chuse new captaines, and thereby declared their misliking. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, and fearing least they would doe him some worse harme, did leaue straight the Athenians campe, and gathering a certaine number of straungers together, went of himselfe to make warre vpon certaine free people of the Thracians, who were subiect to no prince nor state: where he got a maruellous masse of money together, by meanes whereof he did assure the Grecians inhabiting those marches, from all inuasion of forreine enemies. Now *Tydeus*, *Menander*, and *Adimantus* the Athenians captaines, being afterwardes in a place commonly called the goates riuer, with all the gallies the citie of Athens had at that time vppon that coast: vsed euerie morning commonly to goe to the sea, to offer battell to *Lysander*, who rode at an ancker before the city of *Lampsacus*, with all the Lacedæmonians army by sea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watch or warde, as men that were careless of their enemies. *Alcibiades* being on the land not farre off, and finding their great fault and negligence: tooke his horse, and went to them, and told them that they lay on an ill shore, where there was no good rode, nor towne, and where they were driuen to seeke their vittels, as farre as to the city of Sestos, and that they suffered their mariners to leaue their shippes, and goe a land when they lay at ancker, straggling vp and downe the countrey as they would themselues, without regard that there lay a great army of their enemies before them, readie to bee set out at their generals commaundement: and therefore hee aduised them to remoue thence, and to goe to cast ancker before the city of Sestos. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduised by him: and that which was worst of all, *Tydeus*, one of the captaines, stoutly commaunded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to doe with the matter, and that other had charge of the army. Whereupon *Alcibiades* fearing they would purpose some treason against him, did depart presently from them. And as hee went his way, he saide to some of his friends which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the Athenians had not beene so round with him, he would haue forced the Lacedæmonians to haue come to the battell in despight of their beardes, or else he would haue driuen them to forsake their shippes. Some tooke this for a glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to haue done it, because he could haue brought from land a great number of Thracians, both archers and horsemen, with whom he might haue giuen a charge vpon the Lacedæmonians, and done great michiefe vnto their campe. But now, how wisely *Alcibiades* did foresee the faults he tolde the Athenians captaines of: their great misfortune and losse that followed incontinently, did too plainly witnesse it to the worlde. For *Lysander* came so fiercely vpon them on a sodaine, that of all the ships that they had in their whole fleete, onely eight galleys were saued, with whom *Conon* fled: and the other being not much lesse then two hundred in number, were euery one of them taken and caried away, with three thousand prisoners whom *Lysander* put to death. Shortly after, he tooke the citie selfe of Athens, and rased their long walles euen to the grouud. After this great and notable victorie, *Alcibiades* fearing sore the Lacedæmonians, who then without let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by sea and by land: he went into the countrie of Bithynia, and caused great good to be brought after him, and tooke a maruellous summe of money with him, besides great riches he left also in the castels of Thracia, where he did remaine before. Howbeit he lost much of his goods in Bithynia, which certaine Thracians dwelling in that country, had robbed him of, & taken from him. So he

Alcibiades put from his authoritie of generall.

Lysander rode at ancker before Lampsacus.

The Athenians regarded not Alcibiades good counsell.

The Athenians ouercome by Lysander. Athens taken by Lysander.

Alcibiades flieth into the countrie of Bithynia.

determined to repaire forthwith vnto king *Artaxerxes*, hoping that when the king had o proued him, he ſhould find him a man of no leſſe ſeruice, then he had found *Themiſtocles* fore him: beſides that the occaſion of his going thither, ſhould be much iuſter then his w For he did not goe thither, to make warre againſt the citie of ATHENS and his countrie, *Themiſtocles* did: but of a contrarie intent, to make interceſſion to the king, that it would pl him to aide them. Now *Alcibiades* thinking he could vſe no better meane, then *Pharna* helpe only, to ſee him ſafely conducted to the Kings court: he propoſed his iourney to hi to the countrie of PHRYGIA, where he abode a certain time to attend vpon him, & was honorably entertained and receiued of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the ATHENIANS fou themſelues deſolate, and in miſerable ſtate to ſee their empire loſt: but then much more, wh *Lyſander* had taken all their liberties, and did ſet thirtie gouernours ouer their citie. Now

Lyſander appointed 30. tyrants ouer the citizens of Athens.

late, after all was loſt (where they might haue recouered againe, if they had bene wiſe) they ganne together to bewaile and lament their miſeries and wretched ſtate, looking backe v all their wilfull faultes and follies committed: among which, they did reckon their ſec time of falling out with *Alcibiades*, was their greateſt fault. So they baniſhed him only of lice and diſpleaſure, not for any offence himſelfe in perſon had committed againſt them, ſa that his lieutenant in his abſence had ſhamefully loſt a few of their ſhips: and they themſe more ſhamefully had driuen out of their citie, the nobleſt ſouldier, and moſt skilfull capt that they had. And yet they had ſome litle poore hope left, that they were not altogether away, ſo long as *Alcibiades* liued, and had his health. For before, when he was a forſaken and led a baniſhed life: yet he could not liue idlely, and do nothing. Wherefore now more, ſaid they to themſelues: if there be any helpe at all, he will not ſuffer out of dou inſolencie and pride of the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yet abide the cruelties and outra theſe thirtie tyrants. And ſurely the common people had ſome reaſon to haue theſe thou in their heads, conſidering that the 30 gouernors themſelues did what they could poſſibly out *Alcibiades* doings, and what he went about. Inſomuch as *Critias* at the laſt, declared to *ſander*, that ſo long the LACEDÆMONIANS might reckon themſelues Lordes ou GREECE, as they kept from the common people the rule and authoritie of the citie THENS. And further he added, that notwithſtanding the people of ATHENS could well to liue like ſubiects vnder the gouernement of a fewe: yet *Alcibiades* whileſt he liued, w neuer ſuffer them ſo to be reigned ouer, but would attempt by all deuiſe he could to bri change and innouation among them. Yet *Lyſander* would not credit theſe perſwaſions, fore ſpeciall commandement was ſent to him from the Senate of LACEDÆMON, vpon

The Lacedæmonians will Lyſander to kill Alcibiades.

allegiance, that he ſhould deuiſe to kill *Alcibiades* by all meanes he could procure: e becauſe in trothe they feared the ſubtiltie of his wit, and the greatneſſe of his courage, enterpriſe matters of great weight and danger, or elſe that they ſought to gratifie K *Agis* by it. *Lyſander* being thus ſtraightly commaunded, did ſend and practiſe incontin with *Pharnabazus* to execute the fact: who gaue his brother *Magæus*, and his vncle *ſamithres*, commiſſion to attempt the matter. Now was *Alcibiades* in a certaine vill PHRYGIA, with a concubine of his called *Timandra*. So he thought hee dreamed one n

Alcibiades dreame in Phrygia before his death.

that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how ſhee dandling him in her armes, dreſſed his head, friſeling his haire, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other that he thought *Magæus* ſtrake off his head, and made his body to be burnt: and then goeth, this viſion was but a litle before his death. Thoſe that were ſent to kill him, dur enter the houſe where he was, but ſet it a fire round about. *Alcibiades* ſpying the fire, ſuch apparell and hanginges as hee had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to haue out: and ſo caſting his cloke about his left arme, tooke his naked ſword in his other h and ranne out of the houſe, himſelfe not once touched with fire, ſauing his clothes we litle ſinged. Theſe murderers ſoſoone as they ſpied him, drew backe, and ſtoode aſunder,

Alcibiades death.

durſt not one of them come neare him, to ſtand and fight with him: but a farre off, they ſtowed ſo many arrowes and darts of him, that they killed him there. Now when they

Timandra the curtiſan buried Alcibiades.

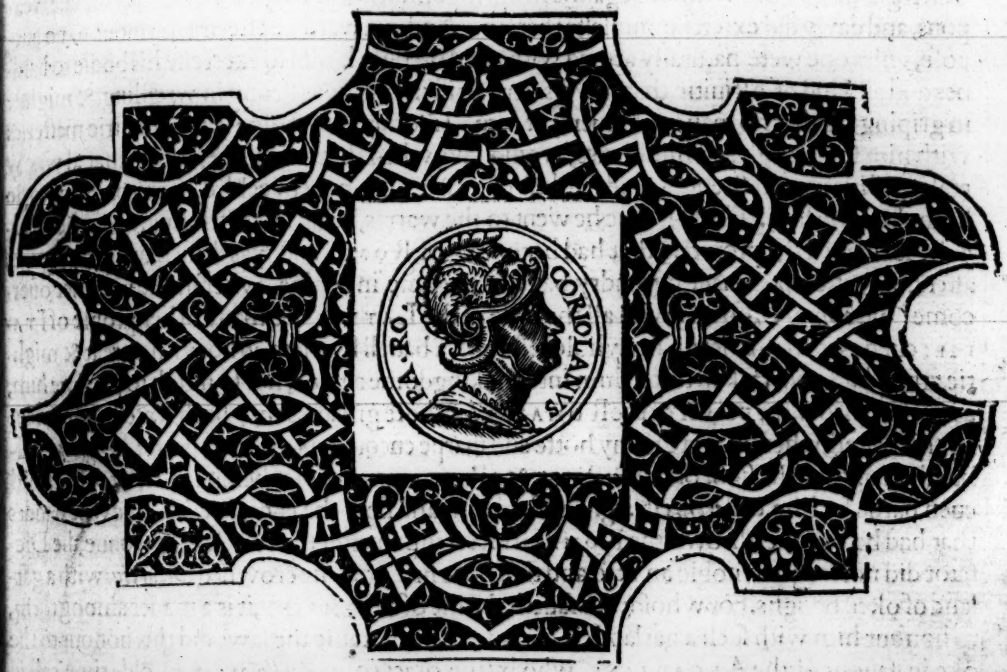
left him, *Timandra* went and tooke his body which ſhee wrapped vp in the beſt linnen had, and buried him as honorably as ſhee could poſſible, with ſuch thinges as ſhe had,

could get together. Some holde opinion that *Lais*, the onely famous curtisan, which they say was of CORINTHE (though indeede shee was borne in a litle towne of SICILIA, called HICCARA, where she was taken) was his daughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death of *Alcibiades*, there are some that agree to all the rest I haue written, sauing that they saye, it was neither *Pharnabazus*, nor *Lysander*, nor the LACEDÆMONIANS, which caused him to be slaine: but that he keeping with a yong gentlewoman of a noble house, whom he had stolē away, and intised to follie: her bretheren to reuenge this iniurie, went to set fire vpon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we haue tolde you, thinking to leape out of the fire.

Lais a curtisan of Corinthe.

The ende of Alcibiades life.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS *Martius Coriolanus.*



THE house of the *Martians* at ROME was of the number of the *Patricians*, out of the which hath sprong many noble personages, whereof *Ancus Martius* was one, king *Numaes* daughters sonne, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hostilius*. Of the same house were *Publius*, & *Quintus*, who brought to ROME their best water they had by conduites. *Censorinius* also came of that familie, that was so surnamed, because the people had chosen him *Censor* twise. Through whose persuasion they made a lawe, that no man from thenceforth might require, or enioy the *Censorship* twise. *Caius Martius*, whose life we intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a widowe, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discommodities to a childe, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue aboue the common sorte: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully doe complaine, that it is the occasion of their casting awaye, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man also is a good proofe to confirme some mens opinions. That a rare and excellent witte vntaught, doth bring forth many good and euill thinges together, like a fat soile bringeth forth herbes & weedes that lieth vnmanured. For this *Martius* naturall wit and great hart did maruellously sturre vp his courage

The familie of the Martians.

Publius and Quintus Martius, brought the water by conduites to Rome. Censorinus lawe.

to doe and attempt notable actes. But on the other side for lacke of education, he was so cholericke and impacient, that he would yeeld to no liuing creature: which made him churlish, vnciuil, and altogether vnfit for any mans conuersation. Yet men marueling much at his constancie, that he was neuer ouercome with pleasure, nor money, and how he would endure easilie all manner of paines and trauailles: thereupon they well liked and commended his stowtnes and temperancie. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen vseth to be with another in the cittie. His behauiour was so vnpleasant to them by reason of a certaine insolent and sterne manner he had, which because it was too lordly, was disliked. And to say truly, the greatest benefite that learning bringeth men vnto, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compasse and rule of reason, to be ciuill and curteous, & to like better the meane state, then the higher. Now in those dayes, valiantnes was honoured in ROME aboue all other vertues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of vertue it selfe, as including in that generall name, all other speciall vertues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin, was as much as valiantnesse. But *Martius* being more inclined to the warres, then any other gentleman of his time: beganne from his childehood to giue himselfe to handle weapons, and dayly did exercise himselfe therein. And outward he esteemed armour to no purpose, vnles one were naturally armed within. Moreouer he did so exercise his bodie to hardnes and all kind of actiuitie, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, & mightie in griping, so that no man could euer cast him. Insomuch as those that would trie masterie with him for strengh and nimblenes, would saye when they were ouercome: that all was by reason of his natural strengh, and hardnes of warde, that neuer yeelded to any paine or trauell he tooke vpon him. The first time he went to the warres, being but a stripling, was when *Tarquine* surnamed the prowde (that had bene king of ROME, and was driuen out for his pride) after many attemptes made by sundry battelles to come in againe, wherein he was euer ouercome (did come to ROME, with all the ayde of the LATINES, & many other people of ITALIE: euen as it were to set vp his whole rest vpon a battell by them, who with a great & mightie armie had vndertaken to put him into his kingdome againe, not so much to pleasure him as to ouerthrow the power of the ROMAINES, whose greatnes they both feared and enuied. In this battell, wherein were many hotte and sharpe encounters of either partie, *Martius* valiantly fought in the sight of the Dictator: & a ROMAINE souldier being thrown to the ground euen harde by him, *Martius* straight bestrid him, and slew the enemie with his owne hande that had before ouerthrown the ROMAINE. Hereupon, after the battell was wonne, the Dictator did not forget so noble an acte, and therefore first of all he crowned *Martius* with a garland of oken boughs. For whosoeuer saueth the life of a ROMAINE, it is a māner among them to honour him with such a garland. This was, either because the lawe did this honour to the oke, in fauour of the ARCADIANS, who by the oracle of *Apollo* were in olde time called aeges of akornes: or else because the souldiers might easily in euery place come by oke boughes: or lastly, because they thought it very necessarie, to giue him that had saued a citizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto *Iupiter*, the patron and protectour of their cities, and thought amongst other wilde trees to bring forth most profitable frute, and of plantes to be the strongest. Moreouer, men at the first beginning vsed akornes for their bread, and honie for their drinke: and further, the oke did feede their beastes, and giue them birdes, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made birdlime to catch seely birdes. They saye that *Castor*, and *Pollux*, appeared in this battell, and that incontinently after the battell, men sawe them in the market place at ROME, all their horses being on a white some: and they were the first that brought newes of the victorie, euen in the same place, where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honour of them neere vnto the fountaine. And this is the cause, why the day of this victorie (which was the fifteenth of July) is consecrated yet to this day vnto *Castor* and *Pollux*. Moreouer it is daily seene, that honour and reputation lighting on yong men before their time, and before they haue no great courage by nature: the desire to winne more, dieth straight in them, which easily happeneth, the same hauing no deepe roote in them before. Where contrarie wise, the first honour that valiant mindes do come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, hasting them forward as with

The benefite of learning.

What this word Virtus signifieth.

Coriolanus first going to warres.

Coriolanus crowned with a garlande of oken boughes.

Too sodaine honour in youth killeth further desire of fame.

force of winde, to enterprise thinges of high deseruing praise. For they esteeme not, to receiue reward for seruice done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them doe better in time to come: and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heeles, not seeking to increase it still by like desert of worthie valiant deedes. This desire being bred in *Martius*, he strained still to passe himselfe in manlines: and being desirous to shew a daylie increase of his valiantnesse, his noble seruice did still aduance his fame, bringing in spoyles vpon spoyles from the enemie. Whereupon, the captaines that came afterwards (for enuie of them that went before) did contend who should most honour him, and who should beare most honorable testimonie of his valiantnes. Insomuch the ROMAINES hauing many warres and battells in those dayes, *Coriolanus* was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from whence he returned not without some reward of honour. And as for other, the only respect that made them valiant, was they hoped to haue honour: but touching *Martius*, the onely thing that made him to loue honour, was the ioy he sawe his mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him so happie and honorable, as that his mother might heare euerie body praise and commend him, that shee might alwayes see him returne with a crowne vpon his head, and that she might still imbrace him with teares running downe her cheekes for ioye. Which desire they say *Epaminondas* did auow, and confesse to haue beene in him: as to thinke himselfe a most happie and blessed man, that his father and mother in their life time had seene the victorie he wanne in the plaine of LEVCTRES. Now as for *Epaminondas*, he had this good happe, to haue his father and mother liuing, to be partakers of his ioye and prosperitie. But *Martius* thinking all due to his mother, that had beene also due to his father if he had liued: did not only content himselfe to reioyce and honour her, but at her desire tooke a wife also, by whome he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers house therefore. Now he being growen to great credit & authoritie in ROME for his valiantnes, it fortuned there grewe sedition in the cittie, because the Senate did fauour the rich against the people, who did complaine of the sore oppression of vsurers, of whom they borrowed money. For those that had litle, were yet spoyled of that litle they had by their creditours, for lacke of abilitie to paye the vsurie: who offered their goodes to be solde to them that would giue most. And such as had nothing left, their bodies were layed hold on, and they were made their bondmen, notwithstanding all the woundes and cuttes they shewed, which they had receiued in many battells, fighting for defence of their countrie and common wealth: of the which, the last warre they made was against the SABINES, wherein they fought vpon the promise the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreate them more gently and also vpon the word of *Marcus Valerius* chiefe of the Senate, who by authoritie of the Counsell, & in the behalfe of the rich, sayed they should performe that they had promised. But after that they had faithfully serued in this last battell of all, where they ouercame their enemies, seeing they were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would giue no care to them, but made as though they had forgotten their former promise, and suffered them to be made slaues and bondemen to their creditours, and besides, to be turned out of all that euer they had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutinie, and to sturre vp daungerous tumults within the cittie. The ROMAINES enemies hearing of this rebellion did straight enter the territories of ROME with a maruellous great power, spoyling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all those that were of lawfull age to earie weapon, should come and enter their names into the muster masters booke, to goe to the warres: but no man obeied their commaundement. Whereupon their chiefe magistrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of diuers opinions among themselues. For some thought it was reason, they should somewhat yeelde to the poore peoples request, and that they should a litle qualifie the seueritie of the lawe. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was *Martius* for one. For he alleaged, that the creditours losing their money they had lent, was not the worst thing that was thereby: but that the enitie that was fauored, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proude attempt of the communaltie, was to abolish law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he sayed, if the Senate were wise, they should betimes preuent and quench this ill fauored & worse ment begin-

Coriolanus noble endeuor to continue wel deserui.

Coriolanus & Epaminondas did both place their desire of honour alike.

The obedience of Coriolanus to his mother.

Extremitie of vsurie complained of at Rome by the people.

Counsellers promises make men valiant, in hope of iust performance. Ingratitude, and good seruice vnrewarded, prouoketh rebellion

Martius Coriolanus against the people.

ning. The Senate met many dayes in consultation about it: but in the end they concluded no thing. The poore common people seeing no redresse, gathered themselues one day together and one encoraging another, they all forsooke the cittie, and encamped themselues vpon a hil called at that daye the holy hill, alongest the riuer of Tyber, offring no creature any hurt violence, or making any shewe of actuall rebellion: sauing that they cried as they went vp and downe, that the rich men had driuen them out of the cittie, and that all ITALIE through the should find aire, water, and ground to burie them in. Moreouer, they sayd, to dwell at Rome was nothing else but to be slaine, or hurt with continuall warres, and fighting for defence of the rich mens goodes. The Senate being afeard of their departure, did send vnto them certaine of the pleasanteſt olde men, and the most acceptable to the people among them. Of those *Menenius Agrippa* was he, who was sent for chiefe man of the message from the Senate. He, after many good persuasions and gentle requestes made to the people, on the behalfe of the Senate: knit vp his oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of mans body did rebell against the bellie, complaining of it, that it onely remained in the middest of the bodie, without doing any thing, neither did beare any labour for the maintenaunce of the rest: whereas all other partes and members did labour paynefully & were very carefull to satisfie the appetites and desires of the bodie. And so the bellie, all notwithstanding laughed at their follie, and sayed. It is true, I first receiue all meates that nourish mans bodie: but afterwardes I send it againe to the norishment of orher partes of the body. Euen so (quoth he) ô you, my maisters, and cittizens of Rome: the reason is alike betweene the Senate & you. For matters being wel digested, & their counsells throughly examined touching the benefite of the common wealth: the Senatours are cause of the common cõmodity that cõmeth vnto euery one of you. These persuasions pacified the people, conditionally that the Senate would graunt there should be yerely chosen fiue magistrates, which they now call *Tribuni plebis*, whose office should be to defend the poore people from violence and oppression. So *Iunius Brutus*, and *Sicinnius Vellutus*, were the first Tribunes of the people that were chosen, who had onely bene the causers & procurers of this sedition. Hereupon the cittie being grown againe to good quiet and vnitie, the people immediately went to the warres, shewing that they had a good will to do better then euer they did, and to be very willing to obey the magistrates in that they would commaund, concerning the warres. *Martius* also, though liked him nothing to see the greatnes of the people thus increased, considering it was to the preiudice, and imbasing of the nobilitie, and also sawe that other noble *Patricians* were troubled as well as himselfe: he did persuade the *Patricians*, to shew themselues no lesse forward and willing to fight for their countrie, then the common people were: and to let them see by their deedes and actes, that they did not so much passe the people in power and riches, as they did exceede them in true nobilitie and valiantnesse. In the countrie of the Volsces against whom the Romaines made war at that time, there was a principall cittie & of great fame, that was called Corioles, before the which the Consul *Cominius* did laye siege. Wherefore al the other Volsces fearing least that cittie should be taken by assault, came from all partes of the countrie to saue it, entending to giue the Romaines battell before the cittie, and to giue an onset on them in two seuerall places. The Consul *Cominius* understanding this, deuided his armie also into two partes, and taking the one part with him he marched towards them that were drawing to the cittie, out of the countrie: and the other part of his armie he left in the campe with *Titus Latius* (one of the valianteſt men the Romaines had at that time) to resist those that would make any saly out of the cittie vpon them. So the Coriolans making small accompt of them that laye in campe before the cittie, made a salye out vpon them, in the which at the first the Coriolans had the better, and draue the Romaines backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But *Martius* being there at that time, running out of the campe with a fewe men with him, he slew the first enemies he met withal, and made the rest of them stay vpon the sodain, crying out to the Romaines that turned their backes, and calling them againe to fight with a loud voyce. For he was euen such another, as *Cato* would haue a souldier and a captaine to be, not only terrible, and fierce to looke about him, but to make the enemie afearde with the sounde of his voyce, and grimnes of

The people leaue the cittie and doe goe to the holy hill.

An excellent tale tolde by Menenius Agrippa to pacifie the people.

The first beginning of Tribuni plebis. Iunius Brutus, Sicinius Vellutus, the two first Tribunes.

The cittie of Corioles beseeged by the Consul Cominius.

Titus Lartius, a valiant Romaine.

The propertie of a souldier.

countenance. Then there flocked about him immediately, a great number of ROMAINES: whereat the enemies were so afeard, that they gaue backe presently. But *Martius* not staying so, did chase and followe them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there perceiuing that the ROMAINES retired backe, for the great number of dartes and arrowes which flewe from their gates frō the walles of the cittie, & that there was not one man amongest them that durst venter himselfe to follow the flying enemies into the cittie, for that it was full of men of warre, very well armed, and appointed: he did encorage his fellowes with wordes and deedes, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the cittie, more for the followers then the flyers. But all this notwithstanding, few had the harte to follow him. Howbeit *Martius* being in the throng among the enemies, thrust himselfe into the gates of the cittie, and entred the same among them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turne their face vpon him, or else offer to stay him. But he looking about him, & seeing he was entred the cittie with very fewe men to helpe him, and perceiuing he was enuironed by his enemies that gathered round about to set vpon him: did things (as it is written) wonderfull and incredible, aswell for the force of his hand, as also for the agilitie of his body, and with a wonderfull courage and valiantnes, he made a lane through the middest of them, and ouerthrew also those he layed at: that some he made runne to the furthest part of the cittie and other for feare he made yeelde themselues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, *Martius* that was gotten out, had some leasure to bring the ROMAINES with more safetie into the cittie. The cittie being taken in this sorte, the most part of the souldiers beganne incontinently to spoile, to carry away, and to looke vpō the bootie they had wonne. But *Martius* was inwardly angry with them, and cryed out of them, that it was no time now to looke after spoyle, and to runne straglingly heere and there to enrich themselues, whilest the other Consul and their fellowe citizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and how that leaving the spoyle, they should seeke to winde them selues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit (in vaine) he did say, to them what he could, very fewe of them would harken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered themselues to followe him, he went out of the cittie, and tooke his waye towardes that parte, where he vnderstoode the rest of the armie was: exhorting and intreating them by the waye that followed him not to be fainte harted, and often holding vp his handes to heauen, he besought the goddes to be gracious and fauorable vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in a good houre to hazarde his life in defence of his countriemen. Now the ROMAINES when they were put in battell raye, and readye to take their targettes on their armes, and to girde them vpon their arming coates, had a custome to make their willes at that very instant, without any manner of writing, naming him only whom they would make their heir in the presence of three or foure witnesses. *Martius* came iust to that reckoning, whilest the souldiers were doing after that sorte, and that the enemies were approached so neere, as one stoode in viewe of the other. When they sawe him at his first comming, all blouddy, and in a swet, and but with a fewe men following him: some thereupon beganne to be afeard. But soone after, when they sawe him runne with a liuely cheere to the Consul, and to take him by the hande, declaring howe he had taken the cittie of CORIOLES, and that they sawe the Consul *Cominius* so kisse and imbrace him: then there was not a man but tooke harte againe to him, and beganne to be of a good courage, some hearing him report from poynt to poynt, the happie successe of his exployte, and other also coniecturing it by seeing their gestures a farre off. Then they all beganne to call vpon the Consul to marche forward, and to delaye no longer but to giue charge vpon the enemie. *Martius* asked him howe the order of their enemies battell was, and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The Consul made him answer, that he thought the bandes which were in the vowarde of their battell, were those of the ANTIATES, whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valiant courage would giue no place, to any of the hoste of their enemies. Then prayed *Martius*, to be set directly against them. The Consul granted him, greatly prayising his courage. Then *Martius*, when both armies came almost to ioyne, aduaunced himselfe a good space before his companie, and went so fiercely to giue charge on the vowarde that came right against him, that they could stand no longer in his handes: hee made such a lane through

The cittie of Corioles taken.

Souldiers testamentes.

By Coriolanus meanes, the Volsci were ouercome in battell.

them, and opened a passage into the battell of the enemies. But the two winges of either side turned one to the other, to compasse him in betweene them: which the Consull perceiuing, he sent thither straight of the best souldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruellous bloudie about *Martius*, and in a very shorte space many were slaine in the place. But in the end the ROMAINES were so strong, that they distressed the enemies, and brake their arraye: and fourcing them, made them flye. Then they prayed *Martius* that he would retire to the campe, because they sawe he was able to doe no more, he was already wearied with the great paine he had taken, and so fainte with the great woundes he had on him. But *Martius* answered them, that it was not for conquerours to yeelde, when he fainted: and thereupon beganne a fresh to chase those that fledde, vntill such time as the armie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowne, and numbers of them slaine and prisoners. The next morning betimes, *Martius* went to the Consull, and the other ROMAINES with him. There the Consull *Cominius* going vp to his chayr of state, in the presence of the whole armie, gaue thankes vnto the goddes for so great, glorious, and prosperous victorie: then he spake to *Martius*, whose valiantnesse he commended beyond the moone, both for that he himselfe sawe him do with his eyes, as also for that *Martius* had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed *Martius*, that he should choose out of all the horses he had taken of their enemies, and of all their goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of euerie sorte which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gaue him in testimonie that he had wonne that daye the price of proweesse aboue all other, a goodly horse with a rich saddle, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, did maruellously like and commend. But *Martius* stepping forth, told the Consull, he most thankefully accepted the gift of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his seruice had deserued his generall commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenarie reward, then honorable recompence, he would haue none of it, but was contented to haue his equall part with other souldiers. Onely, this grace (sayed he) I craue and beseech you to graunt me. Among the VOLSCES there is an olde friend and hoast of mine, an honest wealthie man, now a prisoner, who liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrie, liueth now as a poore prisoner, in the handes of his enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could haue him from this one danger: and that is, to haue him from being solde as a slaue. The souldiers hearing *Martius* wordes, made a maruellous great shoute among them: and there were more that wondred at his great contemning of riches and abstinence, when they sawe so litle couetousnes in him, then they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantnes. For euen they themselues, that did somewhat malice and enuie his glorie, to see him thus honoured, and passingly prayed did thinke him somewhat more worthie of an honorable recompence for his valiant seruice, as the more part of them refused the great offer made vnto him for his profite: and they esteemed more the nobilitie that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, then that which made them to be offered to him, as vnto a worthie person. For it is farre more commendable, to vse riches well, then to be valiant: and yet it is better not to desire them then to vse them well. After this shoute and noyse of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consul *Cominius* beganne to speake in this sorte. We cannot compell *Martius* to take these giftes wee offer him if he will not receiue them: but we will giue him such a reward for the noble seruice he hath done, as he shall not refuse. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called *Coriolanus*, for his valiant actes haue wonne him that name before our nomination. And so euer since he hath bare the third name of *Coriolanus*. And therby it appeareth, that the first name that the ROMAINES haue, as *Caius*: was our Christian name now. The second as *Martius*: was the name of the house and familie they came of. The third, was some addition giuen, either for some seruice or notable seruice, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their bodie, or else for some speciall vertue they had. Euen so did the GRECIANS in olde time giue additions to Princes, by reason of some notable acte worthie memorie. As when they haue called them *Soter* and *Callinicos*: as much to say sauiour and conquerour. Or else of some notable

The tenth part of the enemies goodes offred Martius for rewarde of his seruice, by Cominius the cõsul.

Valiancie rewarded with honour in the fielde, Martius noble answer and refusall.

Martius surnamed Coriolanus by the Consul.

How the Romaines came to haue three names.

Why the Grecians gaue Kings surnames.

rant marke on ones face, or on his bodie, they haue called him *Phiſcon*, and *Grypos*: as ye would ſay, gorebelly, and hooke noſed: or elſe for ſome vertue, as *Euergetes*, and *Phyladelphos*: to wit, a benefactour, and louer of his brethren. Or otherwiſe for ones great felicitie, as *Eudamon*: as much to ſay, as fortunate. For ſo was the ſecond of the * *Battes* ſurnamed. And ſome Kings haue had ſurnames of ieaſt and mockerie. As one of the *Antigones* that was called *Doſon*, to ſay, the Giuer: who was euer promiſing, and neuer giuing. And one of the *Ptolomees* was called *Lamyros*: to ſay, conceitiue. The ROMAINES vſe more then any other nation, to giue names of mockerie in this ſort. As there was one *Metellus* ſurnamed *Diadematus*, the banded: becauſe he caried a band about his head of long time, by reaſon of a ſore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne familie was called *Celer*: the quick flie. Becauſe a few dayes after the death of his father, he ſhewed the people the cruell fight of fenſers at vnrebated ſwords, which they found wonderfull for the ſhortneſſe of time. Other had their ſurnames deriued of ſome accident of their birth. As to this day they call him *Proculeius*, that is borne, his father being in ſome far voyage: and him *Poſthumius*, that is borne after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other ſuruiueth: they call the ſuruiuer, *Vopiſcus*. Sometimes alſo they giue ſurnames deriued of ſome marke or misfortune of the body. As *Sylla*, to ſay, crooked noſed: *Niger*, blacke: *Rufus*, red: *Caecus*, blinde: *Claudus* lame. They did wiſely in this thing to accuſtome men to thinke, that neither the loſſe of their ſight, nor other ſuch misfortunes as may chaunce to men, are any ſhame or diſgrace vnto them, but the manner was to aunſwer boldly to ſuch names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit theſe matters would be better amplified in other ſtories then this. Now when this warre was ended, the flatterers of the people began to ſturre vp ſedition againe, without any new occaſion, or iuſt matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this ſecond inſurrection againſt the Nobilitie and *Patricians*, vpon the peoples miſerie and misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reaſon of the former diſcorde and ſedition betweene them and the Nobilitie. Becauſe the moſt part of the arable land within the territorie of ROME, was become heathie and barren for lacke of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cauſe corne to be brought them out of other countries to ſowe, by reaſon of their wars which made the extreame dearth they had among them. Now thoſe buſie praters that ſought the peoples good will, by ſuch flattering words, perceiuing great ſcarſitie of corne to be within the citie, and though there had bene plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buie it: they ſpread abroad falſe tales and rumors againſt the Nobilitie, that they in reuenge of the people, had practiſed and procured the extreame dearth among them. Furthermore, in the middeſt of this ſtur, there came ambaſſadours to ROME from the citie of VELITRES, that offered vp their citie to the ROMAINES, and praied them they would ſend new inhabitants to repleniſh the ſame: becauſe the plague had bene ſo extreame among them, and had killed ſuch a number of them, as there was not left aliue the tenth perſon of the people that had bene there before. So the wiſe men of ROME began to thinke, that the neceſsitie of the VELITRIANS fell out in a moſt happy hour, and how by this occaſion it was very meete in ſo great a ſcarſitie of victuals, to diſburden ROME of a great number of citizens: and by this meanes, aſwell to take away this new ſedition, and ſtirlie to rid it out of the citie, as alſo to cleare the ſame of many mutinous and ſeditious perſons, being the ſuperfluous ill humours that grecuouſlie fedde this diſeaſe. Hereupon the Conſuls prickt out all thoſe by a bill, whom they intended to ſend to VELITRES, to go dwell there as in forme of a colonie: and they leauied out of all the reſt that remained in the citie of ROME, a great number to go againſt the VOLSCES, hoping by the meanes of forreine warre, to pacifie their ſedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the riche, and the meane ſorte with the Nobilitie, ſhould by this deuiſe be abroad in the warres, and in one campe, and in one ſeruice, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and louing together. But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, two ſeditious Tribunes, ſpake againſt either of theſe deuiſes, and cried out vpon the noble men, that vnder the gentle name of a colonie they would cloake and colour the moſt cruell and vnnaturall act as might be: becauſe they ſent their poore citizens into a ſore infected citie and peſtilent ayre, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there alſo to dwell vnder the tuition of a ſtrange god.

* *Theſe were the princes that built the citie of Cyrene.*

Names of mockerie among the Romaines.

Sedition at Rome, by reaſon of famine.

Velitres made a colonie to Rome.

Two practiſes to remoue the ſedition in Rome.

Sicinius and Brutus Tribunes of the people, againſt both theſe deuiſes.

that had so cruelly persecuted his people. This were (said they) euen as much, as if the Se- should headlong cast downe the people into a most bottomlesse pit. And are not yet con- ted to haue famished some of the poore citizens heretofore to death, and to put other of t- euen to the mercie of the plague: but a fresh, they haue procured a voluntarie warre, to th- they would leaue behinde no kinde of miserie and ill, wherewith the poore sillie po- should not be plagued, and onely because they are wearie to serue the riche. The com- people being set on a broile and brauerie with these wordes, would not appeare when Consuls called their names by a bill, to prest them for the warres, neither would they be- out to this new colonie: in so much as the Senate knewe not well what to say or do in matter. *Martius* then, who was now growne to great credit, and a stoute man besides, a- great reputation with the noblest men of ROME, rose vp, and openly spake against these tering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the citie of VELITRES, he did compell th- that were chosen, to go thither, and to depart the citie, vpon great penalties to him that sho- disobey: but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or constrained. *Martius* taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he could by faire word- treate to go with him, did runne certaine forreys into the dominion of the ANTIAT- where he met with great plentie of corne, and had a maruellous great spoile, aswell of ca- as of men he had taken prisoners, whom he brought away with him, and reserued not- for himselfe. Afterwards, hauing brought backe againe all his men that went out with safe and sound to ROME, and euery man riche and loden with spoile: then the home-ca- and house-doues that kept ROME still, began to repent them that it was not their hap- with him, and so enuied both them that had sped so well in this iourney, and also of mal- *Martius*, they spighted to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, be- they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, *Martius* for the Consulship: and the common people fauoured his sute, thinking it would be a th- to them to denie, and refuse the chiefest noble man of bloud, and most worthie per- ROME, and specially him that had done so great seruice and good to the commonwealth. the custome of ROME was at that time, that such as did sue for any office, should for ten dayes before be in the market place, onely with a poore gowne on their backes, and wi- any coate vnderneath, to pray the cittizens to remember them at the day of election: w- was thus deuised, either to moue the people the more, by requesting them in such meane- rell, or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten in the warres seruice of the commonwealth, as manifest markes and testimonie of their valiantnesse. it is not to be thought that the furers went thus lose in a simple gowne in the marke without any coate vnder it, for feare, and suspition of the common people: for offices nitie in the citie were not then giuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time long after this, that buying and selling fell out in election of officers, and that the voic- the electours were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten way into lection of offices, it hath runne from man to man, euen to the very sentence of iudges also among captaines in the warres: so as in the ende, that onely turned common w- into Kingdomes, by making armes subiect to money. Therefore me thinkes be- reason that said: hee that first made banckets, and gaue money to the common p- was the first that tooke away authoritie, and destroyed commonwealth. But this lence crept in by litle and litle, and did secretly winne ground still, continuing a time in ROME, before it was openly knowne and discouered. For no man can tell was the first man that bought the peoples voices for money, nor that corrupted the tence of the iudges. Howbeit at ATHENS some holde opinion, that *Anytus*, the of *Anthemion*, was the first that fedde the iudges with money, about the ende warres of PELOPONNESVS, being accused of treason for yeelding vp the forte of P- that time, when the golden and vnfoiled age remained yet whole in iudgement a- Now *Martius* following this custome, shewed many woundes and cuts vpon his b- which he had receiued in seuenteene yeares seruice at the warres, and in many sundrie tels, being euer the foremost man that did set out feete to fight. So that there was not a-

Coriolanus offendeth the people.

Coriolanus inuadeth the Antiates, and bringeth riche spoiles home.

The manner of suing for office at Rome.

Whereupon this manner of suing was so deuised.

Offices giuen then by desert, without fauour or corruption.

Baskets and money giuen: onely destroiers of common wealth.

Anytus the Athenian, the first that with money corrupted the sentence of the iudges and voyces of the people.

among the people, but was ashamed of himselfe, to refuse so valiant a man: and one of them said to another, we must needes choose him Consull, there is no remedie. But when the day of election was come, and that *Martius* came to the market place with great pompe, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole Nobilitie of the citie about him, who sought to make him Consull, with the greatest instance and intreatie they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter: then the loue and good will of the common people, turned straight to an hate and enuie toward him, fearing to put this office of soueraigne authoritie into his hands, being a man somewhat partiall toward the nobilitie, and of great credit and authoritie amongst the *Patricians*, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the libertie from the people. Whereupon for these considerations, they refused *Martius* in the end, and made two other that were suters, Consuls. The Senate being maruellously offended with the people, did accompt the shame of this refusall, rather to redound to themselues, then to *Martius*: but *Martius* tooke it in farre worse parte then the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too full of passion and choller, and too much giuen to ouer selfe will and opinion, as one of a high minde and great courage, that lacked the gratuitie, and affabilitie that is gotten with iudgement of learning and reason, which onely is to be looked for in a gouernour of state: and that remembred not how wilfulnesse is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a commonwealth for pleasing should shun, being that which *Plato* called solitarinesse. As in the end, all men that are wilfully giuen to a selfe opinion and obstinate minde, and who will neuer yeeld to others reason, but to their owne: remaine without companie, and forsaken of all men. For a man that will liue in the world, must needs haue patience, which lustie blouds make but a mocke at. So *Martius* being a stoute man of nature, that neuer yeelded in any respect, as one thinking that to ouercome alwaies, and to haue the vpper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimitie, and of no base and faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and passioned part of the heart, much like the matter of an impostume: went home to his house, full fraighted with spight and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest young gentlemen, whose mindes were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly vsed for to follow and honour him. But then especially they flockt about him, and kept him companie, to his much harme: for they did but kindle and inflame his choller more and more, being sorie with him for the iniurie the people offered him, because he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that taught them all marshall discipline, and stirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantnesse, and yet without enuie, praising them that deserued best. In the meane season, there came great plentie of corne to Rome, that had bene bought, part in Italie, and part was sent out of Sicile, as giuen by *Gelon* the tyrant of Syracvsa: so that many stood in great hope, that the dearth of victuals being holpē, the ciuill dissention would also cease. The Senate sate in counsell vpon it immediatly, the common people stood also about the pallace where the counsell was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out: perswading themselues, that the corne they had bought should be solde good cheape, and that which was giuen should be deuided by the polle, without paying any pennie, and the rather, because certaine of the senatours amongst them did so wishe and perswade the same. But *Martius* standing vpon his feete, did somewhat sharpely take vp those, who went about to gratifie the people therein: and called them people pleasers, and traitours to the nobilitie. Moreouer, he saied, they nourished against themselues, the naughtie seede and cockle of insolencie and sedition, which had bene sowed and scattered abroade amongst the people whom they should haue put off, if they had bene wise, and haue preuented their greatnesse: and not to their owne destruction to haue suffered the people, to stablish a magistrate for themselues, of so great power and authoritie, as that man had, to whome they had granted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what he listed, neither passed for any obedience to the Consuls, but liued in all libertie, acknowledging no superiour to commaund him, sauing the onely heads and authours of their faction, whom he called his magistrates. Therefore saied he, they that gaue counsell, and perswaded that the corne should be giuen out to the common people *gratis*, as they vsed to do in the cities of Greece,

See the fickle mindes of common people.

The fruites of selfe will and obstinacie.

Great store of corne brought to Rome.

Coriolanus oration against the insolencie of the people.

„ where the people had more absolute power: did but onely nourish their disobedience, wh
„ would breake out in the ende, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrowe of the whole state. For
„ will not thinke it is done in recompense of their seruice past, sithence they know well eno
„ they haue so oft refused to go to the warres, when they were commanded: neither for
„ mutinies when they went with vs, whereby they haue rebelled and forsaken their coun
„ neither for their accusations which their flatterers haue preferred vnto them, and they hau
„ ceiued, and made good against the Senate: but they will rather iudge, we giue and grant
„ this, as abasing our selues, and standing in feare of them, and glad to flatter them euery wa
„ this meanes, their disobedience will still growe worse and worse: and they will neuer lea
„ practise new sedition, and vprores. Therefore it were a great follie for vs, me thinkes to
„ yea, shall I say more? we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, w
„ most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulship, and the cause of the diuision of the
„ The state whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wonte to be, but becommeth diff
„ bred in two factions, which maintains alwaies ciuill dissention and discorde betweene w
will neuer suffer vs againe to be vnited into one body. *Martius* dilating the matter with
such like reasons, wonne all the young men, and almost all the riche men to his opinion:
much they range it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who stood out a
the people, and neuer flattered them. There were only a fewe old men that spake against
fearing least some mischiefe might fall out vpon it, as indeed there followed no great goo
terward. For the Tribunes of the people, being present at this consultation of the Senate, w
they sawe that the opinion of *Martius* was confirmed with the more voices, they left th
nate, and went downe to the people, crying out for helpe, and that they would assemb
saue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ran on head in tumult together, before who
words that *Martius* spake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people so st
ked, that euen in that furie they were ready to flie vpon the whole Senate. But the Tri
laide all the fault and burthen wholly vpon *Martius*, and sent their sergeants forthwi
arrest him, presently to appeare in person before the people, to answer the words he had
ken in the Senate. *Martius* stoutly withstood these officers that came to arrest him. Th
Tribunes in their owne persons, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to fetche him by
and so laide violent hands vpon him. Howbeit the noble *Patricians* gathering toge
bout him, made the Tribunes giue back, and laid it sore vpon the Ædiles: so for that time
night parted them, and the tumult appeased. The next morning betimes, the Consuls
the people in an vprore, running to the market place out of all parts of the citie, they
affraide least all the citie would together by the eares: wherefore assembling the Sena
all haste, they declared how it stood them vpon, to appease the furie of the people, with
gentle words, or gratefull decrees in their fauour: and moreouer, like wise men they
consider, it was now no time to stand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight fo
nour against the communaltie: they being fallen to so great an extremitie, and offering
imminent danger. Wherefore they were to consider temperately of things, and to de
some present and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senatours that were present a
counsell, thought this opinion best, and gaue their consents vnto it. Whereupon the Co
rising out of counsell, went to speake vnto the people as gently as they could, and they di
cifie their furie and anger, purging the Senate of all the vniust accusations laide vpon
and vsed great modestie in perswading them, and also in reprouing the faults they had c
mitted. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corne: they promised there should b
disliking offered them in the price. So the most part of the people being pacified, and a
ring so plainly by the great silence and still that was among them, as yeelding to the Co
and liking well of their words: the Tribunes then of the people rose out of their seates,
said. Forasmuch as the Senate yeelded vnto reason, the people also for their part, as be
them, did likewise giue place vnto them: but notwithstanding, they would that *Ma*
should come in person to aunswer to the articles they had deuised. First, whether he ha
solicited and procured the Senate to change the present state of the commonweale, and to
the soueraigne authoritie out of the peoples hands. Next, when he was sent for by autho

Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus.

Articles against Coriolanus.

of their officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had driuen and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the world: if in doing this, hee had not done as much as in him lay, to raise ciuill warres, and to set one citizen against another. All this was spoken to one of these two endes, either that *Martius* against his nature should be constrained to humble himself, and to abase his haughtie and fierce mind: or else if he continued still in his stoutnesse, he should incurre the peoples displeasure and ill will so farre, that he should neuer possibly win them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, then otherwise: as in deede they gest vnhappily, considering *Martius* nature and disposition. So *Martius* came, and presented himselfe, to answere their accusations against him, and the people held their peace, and gaue attentiue eare, to heare what he would say. But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly wordes come from him, he beganne not only to vse his wonted boldnes of speaking (which of it selfe was very rough and vnpleasant, and did more aggrauate his accusation, then purge his innocencie) but also gaue himselfe in his wordes to thunder, and looke therewithall so grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This stirred coales among the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, & their hate and malice grew so toward him, that they could hold no longer, beare, nor indure his braueric and careless boldnes. Whereupon *Sicinius*, the cruellest and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a litle with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the people, *Martius* as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then presently he commaunded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and carie him straight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong downe the same. When the Ædiles came to lay handes vpon *Martius* to do that they were commaunded, diuers of the people themselues thought it too cruell and violent a deede. The noble men also being much troubled to see such force and rigour vsed, beganne to crie aloude, helpe *Martius*: so those that laide handes on him being repulsed, they compassed him in round among themselues, and some of them holding vp their handes to the people, besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words, nor crying out could ought preuaile, the tumult and hurly burley was so great, vntill such time as the Tribunes owne friendes and kinsemen weying with themselues the impossibleness to conuey *Martius* to execution, without great slaughter & murder of the nobilitie: did perswade and aduise not to proceede in so violent and extraordinarie a sort, as to put such a man to death, without lawfull processe in lawe, but that they should referre the sentence of his death, to the free voice of the people. Then *Sicinius* bethinking himselfe a litle, did aske the *Patricians*, for what cause they tooke *Martius* out of the officers handes that went to doe execution? The *Patricians* asked him againe, why they would of themselues so cruelly and wickedly put to death, so noble and valiant a Romaine as *Martius* was, and that without law or iustice? Well, then said *Sicinius*, if that be the matter, let there be no more quarrell or dissention against the people: for they do grant your demaund, that his cause shall be heard according to the law. Therefore said he to *Martius*, we doe will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third day of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shall be obiected against you, that by free voice the people may giue sentence vpon you as shall please them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were much pleased they had gotten *Martius* out of this daunger. In the meane space, before the third day of their next assion came abour, the same being kept euery ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latin, *Nundinæ*: there fell out warre against the Antiates, which gaue some hope to the nobilitie, that this adiornment would come to litle effect, thinking that this warre would hold them so long, as that the furie of the people against him would be well assuaged, or vtterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expectation, the peace was concluded presently with the Antiates, and the people returned again to Rome. Then the *Patricians* assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might hande to *Martius*, and keepe the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutinie againe, and rise against the nobilitie. And there *Appius Clodius* (one that was taken euer as an hereditarie enemie to the people) did auow and protest, that they would vtterly abase the authoritie of the Senate, and destroy the common weale, if they would suffer the common people

Coriolanus stoutnesse in defence of himselfe.

Sicinius the Tribune, pronounceth sentence of death vpon Martius.

Coriolanus hath day giuen him to answere the people.

to haue authoritie by voices to giue iudgement againſt the nobilitie. On the other ſide gaine, the moſt auncient Senatours, and ſuch as were giuen to fauour the common peo ſaide: that when the people ſhould ſee they had authoritie of life and death in their hand they would not be ſo cruell and fierce, but gentle and ciuill. More alſo, that it was not for e tempt of nobilitie or the Senate, that they ſought to haue the authoritie of iuſtice in t handes, as a preheminence and prerogatiue of honour: but becauſe they feared, that th ſelues ſhould be contemned and hated of the nobilitie. So as they were perſwaded, tha ſoone as they gaue them authoritie to iudge by voices: ſo ſoone would they leaue all e and malice to condemne any. *Martius* ſeeing the Senate in great doubt howe to reſo partly for the loue and good will the nobilitie did beare him, and partly for the feare t ſtoode in of the people: asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden with? The Tribunes aunſwered him, that they would ſhewe howe he did aſpire to be and would proue that all his actions tended to vſurpe tyrannicall power ouer R *Martius* with that, riſing vp on his feete, ſaide: that thereupon he did willingly offer ſelfe to the people, to be tried vpon that accuſation. And that if it were proued by him had ſo much as once thought of any ſuch matter, that hee would then refuſe no kinde of niſhment they would offer him: conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with not elſe beſides, and that ye doe not alſo abuſe the Senate. They promiſed they would not. der theſe conditions the iudgement was agreed vpon, and the people aſſembled. And fir all the Tribunes would in any caſe (whatſoeuer became of it) that the people would ceede to giue their voices by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the mult of the poore needy people (and all ſuch rable as had nothing to looſe, and had leſſe reg honeſtie before their eies) came to be of greater force (becauſe their voices were numb by the polle) then the noble honeſt citizens, whoſe perſons and purſe did dutifully ſerue common wealth in their warres. And then when the Tribunes ſaw they could not prou went about to make him ſelfe King: they beganne to broach a freſh the former wordes *Martius* had ſpoken in the Senate, in hindering the diſtribution of the corne at meane vnto the common people, and perſwading alſo to take the office of Tribuneſhip from And for the third, they charged him a new, that he had not made the common diſtribu of the ſpoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the ANTIATES: but had d owne authoritie deuided it among them, who were with him in that iourney. But this ter was moſt ſtraunge of all to *Martius*, looking leaſt to haue bene burdened with that, a any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the ſodaine, and hauing no re excuſe to make euen at that inſtant: he beganne to fall a praiſing of the ſouldiers that had ued with him in that iourney. But thoſe that were not with him, being the greater numb cried out ſo loud, and made ſuch a noiſe that he could not be heard. To conclude, when came to tell the voices of the Tribes, there were three voices odde, which condemned to be baniſhed for life. After declaration of the ſentence, the people made ſuch ioy, as they uer reioyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were ſo braue liuely, and went home ſo iocondly from the aſſembly, for triumph of this ſentence. The nate againe in contrarie manner were as ſad and heauie, repenting themſelues beyond ſure, that they had not rather determined to haue done and ſuffered any thing whatſoeue fore the common people ſhould ſo arrogantly and outragiouſly haue abuſed their author There needed no difference of garments I warrant you, nor outward ſhewes to know *beian* from a *Patrician*, for they were eaſily diſcerned by their lookes. For he that was o peoples ſide, looked cheerely on the matter: but he that was ſad, and hung downe his h he was ſure of the noble mens ſide. Sauing *Martius* alone, who neither in his countenance in his gate, did euer ſhew himſelfe abaſhed, or once let fall his great courage: but he on all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly ſhew no manner of pa nor care at all of himſelfe. Not that he did patiently beare and temper his good hap, in re of any reaſon he had, or by his quiet condition: but becauſe he was ſo caried away wit vehemencie of anger, and deſire of reuenge, that he had no ſenſe nor feeling of the hard he was in, which the common people iudge not to be ſorow, although in deede it be th

Coriolanus accuſed that he ſought to be King.

Coriolanus baniſhed for life.

Coriolanus conſtant mind in aduerſitie.

The force of anger.

ſame. For when ſorow (as you would ſay) is ſet a fire, then it is conuerted into ſpite and malice, and driueth away for that time all faintneſſe of heart and naturall feare. And this is the cauſe why the cholericke man is ſo altered and mad in his actions, as a man ſet on fire with a burning agew: for when a mans heart is troubled within, his pulſe will beate maruellous ſtrongly. Now that *Martius* was euen in that taking, it appeared true ſoone after by his doings. For when he was come home to his houſe againe, and had taken his leaue of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and ſhreeking out for ſorrow, and had alſo comforted and perſwaded them to be content with his chaunce: he went immediatly to the gate of the citie, accompanied with a great number of *Patricians* that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or foure of his friendes onely, taking nothing with him, nor requeſting any thing of any man. So he remained a few daies in the countrie at his houſes, turmoyled with ſundry ſorts and kinds of thoughts, ſuch as the fire of his choller did ſtirre vp. In the end, ſeeing he could reſolue no way, to take a profitable or honourable courſe, but onely was pricked forwarde ſtill to be reuenged of the ROMAINES: he thought to raiſe vp ſome great wars againſt them, by their neereſt neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his beſt way, firſt to ſtirre vp the VOLSCES againſt them, knowing they were yet able enough in ſtrength and riches to encounter them, notwithſtanding their former loſſes they had receiued not long before, and that their power was not ſo much impaired, as their malice and deſire was increaſed to be reuenged of the ROMAINES. Now in the citie of ANTIVM, there was one called *Tullus Aufidius*, who for his riches, as alſo for his nobilitie and valiantneſſe was honoured among the VOLSCES as a King. *Martius* knewe very well that *Tullus* did more malice and enuie him, then he did all the ROMAINES beſides: becauſe that many times in battels where they met, they were euer at the encounter one againſt another, like luſtie couragious youthes, ſtriuing in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. Inſomuch as beſides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruellous priuate hate one againſt another. Yet notwithſtanding, conſidering that *Tullus Aufidius* was a man of great mind, and that he aboue all other of the VOLSCES moſt deſired reuenge of the ROMAINES, for the iniuries they had done vnto them: hee did an acte that confirmed the true wordes of an auncient Poet, who ſaide:

Tullus Aufidius, a great perſon among the Volſces.

It is a thing full hard, mans anger to withſtand,
if it be ſtiffely bent to take an enterpriſe in hand.
For then moſt men will haue, the thing that they deſire,
although it coſt their liues therefore, ſuch force hath wicked ire.

And ſo did he. For he diſguiſed himſelfe in ſuch array and attire, as he thought no man could euer haue knowen him for the perſon he was, ſeeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe: and as *Homer* ſaid of *Vlyſſes*,

So did he enter into the enemies towne.

Coriolanus diſguiſed, goeth to Antium, a citie of the Volſces.

It was euen twy-light when he entred the citie of ANTIVM, and many people met him in the ſtreetes, but no man knew him. So he went directly to *Tullus Aufidius* houſe, and when he came thither, he got him vp ſtraight to the chimney harth, and ſate him downe, and ſpake not a word to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the houſe ſpying him, wondered what he ſhould be, and yet they durſt not bid him riſe. For ill fauouredly muffled and diſguiſed as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maieſtie in his countenance, and in his ſilence: whereupon they went to *Tullus* who was at ſupper, to tell him of the ſtrange diſguiſing of this man. *Tullus* roſe preſently from the board, and comming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then *Martius* vnmuffled himſelfe, and after he had pauſed a while, making no anſwere, he ſaid vnto him. If thou knoweſt me not yet, *Tullus*, and ſeeing me, doſt not perhappes beleeue me to be the man I am in deede, I muſt of neceſſitie bewray my ſelfe to be that I am. I am *Caius Martius*, who hath done to thy ſelfe particularly, and to all the VOLCES generally, great hurt and miſchief, which I cannot denie for my ſurname of *Coriolanus* that I beare. For I neuer had other benefite nor recompence, of all the true and painefull ſeruice I haue done, and the extreme daungers I haue bene in, but this only ſurname: a good memorie and witneſſe of the malice and diſpleaſure thou ſhouldeſt beare me. In deede the name onely

Coriolanus oration to Tullus Aufidius.

» remaineth with me: for the reſt, the enuie and crueltie of the people of ROME haue tak
» from me, by the ſufferance of the daſtardly nobilitie and magiſtrates, who haue forſaken m
» and let me be baniſhed by the people. This extremitie hath now driuen me to come as a poo
» ſuter, to take thy chimney harth, not of any hope I haue to ſaue my life thereby. For if I h
» feared death, I would not haue come hither to haue put my life in hazard: but prickt forw
» with ſpite and deſire I haue to be reuenged of them that thus haue baniſhed me, whom no
» I beginne to be auenged on putting my perſon betweene thy enemies. Wherefore, if th
» haſt any heart to be wrecked of the iniures thy enemies haue done thee, ſpeede thee now
» let my miſerie ſerue thy turne, and ſo vſe it, as my ſeruice may be a benefite to the VOLSCI
» promiſing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then I did when I w
» againſt you, knowing that they fight more valiantly, who knowe the force of the enem
» then ſuch as haue neuer proued it. And if it be ſo that thou dare not, and that thou art wea
» to proue fortune any more: then am I alſo wearie to liue any longer. And it were no wiſdo
» in thee, to ſaue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemie, and whoſe
» uice now can nothing helpe nor pleaſure thee. *Tullus* hearing what he ſaid, was a maruellou
glad man, and taking him by the hande, he ſaide vnto him. Stand vp, ô *Martius*, and be
good cheere, for in profering thy ſelfe vnto vs, thou doſt vs great honour: and by this mea
thou maieſt hope alſo of greater thinges, at all the VOLSCES handes. So he feaſted him t
that time, and entertained him in the honourableſt manner he could, talking with him in
other matters at that preſent: but within few daies after, they fell to conſultation together
what ſort they ſhould beginne their warres. Now on the other ſide, the citie of ROME wa
Great diſſention at Rome about Martius baniſhment. maruellous vprore & diſcord, the nobilitie againſt the communaltie, and chiefely for *Mart*
condemnation and baniſhment. Moreouer the Prieſtes, the Soothſaiers, and priuate m
alſo, came and declared to the Senate certaine ſightes and wonders in the aire, which t
had ſeene, and were to be conſidered of: amongſt the which, ſuch a viſion happpened. Th
was a citizen of ROME called *Titus Latinus*, a man of meane qualitie & condition, but ot
wiſe an honeſt ſober man, giuen to a quiet life, without ſuperſtition, and much leſſe to va
or lying. This man had a viſion in his dreame, in the which he thought that *Iupiter* appe
vnto him, and commaunded him to ſignifie to the Senate, that they had cauſed a verie
lewde dauncer to goe before the proceſſion: and ſaid, the firſt time this viſion had appe
vnto him, he made no reckoning of it: and comming againe another time into his mind
made not much more account of the matter then before. In the ende, he ſawe one o
ſonnes die, who had the beſt nature and condition of all his brethren: and ſodainely he h
ſelfe was ſo taken in all his limmes, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he t
the whole circumſtance of this viſion before the Senate, ſitting vpon his little couch or
whereon he was caried on mens armes: & he had no ſooner reported this viſion to the Se
but he preſently felt his body & limbs reſtored againe to their former ſtrength & vſe. So ra
vp himſelf vpon his couch, he got vp on his feete at that inſtant, & walked home to his ho
without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enqu
to vnderſtand the truth: and in the ende they found there was ſuch a thing. There was
that had deliuered a bondman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other ſlaues
bondmen, and had commaunded them to whip him vp and downe the market place, & a
wards to kill him: & as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did ſo ma
the poore wretch, that for the cruell ſmart and paine he felt, he turned & writhed his bod
ſtrange and pittifull ſort. The proceſſion by chaunce came by euen at the ſame time, & m
that followed it, were hartily moued & offended with the ſight, ſaying: that this was no g
ſight to behold, nor mete to be met in proceſſion time. But for al this, there was nothing d
ſauing they blamed and rebuked him that puniſhed his ſlaue ſo cruelly. For the ROMAINE
that time, did vſe their bondmen very gently, becauſe they themſelues did labour with t
owne hands, and liued with them & among them: and therefore they did vſe them the m
The Romaines manner of puniſhing their ſlaues. gently and familiarly. For the greateſt puniſhment they gaue a ſlaue that had offended, w
this. They made him carie a limmer on his ſhoulders that is faſtened to the axeltree
couch, and compelled him to goe vp and downe in that ſort amongeſt all their neighbo

He that had once abidden this punishment, and was seene in that manner, was proclaimed and cried in euery market towne: so that no man would euer trust him after, and the called him *Furcifer*, because the LATINES call the wod that runneth into the axletree of the coch, *Furca*, as much to say, as a forke. Now when *Latinus* had made report to the Senate of the vision that had happened to him, they were deuising whom this vnpleasaunt daunser should be, that went before the procession. Thereupon certaine that stoode by, remembred the poore slaue that was so cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwardes put to death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the straunge and rare manner of his punishment. The priestes hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduise: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slaue. So they caused the slaues master to be punished, and beganne againe a new procession, and all other shewes and sightes in honour of *Iupiter*. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king *Numa* did wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddes, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers goe about any deuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age*: as to say, doe this, or minde this. Hereby they are specially commanded, wholly to dispose them selues to serue God, leauing all other busines and matters a side: knowing well enough, that whatsoeuer most men doe, they doe it as in a manner constrained vnto it. But the ROMAINES did euer vse to beginne againe their sacrifices, processions, playes, and such like shewes done in honour of the goddes, not onely vpon such an occasion, but vppon lighter causes then that. As when they went a procession through the city, and did carie the images of their goddes, and such other like holy reliques vpon open hallowed coches or charrets, called in LATIN *Thensæ*: one of the coche horses that drue them stoode still, and would draw no more: and because also the coche man tooke the raines of the bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the procession should be begunne againe a new. Of later time also, they did renew and beginne a sacrifice thirty times one after another, because they thought still there fell out one fault or other in the same, so holy and deuout were they to the goddes. Now *Tullus* and *Martius* had secret conference with the greatest personages of the citie of ANTIVM, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre with the ROMAINES, while they were in dissention one with another. They answered them, they were ashamed to breake the league, considering that they were sworne to keepe peace for two yeares. Howbeit shortly after, the ROMAINES gaue them great occasion to make warre with them. For on a holy day common playes being kept in ROME, vpon some suspicion, or false report, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the VOLSCES should auoide out of ROME before sunne set. Some thinke this was a craft and deceipt of *Martius*, who sent one to ROME to the Consuls, to accuse the VOLSCES falsely, aduertising them how they had made a conspiracy to set vppon them, whilest they were busie in seeing these games, and also to set their city a fire. This open proclamation made all the VOLSCES more offended with the ROMAINES, then euer they were before: and *Tullus* aggrauating the matter, did so inflame the VOLSCES against them, that in the end they sent their ambassadours to ROME, to summon them to deliuer their lands and townes againe, which they had taken from them in times past, or to looke for present warres. The ROMAINES hearing this, were maruellously netled: and made no other aunswer but thus. If the VOLSCES be the first that beginne warre: the ROMAINES will be the last that will end it. Incontinently vpon returne of the VOLSCES ambassadours, and deliuerie of the ROMAINES aunswer: *Tullus* called an assemby generall to be made of the VOLSCES, and concluded to make warre vppon the ROMAINES. This done, *Tullus* did counsell them to take *Martius* into their seruice, and not to mistrust him for the remembraunce of any thing past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come: for he would doe them more seruice in fighting for them, then euer he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So *Martius* was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lesse eloquent in tongue, then warlike in shew: and declared him selfe both expert in warres, and wise with valiantnes. Thus he was ioyned in commission with *Tullus* as generall of the VOLSCES, hauing absolute authori-

Whereof Furcifer came.

A ceremony instituted by king Numa, touching religion.

The superstition of the Romaines.

Thensa.

The Romaines gaue the Volsces occasion of warres.

Martius Coriolanus crafty accusation of the Volsces.

Coriolanus chosen generall of the Volsces with Tullus Aufidius against the Romaines.

Coriolanus inuadeth the territories of the Romaines.

A fine deuise to make the communalty suspect the nobility.

Great heart burning betwixt the nobility and the people.

ty betweene them to follow and pursue the warres. But *Martius* fearing least tract of time bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the VOLSCES, would rob him of the meane he had to execute his purpose and intent: left order with the rulers & chiefe of the city, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary prouision for the campe. Then he with the lightest souldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stale away vppon the sodaine, and marched with all speede, and entred the territories of ROME, before the ROMAINS heard any newes of his comming. In so much as the VOLSCES found such spoile in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their campe, & were weary to driue and cary away that they had. Howbeit the gaine of the spoile and the hurt they did to the ROMAINS in this inuasion, was the least part of his intent. For his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissention betweene the nobility, and the commonalty: and to draw that on, he was very carefull to keepe the noble mens landes and goods from harme and burning, but spoiled all the whole countrey besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt any thing of the noble mens. This made greater sturre and broile betweene the nobility & the people, then was before. For the noble mē fell out with the people, because they had so vniustly banished a man of so great valure and power. The people on the other side accused the nobility, how they had procured *Martius* to make these wars, to be reuenged of the people, because it pleased them to see their goods burnt and spoiled before their eyes, whilest they themselues were well at ease, and did behold the peoples losses and misfortunes, and knowing their owne goods safe and out of daunger: and how the warre was not made against the rich men, that had the enemy abroad, to keepe that they had in safety. Now *Martius* hauing had this first exploite (which made the VOLSCES bolder, and lesse fearefull of the ROMAINS) brought home all the army againe, without losse of any man. After their whole army (which was maruellous great, and very forward to seruice) was assembled in one campe: they agreed to leaue part of it for garrison in the countrey about, and the other part should goe on, to make the warre vpon the ROMAINES. So *Martius* bad *Tullus* choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. *Tullus* made him aunswere, hee knew by experience that *Martius* was no lesse valiant then himselfe, and how hee euer had better fortune and good hap in all battells, then himselfe had. Therefore he thought it best for him to haue the leading of those that should make the warres abroad: and himselfe would keepe home, to prouide for the safetie of the cities and of his countrey, and to furnish the campe also of all necessary prouision abroade. So *Martius* being stronger then before, went first of all vnto the city of CORIOLES, inhabited by the ROMAINES, who willingly yeelded them selues, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entred the countrey of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINES would fight with him there, to defend the LATINES, who were their confederats, & had many times sent vnto the ROMAINES for their aide. But on the one side, the people of Rome were very ill willing to goe: and on the other side the Consuls being vpon their going out of their office, would not hazard them selues for so small a time: so that the ambassadours of the LATINES returned home againe, and did no good. Then *Martius* did besiege their city, and hauing taken by force the townes of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PINIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made resistaunce: hee sacked all their goods, and tooke them prisoners. Such as did yeeld them selues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as possible might be, to defend them from hurt: and because they should receiue no damage by his will, he remoued his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the city of BOLES by assault, being about an hundred furlong from ROME, where he had a maruellous great spoile, and put euery man to the sword that was able to carie weapon. The other VOLSCES that were appointed to remaine in garrison for defence of their countrey, hearing this good newes, would tary no longer at home, but armed them selues, and ranne to *Martius* campe, saying they did acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through al ITALIE, and euery one praised him for a valiant captaine, for that by change of one man for another, such and so straunge euents fell out in the state. In this while, all was still to wracke at ROME. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to heare of it, they were one so much against another, and full of seditious wordes,

nobility against the people, and the people against the nobility. Vntill they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had laide siege to the city of LAVINIVM, in the which were all the temples and images of the goddes their protectours, and from whence came first their auncient originall, for that *Æneas* at his first arriuall into ITALIE did builde that citie. Then fell there out a maruellous sodaine chaunge of minde among the people, and farre more straunge and contrary in the nobility. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and exile of *Martius*. The Senate assembled vppon it, would in no case yeeld to that. Who either did it of a selfe will to bee contrary to the peoples desire: or because *Martius* should not returne through the grace and fauour of the people. Or else, because they were throughly angry and offended with him, that he would set vppon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doinges would shew him selfe an open enemy besides vnto his countrey: notwithstanding the most part of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruellous ill part, and as if the iniurie had beene done vnto them selues. Report being made of the Senates resolution, the people found them selues in a straight: for they coulde authorise and confirme nothing by their voices, vnlesse it had beene first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But *Martius* hearing this sturre about him, was in a greater rage with them then before: in so much as he raised his siege incontinently, before the city of LAVINIVM, and going towardes ROME, lodged his campe within forty furlong of the citie, at the ditches called *Cluilia*. His incamping so neare ROME, did put all the whole city in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the present time it appeased the sedition and dissention betwixt the Nobility and the people. For there was no Consull, Senatour, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrary the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of *Martius*. When they saw the women in a maruellous feare, running vp and downe the city: the temples of the goddes full of olde people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the goddes: and finally, not a man either wise or hardy to prouide for their safety: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home *Martius* againe, to reconcile them selues to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in maruellous great fault to bee angry and in choller with him, when it stoode them vppon rather to haue gone out and intreated him. So they all agreede together to send ambassadours vnto him, to let him vnderstand how his countrey men did call him home againe, and restored him to all his goods, and besought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambassadours that were sent, were *Martius* familiar friends, and acquaintaunce, who looked at the least for a curteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend and kinseman. Howbeit they found nothing lesse. For at their comming, they were brought through the campe, to the place where he was set in his chaire of state, with a maruellous and an vnspeakeable maiesty, hauing the chiefest men of the VOLSCES about him: so hee commaunded them to declare openly the cause of their comming. Which they deliuered in the most humble and lowe wordes they possibly could deuise, and with all modest countenaunce and behauiour agreable for the same. When they had done their message for the iniury they had done him, he answered them very wholly, and in great choller. But as generall of the VOLSCES, he willed them to restore vnto the VOLSCES, all their landes and cities they had taken from them in former warres: and moreouer, that they should giue them the like honour and freedome of ROME, as they had before giuen to the LATINES. For otherwise they had no other meane to end this warre, if they did not graunt these honest and iust conditions of peace. Thereupon he gaue them thirty daies respit to make him answere. So the ambassadours returned straight to ROME, and *Martius* forthwith departed with his army out of the territories of the ROMAINES. This was the first matter wherewith the VOLSCES (that most enuied *Martius* glory and authority) did charge *Martius* with. Among those, *Tullus* was chiefe: who though hee had receiued no priuate iniurie or displeasure of *Martius*, yet the common malice and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieued him to see his owne reputation blemished, through *Martius* great fame and honour, and so him selfe to bee lesse esteemed of the VOLSCES, then he was before. This fell out the more, because euery man honoured *Martius*, and thought he only could do all, and that all other gouernors and captaines

Lauinium built by Æneas.

The Romaines send ambassadours to Coriolanus to treate of peace.

The first occasion of the Volsces enuy to Coriolanus.

must be content with such credite and authority, as he would please to countenaunce him with. From hence they deriued all their first accusations and secret murmurings against *Martius*. For priuate captains conspiring against him, were very angry with him: and gaue it out that the remouing of the campe was a manifest treason, not of the townes, nor fortes, nor armes, but of time and occasion, which was a losse of great importaunce, because it was that which in treason might both lose and binde all, and preserue the whole. Now *Martius* hauing giuen the ROMAINES thirty daies respit for their answer, and specially because they haue not accustomed to make any great changes, in lesse space of time then that: hee thought it good yet, not to lie a sleepe and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the lands of his enemies allies, and tooke seuen great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMAINES for not once put themselues into the fielde, to come to their aide and helpe: they were so faint hearted, so mistrustfull, and loth besides to make warres. In so much as they properly resembled the bodies paralyticke, and losed of their limmes and members: as those which through the palsey haue lost all their sence and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, *Martius* being returned into the dominions of the ROMAINES againe with all his army, and sent another ambassade vnto him, to pray peace, and the remoue of the VOLSCES out of their countrey: that afterwardes they might with better leysure fall to such agreementes together as should bee thought most meete and necessary. For the ROMAINES were no meete would euer yeelde for feare. But if he thought the VOLSCES had any ground to demand reasonable articles and conditions, all that they would reasonably aske should bee granted vnto, by the ROMAINES, who of themselues would willingly yeelde to reason, considering finally, that they did lay downe armes. *Martius* to that aunswered: that as generall of the VOLSCES he would reply nothing vnto it. But yet as a ROMAINE citizen, he would counsell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they should returne againe within three daies, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he had first deliuered them. Or otherwise, that hee would no more giue them assurance of safe conduite to returne againe into his campe, with such vaine and friuolous motions. When the ambassadours were returned to ROME, and had reported *Martius* aunswere to the Senate: their city being in extreame daunger, and as it were in a terrible storme of pest, they threw out (as the common prouerbe saieth) their holy ancker. For then they appointed all the bishoppes, priestes, ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and also the augures or soothsayers, which foreshew thinges to come by obseruation of the flight of birdes (which is an olde auncient kinde of prophecying and diuination amongest the ROMAINES) to goe to *Martius* apparelled, as when they doe their sacrifices: and first to intreate him to leaue off warre, and then that hee would speake to his countrey men, and conclude peace with the VOLSCES. *Martius* suffered them to come into his campe, but yet he answered them nothing the more, neither did he entertaine them or speake more curteously to them, then he did the first time that they came vnto him, sauing onely that hee willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace vnder the first conditions offered, or else to receiue warre. When all this goodly rable of superstition and priestes were returned, it was determined in counsell that none should goe out of the gates of the citie, and that they should watch and ward vppon the wals, to repulse their enemies if they came to assault them, referring themselues and all their hope to time, and fortunes vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwise how to remedy the daunger. Now all the city was full of tumult, feare, and tedious doubt what would happen: vntill at the length there fell out such a like matter as *Homer* oftimes saide they would least haue thought of. For in great matters, that happen seldome, *Homer* saieth, and crieth out in this sort.

Another ambassade sent to Coriolanus.

The priestes and soothsayers sent to Coriolanus.

The goddesse Pallas she, with her faire glistering eyes,
did put into his minde such thoughts, and made him so deuise.

And in another place:

But sure some god hath tane, out of the peoples minde,
both wit and vnderstanding eke, and haue therewith vnstinde

some other simple spirit, in steed thereof to bide,
that so they might their doings all, for lacke of wit misguide.

And in another place:

The people of themselues, did either it consider,
or else some god instructed them, and so they ioynde together.

Many reckon not of *Homer*, as referring matters vnpossible, and fables of no likelyhood or troth, vnto mans reason, freewill, or iudgement: which in deed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he maketh to depend of out owne free will and reason. For he oft speaketh these wordes:

I haue thought it in my noble heart:

And in another place:

Achilles angrie was, and sorie for to heare.
him so to say, his heauie brest was fraught with pensiue feare.

And againe in another place:

Bellerophon (she) could not moue with her faire tongue,
so honest and so vertuous, he was the rest among.

But in wonderous and extraordinarie things, which are done by secret inspirations and motions, he doth not say that God taketh away, from man his choice and freedom of will, but that he doth moue it: neither that he doth worke desire in vs, but obiecteth to our mindes certaine imaginations whereby we are led to desire, and thereby doth not make this our action proceed, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of successe. For, either we must say, that the gods meddle not with the causes and beginnings of our actions: or else what other meanes haue they to helpe and further men? It is apparant that they haue not our bodies, nor mooue not our feete and hands, when there is occasion to vse them: but that part of our minde from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or caried away by such obiects and reasons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the ROMAYNE ladies and gentlewomen did visite all the temples and gods of the same, to make their praiers vnto them: but the greatest ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the aulter of *Iupiter Capitolin*, among which troope by name, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne sister. The selfe same *Valeria*, who did such notable seruice to the ROMAYNES, both in peace and warres: and was said also certaine yeares before, as we haue declared in his life. His sister *Valeria* was greatly honoured and reuerenced among all the ROMAYNES: and did so modestly and wisely behaue her selfe, that she did not shame nor dishonour the house she came off. So she sodainly fell into such a fansie, as we haue rehearsed before, and had (by some god as I thinke) taken hold of a good deuise. Whereupon she rose, and the other ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of *Volumnia*, *Martius* mother: and comming in to her, found her, and *Martius* wife her daughter in law set together, and hauing her husband *Martius* young children in her lap. Now all the traine of these ladies sitting in a ring round about her, *Valeria* first began to speake in this sort vnto her. We ladies, are come to visite you ladies (my lady *Volumnia* and *Virgilia*) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaundement of other magistrate: but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god aboue. Who hauing taken compassion and pittie of our praiers, hath moued vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well beneficiall for vs, as also for the whole citizens in general: but to your selues in especiall (if it please you to credit me) and shall redound to our more fame and glorie, then the daughters of the SABYNES obtained in former age, when they procured louing peace, in stead of hatefull warre, between their fathers and their husbands. Come on good ladies, and let vs go altogether vnto *Martius*, to intreate him to take pittie vpon vs, and also to report the trothe vnto him, how much you are bound vnto the citizens: who notwithstanding they haue sustained great losse and losses by him, yet they haue not hitherto sought reuenge vpon your persons by any discourteous vsage, neither euer conceiued any such thought or intent against you, but do deliuer you safe into his hands, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemencie from him. When *Valeria* had spoken this vnto them, all the other ladies together with one voice confirmed that she had said. Then *Volumnia* in this sort did answer her. My good ladies, we

Valeria, Publicolaes sister.

Volumnia, Martius mother.

The words of Valeria, vnto Volumnia & Virgilia.

The answer of Volumnia to the Romaine ladies.

» are partakers with you of the common miſerie and calamitie of our countrie, and yo
» griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reaſon of our particular misfortune: to ſeele the
» my ſonne *Martius* former valiancie and glorie, and to ſee his perſon enuironed now wi
» enemies in armes, rather to ſee him forth comming & ſafe kept, then of any loue to de
» perſon. But yet the greateſt griefe of our heaped miſhaps is, to ſee our poore country br
» to ſuch extremitie, that all the hope of the ſafetie and preſeruation thereof, is now vnfo
» ly caſt vpon vs ſimple women: becauſe we know not what account he will make of
» he hath caſt from him all care of his naturall countrie and common weale, which
» he hath holden more deere and precious, then either his mother, wife or children. No
» ſtanding, if ye thinke we can do good, we will willingly do what you will haue vs: bu
» to him I pray you. For if we cannot preuaile, we may yet dye at his feete, as humble
the ſafetie of our countrie. Her aunſwer ended, ſhe tooke her daughter in lawe, and
children with her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAINE ladies, they
troupe together vnto the VOLSCES campe: whom when they ſawe, they of themſe
both pitty and reuerence her, and there was not a man among them that once durſt ſay
vnto her. Now was *Martius* ſet then in his chaire of ſtate, with all the honours of a ge
and when he had ſpied the women comming a farre off, he maruelled what the matter
but afterwards knowing his wife which came formoſt, he determined at the firſt to pe
his obſtinate and inflexible rancker. But ouercome in the end with naturall affection
being altogether altered to ſee them: his heart would not ſerue him to tarie their co
to his chaire, but comming downe in haſt, he went to meete them, and firſt he kiſſed hi
ther, and imbraced her a prety while, then his wife and litle children. And nature ſo wr
with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he could not keepe himſelf from makin
of them, but yeelded to the affection of his bloud, as if he had bene violently caried wi
furie of a moſt ſwift running ſtreame. After he had thus louingly receiued them, and
uing that his mother *Volumnia* would begin to ſpeake to him, he called the chiefe
counſell of the VOLSCES to heare what ſhe would ſay. Then ſhe ſpake in this ſort. If we

The oration of Volumnia, vnto her ſonne Coriolanus.

our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and
ſight of our raiment, would eaſily bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſin
» exile and abode abroad. But thinke now with thy ſelfe, how much more vnfortunate
» all the women liuing we are come hither, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be
» pleaſant to all other to behold, ſpightfull fortune hath made moſt fearefull to vs: mak
» ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daughter here, her husband, beſieging the walles of his
» countrie. So as that which is the onely comfort to all other in their aduerſitie and miſe
» pray vnto the gods, and to call to them for aide: is the onely thing which plungeth
» moſt deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our co
» and for ſafetie of thy life alſo: but a world of grieuous curſes, yea more then any mor
» mie can heape vpon vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our praiers. For the bitter ſop of mo
» choice is offered thy wife and children to forgo the one of the two: either to loſe the
» of thy ſelfe, or the nurſe of their natiue countrie. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determ
» to tarie, till fortune in my life time do make an end of this warre. For if I cannot perſwa
» rather to do good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrow and deſtroy the one, preferri
» and nature, before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and tru
» it, thou ſhalt no ſooner marche forward to aſſault thy countrie, but thy foote ſhall tread
» thy mothers wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world. And I may not deferre to
» day, either that my ſonne be led priſoner in triumph by his naturall countrymen, or
» himſelfe do triumphe of them, and of his naturall countrie. For if it were ſo, that my
» tended to ſaue thy country, in deſtroying the VOLSCES: I muſt confeſſe, thou would
» and doubtfully reſolue on that. For as to deſtroy thy naturall countrie, it is altogether
» and vnlawfull: ſo were it not iuſt, and leſſe honorable, to betray thoſe that put their
» thee: But my onely demaund conſiſteth, to make a gaile deliuerie of all euils, which
» reth equall benefit and ſafetie, both to the one and the other, but moſt honorable for the
» SCES. For it ſhall appeare, that hauing victorie in their hands, they haue of ſpeciall

granted vs singular graces: peace, and amitie, albeit themselues haue no lesse part of both, then we. Of which good, if so it came to passe, thy selfe is the onely author, and so hast thou the only honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrarie: thy selfe alone deseruedly shall carie the shamefull reproach and burthen of either partie. So, though the end of warre be vncertaine, yet this notwithstanding is most certaine: that if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit shalt thou reape of thy goodly conquest, to be chronicled the plagtie and destroier of thy countrie. And if fortune also ouerthrow thee, then the world will say, that through desire to reuenge thy priuate iniuries, thou hast for euer vndone thy good friends, who did most louingly and courteously receiue thee. *Martius* gaue good eare vnto his mothers words, without interrupting her speach at all: and after she had said what she would, he held his peace a prety while and answered not a word. Hereupon she began againe to speake vnto him, and said. My sonne, why doest thou not answer me? doest thou thinke it good altogether to giue place vnto thy choller and desire of reuenge, and thinkest thou it not honestie for thee to graunt thy mother request, in so weighty a cause? doest thou take it honorable for a noble man, to remember the wrongs and iniuries done him: and doest not in like case thinke it an honest noble mans parte, to be thankfull for the goodnesse that parents do shew to their children, acknowledging the dutie and reuerence they ought to beare vnto them? No man liuing is more bound to shew himselfe thankefull in all parts and respects, then thy selfe: who so vnnaturally sheweth all ingratitude. Moreouer (my sonne) thou hast lately taken of thy country, exacting grieuous paiments vpon them, in reuenge of the iniuries offered thee: besides, thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poore mother any courtesie. And therefore, it is not only honest, but due vnto me, that without compulsion I should obtaine my so iust and reasonable request of thee. But since by reason I cannot perswade thee to it, to what purpose do I defer my last hope? And with these words, her selfe, his wife and children, fell downe vpon their knees before him. *Martius* seeing that, could refraine no longer, but went straight and lift her vp, crying out: Oh mother, what haue you done to me? And holding her hard by the right hand, oh mother, said he, you haue wonne a happy victorie for your countrie, but mortall and vnhappy for your sonne: for I see my selfe vanquished by you alone. These words being spoken openly, he spake a little apart with his mother and wife, and then let them returne againe to ROME, for so they did request him: and in remaining in campe that night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homewards into the VOLSCES countrie againe, who were not all of one minde, nor all alike contented. For some misliked him, and that he had done. Other being well pleased that peace should be made, said that neither the one, nor the other, deserued blame nor reproche. Other, though they misliked that was done, did not thinke him an ill man for that he did, but said: he was not to be blamed, though he yeelded to such a forcible extremitie. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeied his commandement, more for respect of his worthinesse and valiancie, then for feare of his authoritie. Now the citizens of ROME plainly shewed, in what feare and danger their citie stood of this war, when they were deliuered. For so soone as the watch vpon the wals of the citie perceiued the VOLSCES campe to remoue, there was not a temple in the citie but was presently set open, and full of men, wearing garlands of flowers vpon their heads sacrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do vpon the newes of some great obtained victorie. And this common ioy was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honourable courtesies the whole Senate, and people did bestow on their ladies. For they were all throughly perswaded, and did certainly beleeue, that the ladies onely were cause of the saiuing of the citie, and deliuering themselues from the instant danger of the war. Whereupon the Senate ordained that the magistrates to gratifie and honour these ladies, should grant them all that they would requite. And they onely requested that they would builde a temple of *Fortune* of the women: for the building whereof they offered themselues to defray the whole charge of the sacrifices, & other ceremonies belonging to the seruice of the gods. Neuertheless, the Senate commending their goodwill and forwardnesse, ordained, that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the citie. Notwithstanding that, the ladies gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of *Fortune*, which the ROMAINES say did speake as they offred her vp in the temple, and did set her in her place: and they affirme, that she spake these

Coriolanus compassion of his mother.

Coriolanus withdraweth his armie from Rome.

The temple of Fortune built for the women.

The image of Fortune spake to the ladies at Rome.

words: Ladies, ye haue deuoutly offered me vp. Moreouer, that she spake that twise together, making vs to beleeue things that neuer were and are not to be credited. For to see images seeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humor red or bloudie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wood and stone do commonly receiue certaine moisture, whereof is ingendred humour, which do yeeld of themselues, or do take of the aire, many sorts and kinds of colours: by which signes and tokens it is not amisse we thinke, that the gods sometimes warne men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues do sometime put forth sounds, like vnto sighes or mourning, when in the middest or bottome of the same there is made some violent separation, or breaking asunder of things, blowne or denised in the aire: but that a body which hath neither life nor soule, should haue any direct or exquisite voice formed in it by expresse voice, that is altogether vnpossible. For the soule, nor god himselfe cannot distinctly speake without a bodie, hauing necessarie organes and instruments meete for the seuerall parts of the same, to forme and vtter distinct words. But where stories many times do force vs to beleeue a thing reported to be true, by many graue testimonies: there we must say, that some passion contrarie to our fiue naturall sences, which being begotten in the imagination part or vnderstanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfe, euen as we do in our sleeping, when many times we thinke we heare, that we do not heare: & we imagine we see, that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, & zealously giuen to thinke on heauenly things, so as they can no way be drawne from beleeuing that which is spoken of them, they haue reason to ground the foundation of their beleefe vpo. That is, the omnipotency of God who is wonderfull, and hath no maner of resemblance or likenesse of proportion vnto ours, but altogether contrarie as touching our nature, our moouing, our art, and our force: and therefore if he do any thing vnpossible to vs, or do bring forth & deuise things, without mans compasse reach and vnderstanding, we must not therfore thinke it vnpossible at all. For if in other things he is far contrarie to vs, much more in his workes and secret operations, he farre passeth all the rest: but the most part of Gods doings, as *Heraclitus* saith, for lack of faith, are hidden and vnknowne vnto vs. Now when *Martius* was returned againe into the citie of Antium from his voyage, *Tullus* that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare he had of his authoritie: sought diuerse meanes to make him out of the way, thinking if he let slip that present time, he should neuer recouer the like and fit occasion againe. Wherefore *Tullus* hauing procured many other of his confederacie, required *Martius* might be deposed from his estate, and render vp account to the Volsces of his charge & gouernment. *Martius* fearing to become a priuate man again vnder *Tullus* being generall (whose authority was greater otherwise than any other among all the Volsces) answered: he was willing to giue vp his charge, and would resigne it into the hands of the lords of the Volsces, if they did all command him. So by all their commandement he receiued it. And moreouer, that he would not refuse even at that present to giue vp an account vnto the people, if they would tarie the hearing of it. Then the people hereupon called a common counsell, in which assembly there were certaine orators appointed, that stirred vp the cõmon people against him: & whe they had told their tales, *Martius* rose vp to make the answer. Now, notwithstãding the mutinous people made a marueilous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valiantnesse, they reposed themselues, and gaue still audience to alledge with leasure what he could for his purgation. Moreouer, the honestest men of the Antiates, and who most reioyced in peace, shewed by their countenance that they would heare him willingly, and iudge also according to conscience. Whereupon *Tullus* fearing that if he did let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that his first good seruice he had done to the people of the Volsces, did win him more fauour, than these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimonie of the good will they ought him, for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the citie of Rome, if they had not been very neere taking of it, by meanes of his approache and conduction. For these causes *Tullus* thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarie for any mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of

Of the sweating and voices of images.

Of the omnipotencie of God.

Tullus Aufidius seeketh to kill Coriolanus.

conſpiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not ſuffer a traytour to vſurpe tyrannicall power ouer the Tribe of the VOLSCES, who would not yeeld vp his eſtate and authoritie. And in ſaying theſe words, they all fell vpon him, and killed him in the market place, none of the people once offering to reſcue him. Howbeit it is a clere caſe, that this murder was not generally conſented vnto, of the moſt part of the VOLSCES: for men came out of all partes to honour his bodie, and did honourably burie him, ſetting out his tombe with great ſtore of armour and ſpoiles, as the tombe of a worthy perſon and great captaine. The ROMAINES vnderſtanding of his death, ſhewed no other honour or malice, ſauing that they graunted the ladies the requeſt they made: that they might mourne tenne monethes for him, and that was the full time they vſed to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethren, or husbands, according to *Numa Pompilius* order, who ſtabliſhed the ſame, as we haue enlarged more amply in the deſcription of his life. Now *Martius* being dead, the whole ſtate of the VOLSCES hartily wiſhed him aliue againe. For firſt of al they fell out with the ÆQVES (who were their friends & confederates) touching preheminence and place: and this quarrel grew on ſo farre betweene them, that fraies and murders fell out vpon it one with another. After that the ROMAINES ouercame them in battell, in which *Tullus* was ſlaine in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the ſword: ſo that they were compelled to accept moſt ſhamefull conditions of peace, in yeelding themſelues ſubiect vnto the conquerers, and promiſing to be obedient at their commaundement.

Coriolanus murdered in the citie of Antium.

Coriolanus funerals.

The time of mourning appointed by Numa.

Tullus Auſidius ſlaine in battell.

THE COMPARISON OF *Alcibiades with Martius Coriolanus.*

NOW that we haue written all the deedes of worthie memorie, done by either of them both: we may preſently diſcerne, that in matters of warre, the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were alike hardie & valiant for their perſons, as alſo wiſe and politike in the warres: vnleſſe they will ſay, that *Alcibiades* was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battels with his enemies, both by ſea and land, then euer *Coriolanus* had done, and had alwaies the victorie of his enemies. For otherwiſe, in this they were much alike: that where they were both preſent and had charge and power to commaund, all things proſpered notably, and with good ſucceſſe on the part they were of: and alſo when they tooke the contrarie ſide, they made the firſt haue the worſe euery way. Now for matters of gouernement, the noble men and honeſt citizens did hate *Alcibiades* manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man moſt diſſolute, and giuen to flatterie: becauſe he euer ſtudied by all deuiſe he could, to currie fauour with the common

The actes done by both.

people. So did the ROMAINES malice also *Coriolanus* gouernmēt, for that it was too arrogā proud, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Nō withstanding he is lesse to be blamed, that seeketh to please and gratifie his common people then he that despiseth and disdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and iniurie cause he would not seeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an e thing to flatter the common people to winne credit: euen so is it besides dishonesty, and in stice also, to attaine to credit and authoritie, for one to make himselfe terrible to the people offering them wrong and violence. It is true that *Martius* was euer counted an honest ma red man, plaine and simple, without art or cunning: Howbeit *Alcibiades* merely contra for he was fine, subtill, and deceiptfull. And the greatest fault they euer burdened *Alcibia* for, was his malice and deceipt, wherewith he abused the ambassadours of the LACEDE NIANS, & that he was let that peace was not cōcluded, as *Thucydides* reporteth. Now, tho by this acte he sodainely brought the citie of ATHENS into warres, yet he brought it ther to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the M TINIANS and the ARGIVES, who by *Alcibiades* practise entred into league with the AT NIANS. And *Martius*, as *Dionysius* the historiographer writeth: did by craft and deceipt bri the ROMAINES into warres against the VOLSCES, causing the VOLSCES maliciously wrongfully to be suspected, that went to ROME to see the games plaide. But the cause why did it, made the fact so much more foule and wicked. For it was not done for any ciuill dis tion, nor for any iealousie and contention in matters of gouernement, as *Alcibiades* did: onely following his cholericke moode, that would be pleased with no thing, as *Dion* said would needes trouble and turmoyle the most part of ITALIE, and so being angrie with countrie, he destroyed many other townes and cities that could not helpe it, nor doe with This is true also, that *Alcibiades* spight & malice did worke great mischiefe and miserie to countrie: but when he saw they repented them of the iniurie they had done him, he came himself, & did withdraw his armie. Another time also, when they had banished *Alcibiades* would not yet suffer the captaines of the ATHENIANS to run into great errors, neither wo he see them cast away, by following ill counsell which they tooke, neither would he for them in any daunger they put themselues into. But he did the very same that *Aristides* done in old time vnto *Themistocles*, for which he was then, and is yet so greatly praised. he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the armie of the ATHENIANS, altho they were not his friends, and told them wherein they did amisse, and what they had fur to doe. Where *Martius* to the contrarie, did first great hurt vnto the whole citie of Ro though all in ROME had not generally offended him: yea, and when the best and chiefest of the citie were grieued for his sake, and were very sory and angry for the iniurie done h Furthermore, the ROMAINES sought to appease one onely displeasure and despight they done him by many ambassades, petitions and requestes they made, wherunto he neuer yeel while his mother, wife and children came, his heart was so hardned. And hereby it appea he was entred into this ciuill warre (when he would harken to no peace) of an intent wi to destroy and spoile his countrie, and not as though he ment to recouer it, or to returne ther againe. Here was in deede the difference betwene them: that spials being laid by the L CEDÆMONIANS to kil *Alcibiades*, for the malice they did beare him, as also for that they affraide of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to ATHENS. Where *Martius* trari wife, hauing bene so honorably receiued and entertained by the VOLSCES, he could with honestie forsake them, considering that they had done him that honour, as to chuse their generall, & trusted him so farre, as they put all their whole army & power into his and not as the other, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS rather abused then vsed him, suffe him to go vp and downe their citie (and afterwardes in the middest of their campe) wit honour or place at all. So that in the ende *Alcibiades* was compelled to put himselfe into hands of *Tisaphernes*: vnlesse they will say that he went thither of purpose to him, with to saue the citie of ATHENS frō vtter destruction, for the desire he had to returne home a Moreouer, we read of *Alcibiades*, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with ney: and when he had it, he would most licentiously and dishonestly spend it. Where *Ma*

The manners of Alcibiades & Coriolanus.

Alcibiades and Coriolanus manner for money.

in contrarie manner would not so much as accept gifts lawfully offered him by his captaines to honour him for his valiantnesse. And the cause why the people did beare him such ill will, for the controuersie they had with the Nobilitie about clearing of debts, grew: for that they knew well enough it was not for any gaine or benefite he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spight and displeasure he thought to doe them. *Antipater* in a letter of his, writing of the death of *Aristotle* the philosopher, doth not without cause commende the singular gifts that were in *Alcibiades*, and this inespecially: that he passed all other for winning mens good willes. Whereas all *Martius* noble actes and vertues, wanting that affabilitie, became hatefull vnto those that receiued benefite by them, who could not abide his seueritie and selfe will: which causeth desolation (as *Plato* saith) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forsaken. Contrariwise, seeing *Alcibiades* had a trimme entertainment, and a very good grace with him, & could fashion himselfe in all companies: it was no maruell if his well doing were gloriously commended, and himselfe much honoured and beloued of the people, considering that some faultes he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of sport, and toyes of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurt to the common wealth, yet they did oft make him their generall, and trusted him with the charge of the whole citie. Where *Martius* suing for an office of honour that was due to him, for the sundrie good seruices he had done to the state, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus doe we see, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him: and the other that honoured his vertue, had no liking to loue his person. *Martius* also did neuer any great exploit, being generall of his countrie men, but when he was generall of their enemies against his naturall countrie: wheras *Alcibiades*, being both a priuate person, and a generall, did notable seruice vnto the ATHENIANS. By reason whereof, *Alcibiades* whersoeuer he was present, had the vpper hand euer of his accusers, euen as he would himselfe, and their accusations tooke no place against him: vnlesse it were in his absence. Where *Martius* being present, was condemned by the ROMAINES: and in his person murdered and slaine by the VOLSCES. But here I can not say they haue done well, nor iustly, albeit himselfe gaue them some colour to doe it: when he openly denied the ROMAINE Ambassadors peace, which after he priuately granted, at the request of women. So by this deede of his, he tooke not away the enmitie that was betweene both people: but leauing warre still betweene them, he made the VOLSCES (of whom he was generall) to choose the oportunitie of noble victorie. Where in deede he should (if he had done as he ought) haue withdrawen his armie with their counsell & consent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their generall: if he had made that account of them, as their good will towards him did in dutie binde him. Or else, if he did not care for the VOLSCES in the enterprise of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue off when his anger was blowen ouer: yet he had no reason for the loue of his mother to pardone his countrie, but rather he should in pardoning his countrie, haue spared his mother, because his mother & wife were members of the bodie of his countrie & citie, which he did besiege. For in that he vncourteously reiected all publique petitions, requests of Ambassadors, intreaties of the bishops and priestes, to gratifie onely the request of his mother with his departure: that was no act so much to honour his mother with, as to dishonour his countrie by, the which was preserued for the pitie and intercession of a woman, & not for the loue of it selfe, as if it had not bene worthie of it. And so was, this departure a grace, to say truly, very odious & cruell, and deserued no thankes of either partie, to him that did it. For he withdrew his armie not at the request of the ROMAINES, against whom he made warre: not with their consent, whose charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill hap, the austeritie of his nature, and his haughtie obstinate minde, was the only cause: the which of it selfe being hateful to the world, when it is ioyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churlish, fierce, and intollerable. For men that haue that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, seeming thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the people: and yet on the other side, if the people should not giue them honour & reuerence, they would straight take it in scorne, and litle care for the matter. For so did *Metellus*, *Aristides*, & *Epaminondas*, all vsed this manner not to seeke the goodwil of the cõmon people by flattery & dissimulation: which was indeed,

Alcibiades and Coriolanus loue vnto their countrie.

becauſe they deſpiſed that which the people could giue or take away. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and ſet at any fines, or that they baniſhed them, or gaue them any other repulſe: but they loued them as well as they did before, ſoone as they ſhewed any token of repentance, & that they were ſorie for the wrong they had done them, & were eaſily made friends againe with them, after they were reſtored from their baniſhment. For he that diſdaineth to make much of the people, & to haue their fauour, hath much more ſcorne to ſeeke to be reuenged when he is repulſed. For, to take a repulſe and loſſe all of honour ſo inwardly to the heart, cõmeth of no other cauſe, but that he did too earneſtly deſire it. Therefore *Alcibiades* did not diſſemble at all, that he was not very glad to ſee himſelfe honored, and ſorie to be reiected & denied any honour: but alſo he ſought all the meanes he could to make himſelfe beloued of thoſe amongeſt whom he liued. Whereas *Martius* ſtoutnes, & haughtie ſtomacke, did ſtay him from making much of thoſe, that might haue loued and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnaw himſelfe for ſpight and anger, when he ſaw he was deſpiſed. And this is all that reaſonably may be reproued in him: for otherwiſe he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and cleane hands from taking of bribes and money, he may be compared with the moſt perfect, vertuous, and honeſt men of all GREECE: but not with *Alcibiades*, who was in that vndoubtedly alwaies too licentious and looſely giuen, and had too ſmall regard of his regard and honeſtie.

Coriolanus notable abſtinẽce from bribes.

The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

THE LIFE OF *Paulus Æmilius.*

WHEN I firſt beganne to write theſe liues, my intent was to profit other: but ſince, continuing and going on, I haue much profited myſelfe by looking into theſe hiſtories, as if I looked into a glaſſe, to frame and faſhion my life, to the mould and patterne of theſe vertuous gentlemen. For running ouer their manners in this ſort, and ſeeking to deſcribe their liues: me thinkes I am ſtill conuerſant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruſe their hiſtories, and to waye the vertues and qualities they haue had, and what ſingularitie ech of them poſſeſſed: and to chuſe and cull out the chiefeſt things of note in them, and their beſt ſpeeches and doings moſt worthie of memorie: Then I crie out,

O goddes, can there be no more paſsing pleaſure in the world?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man ciuill manners, and a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man: *Democritus* the philoſopher writeth, that we ſhould pray we might euer ſee happie images and ſightes in the aire, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, may rather come to vs, then that is euill and vnfortunate: preſuppoſing a falſe opinion and doctrine in philoſophy, which allureth men to infinit ſuperſtitions. That there are good and bad images flying in the aire, which giue a good or ill impreſſion vnto men, and inuite men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of auncient hiſtories, and gathering theſe lines together which now I leaue before you, and by keeping alwaies in mind the actes of the moſt noble, vertuous, and beſt giuen men of former age, and worthie memorie: I doe teache and prepare my ſelfe to ſhake off and baniſh from me all lewd and diſhoneſt condition: if by chaunce the company and conuerſation of them whoſe companie I keepe, and muſt of neceſſitie haunt, doe acquaint mee with ſome vnhappy or vngracious touche. This is eaſie vnto me, that do diſpoſe my quiet minde, and not troubled with any paſſion, vnto the deepe conſideration of ſo many noble examples. As I doe preſent vnto you now in this volume the lines of *Timoleon* the CORINTHIAN, and of *Paulus AEmylius* the ROMAINE, who had not only a good and an vpright mind with them, but were alſo fortunate and happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you ſhall hardly iudge, when you haue red ouer their lines, whether wiſedome, or good fortune brought them to atchieue to ſuch honourable actes and exploits as they did. Many (and the moſt part of hiſtoriographers) doe write, that the houſe and family of the *AEmylians* in ROME, was alwaies of the moſt auncient of the nobility, which they call *Patricians*. Some writers affirme alſo, that the firſt of the houſe that gaue name to all the poſterity after, was *Marcus*, the ſonne of *Pythagoras* the wiſe, whom king *Numa* for the ſweetneſſe and pleaſaunt grace of his tongue, ſurnamed *Marcus AEmylius*. And thoſe ſpecially affirme it, that ſay king *Numa* was *Pythagoras* ſcholler. Howſoeuer it was, the moſt part of this family that obtained honour and eſtimation for their vertue, were euer fortunate alſo in all their doings, ſauing *Lucius Paulus* only, who died in the battell of CANNES. But his misfortune doth beare manifeſt teſtimony of his wiſedome and valiancy together. For he was forced to fight againſt his will, when hee ſaw he could not bridle the raſhneſſe of his fellow Conſul that would needes ioyne battell, and to doe as he did, ſauing that he did not as the other, who being firſt procurer of the battell, was the firſt that ranne awaie: where he to the contrary, to his power did what he could to let him, and did ſticke by it, and fought it valiantly vnto the laſt gaſpe. This *AEmylius* left a daughter behind him called *AEmylia*, which was maried vnto *Scipio* the great: and a ſonne, *Paulus AEmylius*, being the ſame in whoſe life we preſently treat of. His youth fortunatly fell out in a floriſhing time of glory and honour, through the ſundry vertues of many great and noble perſons liuing in thoſe dayes, among whom he made his name famous alſo: and it was not by that ordinary art and courſe, which the beſt eſteemed young men of that age did take and follow. For he did not vſe to plead priuate mens cauſes in law, neither would creepe into mens fauour by fawning vpon any of them: though he ſaw it a common practiſe, and policy of men, to ſeeke the peoples fauour and good wils by ſuch meanes. Moreouer, he refuſed not that common courſe which other tooke, for that it was contray to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had beene ſo diſpoſed: but he rather ſought to winne reputation by his honeſtie, his valiantneſſe, and vpright dealing, as chooſing that the better way, then either of the other two, in ſo much as in maruellous ſhort time he paſſed all thoſe that were of his age. His firſt office of honor he ſued for, was the office of *AEdilis*, in which ſute he was preferred before twelue other that ſued for the ſelfe ſame office: who were men of no ſmall quality, for all came afterwardes to be Conſuls. After this, he was choſen to be one of the number of the prieſtes, whom the ROMAINES call *Augures*: who haue the charge of all the diuination and ſoothſayings, in telling of things to come by flying of birdes, and ſignes in the aire. He was ſo careſull, and tooke ſuch paines to vnderſtand how the ROMAINES did vſe the ſame, and with ſuch diligence ſought the obſeruation of the auncient religion of ROMAINS in holy matters: that where that prieſthood was before eſteemed but a title of honour, and

The houſe of the AEmylians came of Pythagoras ſon.

Lucius Paulus AEmylius Conſul, ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.

AEmylia the daughter of Lucius AEmylius, maried to Scipio the great.

The vertues of Paulus AEmylius.

Paulus AEmylius made AEdilis and Augure.

The philosophers opinion of religion.

desired for the name only: he brought it to passe, that it was the most honorable science reputed of in ROME. Wherein he confirmed the philosophers opinion: that religion knowledge how to serue God. For when he did any thing belonging to his office hood, he did it with great experience, iudgement, and diligence, leauing all other thou without omitting any auncient ceremony, or adding to any new, contending ofte his companions, in things which seemed light, and of small moment: declaring

Paulus diligence in the common welth, euen in trifles.

that though we doe presume the goddes are easie to be pacified, and that they readily all faultes and scapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for respect mon wealths sake, they should not slightly, nor carelesly dissemble or passe ouer mitted in those matters. For no man (saieth he) at the first that committeth any faule lone trouble the state of the common wealth: but withall, we must thinke hee groundes of ciuill gouernment, that is not as carefull to keepe the institutions of ters, as also of the great. So was he also a seuere captaine, and strict obseruer of all

The discipline of warres.

cipline, not seeking to winne the souldiers loue by flattery, when he was generall as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a second charge, by shewing gentle and curteous in the first, vnto those that serued vnder him: but himselfe shew them the very rules and precepts of the discipline of warres, euen as a priest expresse the names and ceremonies of some holy sacrifice, wherein were daunger any part or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the law of armes vpon rebe disobedient souldiers, he kept vp thereby the state of the common weale the bet ing, to ouercome the enemy by force, was but an accessarie as a man may terme it, of well training and ordering his citizens by good discipline. While the ROMAINS in warres against king *Antiochus* surnamed the great, in the South partes: all the captaines of ROME being employed that waies, there fell out another in the nec in the West partes towardes SPAINE, where they were all vp in armes. Thither *AEmylius* Prætor, not with sixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them twelue: so that vnder the name of Prætor, he had the authority and dignity of a

Paulus AEmylius sent Prætor into Spaine.

He twise ouercame the barbarous people in mayne battell, and slue a thirty thousand and got this victory through his great skill and wisedome, in choosing the adu place and time, to fight with his enemies, euen as they passed ouer a riuer: which

AEmylius skilful to choose place and time to fight.

his souldiers the victory. Moreouer he tooke there, two hundred and fifty cities, did open, and gladly receiue him in. So, leauing all that countrey quiet and in good hauing receiued their fealty by othe made betweene his hands, he returned againe to not enriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke litle rega expences, he spent so franckly, neither was his purse his maister, though his reuenue great to beare it out: as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had enough to satisfie his wifes ioynter. His first wife was *Papyria*, the daughter of a nob full *Papyrius Masso*, and after they had liued a long time together, he was diuorced notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous Sc cond, and *Fabius Maximus*. The iust cause of the diuorce betweene them, appeare

Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus, were the sonnes of P. AEmylius, by Papyria his first wife.

in writing: but me thinkes the tale that is told concerning the seperation of a certaine is true. That a certaine ROMAINE hauing forsaken his wife, her friends fell out wit asked him: what fault dost thou find in her? is she not honest of her body? is shee not fa she not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foote, shewed them his s aunswered them. Is not this a goodly shooe? is it not finely made? and is it not new?

A prety tale of a Romaine that forsooke his wife.

say there is neuer a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to say truely, gre pen faultes are commonly occasions to make husbands put away their wiues: but ye times houshold wordes runne so betweene them (proceeding of crooked condition diuersity of natures, which straungers are not priuie vnto) that in processe of time beget such a straunge alteration of loue and mindes in them, as one house can n holde them. So *AEmylius*, hauing put away *Papyria* his first wife, he maried ano brought him two sonnes, which he brought vp with him selfe in his house, and two first sonnes (to wit, *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*) in adoption, to two

noblest and richest families of the city of ROME. The elder of the twaine, vnto *Fabius Maximus*, he that was fiue times Consul, and the yonger vnto the house of the *Cornelians*, whom the sonne of the great *Scipio* the AFRICAN did adopt, being his cosin germaine and named him *Scipio*. Concerning his daughters, the sonne of *Cato* maried the one, and *AElius Tubero* the other, who was a maruellous honest man, and did more nobly maintaine him selfe in his pouerty, then any other ROMAINE: for they were sixteene persons all of one name, and of the house of the *AElians*, very neare a kinne one to the other, who had all but one litle house in the city, and a small farme in the countrey, wherewith they entertained them selues, and liued all together in one house, with their wiues, and many litle children. Amongest their wiues, one of them was the daughter of *Paulus AEmylius*, after he had bene twise Consul, and had triumphed twise, not being ashamed of her husbands pouerty, but wondering at his vertue that made him poore. Wheras bretheren and kinsemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not farre a sunder, and in other countries, not one neare another, and that riuers part them not, or wals deuide their lands, leauing great large wastes betweene them: they are neuer quiet, but still in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this story lay before the wise, and well aduised readers, to learne thereby how to frame their life, and wisely to behaue them selues. Now *AEmylius* being chosen Consul, went to make warre with the LIGVRIANS, who dwelled in the ALPES, and which otherwise are called LIGVSTINES. These are very valiaunt and warlike men, and were very good souldiers at that time, by reason of their continuall wars against the ROMAINES, whose neare neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furthest part of ITALY, that bordereth vpon the great ALPES, and the row of ALPES, whereof the foote ioyneth to the THVSCAN sea, and pointeth towards AFRICK, and are mingled with the GAVLES and SPANIARDS, neighbours vnto the sea coast: who scowring all the *Mediterranian* sea at that time, vnto the straight of *Hercules* pillers, did with their litle light pinnases of pirats, let all the trafficke and entercourse of marchandise. *AEmylius* being gone to seeke them in their countrey, they tried his comming with an army of forty thousand men: neuertheles, though he had but eight thousand men in all, and that they were fiue to one of his, yet he gaue the onset vpon them, and ouerthrew them, and draue them into their cities. Then he sent to offer thē peace, for the ROMAINS would not altogether destroy the LIGVRIANS, because their countrey was as a rampier or bulwarke against the inuasion of the GAVLS, who lay lurking for oportunity and occasion to inuade ITALIE: whereupon these LIGVRIANS yeelded them selues vnto him, and put all their fortes and ships into his hands. *AEmylius* deliuered vnto them their holdes againe, without other hurt done vnto them, sauing that he rased the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he tooke all their shippes from them, leauing them litle botes of three owers onely, and no greater, and set all the prisoners at liberty they had taken, both by sea and by land, aswell ROMAINS as other, which were a maruellous number. These were all the notable actes he did worthy memory, in the first yeare of his Consulship. Afterwards, he oftentimes shewed himselfe very desirous to be Consul againe, and did put forth himselfe to sue for it: but when he was denied it, he neuer after made sute for it againe, but gaue himselfe onely to study diuine things, and to see his children vertuously brought vp, not onely in the ROMAINE tongue which him selfe was taught, but also a litle more curiously in the GREEKE tongue. For he did not only retaine *Grammarians*, *Rethoritians*, and *Logitians*, but also painters, grauers of images, riders of horses, and hunts of GREECE about his children: and he him selfe also (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with them in the schoole when they were at their bookes, and also when they otherwise did exercise them selues. For he loued his children as much, or more then any other ROMAINE. Now concerning the state of the common wealth, the ROMAINS were at wars with king *Perseus*, and they much blamed the captaines they had sent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and courage, they had so cowardly behaued them selues, as their enemies laughed them to scorne: and they receiued more hurt of them, then they did vnto the King. For not long before, they had driuen King *Antiochus* beyond mount *Taurus*, and had made him forsake the rest of ASIA, and had shut him vp within the borders of SYRIA, who was glad that hee had bought that countrey with fifteene thousand talents, which he paid for a fine. A litle before also, they had ouercome

The vertue of AElius Tubero, his pouerty and quiet life.

Immoralitie amongest kinred infamous.

AEmylius Consul.

AEmylius ouercommeth the Ligurians.

The cowardlines of the Romains in Spain.

Philip, king of MACEDON, in THESSALY, and had deliuered the GRECIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreouer, hauing ouercom *Hanniball* (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the world was comparable, either for his power or valiantnes) they thought this too great a dishonour to them, that this warre they had against *Perseus*, should hold so long of euen hand with them, as if he had beene an enemy equall with the people of ROME: considering also that they fought not against them, but with the rebell and scattered people of the ouerthrowen army his father had lost before, and knew not that *Philip* had left his army stronger, and more expert by reason of his ouerthrow, then it was before. As I will briefly rehearse the story from the beginning. *Antigonus*, who was of the greatest power of all the captaines and successours of *Alexander* the great, hauing obtained for him selfe and his posterity the title of a King, had a sonne called *Demetrius*, of whom came *Antigonus* the second, that was surnamed *Gonatas*, whose sonne was also called *Demetrius*, raigned no long time, but died, and left a young sonne called *Philippe*. By reason whereof the Princes and Nobility of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme should be left without heire, they preferred one *Antigonus*, cosin to the last deceased King, and made him marie the mother of *Philip* the lesse, giuing him the name at the first of the Kings protectour onely, and lieutenaunt generall of his maiesty. But after, when they had found he was a good and wise prince and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the absolute name of a King, and surnamed him *Doson*, to say, the giuer: for he promised much and gaue litle. After him succeeded *Philip*, who in his greene youth gaue more hope of him selfe, then any other of the Kings before: in so much they thought that one day he would restore MACEDON her ancient fame and glory, and that he alone would plucke downe the pride and power of the ROMAINS, who rose against all the world. But after that he had lost a great battell, and was ouerthrowen by *Titus Quintus Flaminius* neare vnto the city of SCOTVSA: then he began to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercy of the ROMAINES, thinking hee escaped cheapt, for any light ransome or tribute the ROMAINES should impose vpon him. Yet afterwards comming to vnderstand him selfe, he grew to disdaine it much, thinking that to reigne through the fauour of the ROMAINES, was but to make him selfe a slaue, to seeke to liue at pleasure at his ease, and not for a valiaunt and noble prince borne. Whereupon he set all his minde, to study the discipline of wars, and made his preparations as wisely and closely, and possibly he could. For he left all his towns alongst the sea coast, and standing vpō any high waies without any fortification at all, and in manner desolate without people, to the end there should appeare no occasion of doubt or mistrust in him: and in the meane time, in the high countries of his Realme farre from great beaten waies, he leuied a great number of men of war, and replenished his towns and strong holds that lay scatteringly abroad, with armour and weapons, money, and men, prouiding for war, which he kept as secretly as he could. For he had prouision of armour in his armory, to arme thirty thousand men, and eight million busshels of corne safely lockt vp in his forts and stronger places, and ready money, as much as would serue to maintaine tenne thousand straungers in pay, to defend his countrey for the space of tenne yeares. But before he could bring that to passe he had purposed, he died for griefe and sorrow, after he knew he had vniustly put *Demetrius* the best of his sonnes to death, vppon the false accusation of the worst, that was *Perseus*: who as he did inherite the Kingdome of his father by succession, so did he also inherite his fathers malice against the ROMAINES. But he had no shoulders to beare so heauy a burden, and especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many lewd and naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous & miserable. They say also, that he was not legitimate, because *Philippes* wife had taken him from *Gnathonia* (a tailours wife borne at ARGOS) immediatly after he was borne, & did adopt the child to be hers. And some thinke that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put *Demetrius* to death, fearing least this lawfull son would seeke occasion to proue him a bastard. Notwithstanding, simple though he was, and of vile and base nature, he found the strength of his Realme so great, that he was contented to take vpon him to make warre against the ROMAINES, which he maintained a long time, and fought against their Consuls, that were their generals, & repulsed great armies of theirs both by sea and land, and ouercame some. As *Publius Licinius*

The succession of Antigonus king of Macedon.

Antigonus Doson, king of Macedon.

Philip king of Macedon was ouercome in battel by Titus Quintus Flaminius at the city of Scotusa.

Philips second preparation for warres in Macedon.

Philips armory

The death of king Philip.

Perseus extreame couetous.

King Perseus maketh warre with the Romaines.

mong other, the first that inuaded MACEDON, was ouerthrowen by him in a battel of horsmen, where he slew at that time two thousand fiue hundred good mē of his, & tooke sixe hundred prisoners. And their armie by sea, riding at ancker before the citie of OREVM, he did sodainly set vpon, and tooke twentie great ships of burden, & all that was in them, and sunke the rest, which were all loden with corne: and tooke of all sorts besides, about 54. foystes, and galliots of fiftie owers a peece. The second Consull and generall he fought with all, was *Hostilius*, whom he repulsed, attempting by force to inuade MACEDON by way of the citie of ELVMIA. Another time againe, when he entred in by stealth vpon the coast of THESSALY, he offered him battell, but the other durst not abide it. Furthermore, as though the war troubled him nothing at all, & that he had cared litle for the ROMAINES: he went & fought a battell in the meane time with the DARDANIANS, where he slew ten thousand of those barbarous people, & brought a maruellous great spoile away with him. Moreouer he procured the nation of the GAVLES dwelling vpon the riuer of *Danubie*, which they call *Bastarnæ* (men very warlike, & excellent good horsemē) & did practise with the ILLYRIANS also by mean of their king *Genthius*, to make them ioine with him in these wars: so that there ran a rumour all about, that for money he had gotten these GAVLES to come downe into ITALIE, from the high country of GAVLE, al alongst the Adriatike sea. The ROMAINES being aduertised of these news, thought the time serued not now to dispose their offices in warres any more by grace and fauour vnto those that sued for them: but contrariwise, that they should call some noble man that were very skilful and a wise captain, and could discreetly gouerne & performe things of great charge. As *Paulus Æmilius*, a man well stepped on in yeres, being three score yere old, and yet of good power, by reason of the lustie young men his sonnes, & sonnes in law, besides a great number of his friends and kinsefolke. So all that bare great authoritie, did altogether with one consent counsell him to obey the people, which called him to the Consulship. At the beginning indeede he delayed the people much that came to importune him, and vtterly denied them: saying, he was no meete man neither to desire, nor yet to take vpon him any charge. Howbeit in the end, seeing the people did vrge it vpon him, by knocking continually at his gates, & calling him aloud in the streetes, willing him to come into the market place, & perceiuing they were angrie with him, because he refused it: he was content to be perswaded. And when he stood among them that sued for the Consulship, the people thought straight that he stood not there so much for desire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of assured victorie, and happie successe of this begunne warre: so great was their loue towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they chose him Consull againe the second time. Wherefore so soone as he was chosen, they would not proceede to drawing of lots according to their custome, which if the two Consuls should happen to go into MACEDON: but presently with a full and whole consent of them all, they gaue him the whole charge of the warres of MACEDON. So being Consull now, and appointed to make warre vpon king *Perseus*, all the people did honourably companie him home vnto his house: where a litle girle (a daughter of his) called *Tertia*, being yet an infant, came weeping vnto her father. He making much of her: asked her why she wept. The poore girle answered, colling him about the neck, and kissing him: Alas, father, wote you what? our *Perseus* is dead. She ment it by a little whelpe so called, which was her play fellow. In good houre, my girle, said he, I like the signe well. Thus doeth *Cicero* the orator report of it, in his booke of diuinations. The ROMAINES had a custome at that time, that such as were elected Consuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) should make an oration of thankes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the custome) being gathered together to heare *Æmylius* speake, he made this oration vnto them. That the first time he sued to be Consull, was in respect of himselfe, standing at that time in neede of such honour: now he offered himselfe the second time vnto it, for the good loue he bare vnto them, who stood in neede of a generall, wherefore he thought himselfe nothing bound nor beholding vnto them now. And if they did thinke also his warre might be better followed by any other, then by himselfe, he would presently with a glad heart resigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any trust or confidence in him, that they thought him a man sufficient to discharge it: then that they would not speake nor meddle in

Publius Licinius Consull, ouerthrowen by Perseus.

Hostilius Consull repulsed out of Macedon.

Bastarne the Gaules dwelling vpon the riuer of Danubie.

Æmilius chosen Consull the second time, taketh charge of the warres of Macedon.

Good hope conceiued by Tertia a little girle.

Paulus Æmylius oration of thankes to the Romaines when he was Consull, obseruing the custome.

» any matter that concerned his dutie, and the office of a generall, sauing onely, that they
» be diligent (without any words) to do whatsoeuer he commaunded, and should be neces
» for the warre and seruice they tooke in hand. For if euery man would be a commander
» had bene heretofore, of those by whom they should be commaunded: then the world
» more laugh them to scorne in this seruice, then euer before had bin accustomed. These
made the ROMAINES very obedient to him, and conceiued good hope to come, being
them very glad that they had refused those ambitious flatterers that sued for the charge
had giuen it vnto a man, that durst boldly and frankely tell them the troth. Marke how
See what fruite souldiers reape, by obedience and reason. ROMAINES by yeelding vnto reason and vertue, came to commaund all other, and
themselues the mightiest people of the world. Now that *Paulus Æmylius* setting for
this warre, had winde at will, and faire passage to bring him at his iourneys end: I impu
good fortune, that so quickly and safely conueighed him to his campe. But for the rest
exploites, he did in all this warre, when part of them were performed by his owne hand
other by his wisedome and good counsell, other by the diligence of his friends in seruing
with good will, other by his owne resolute constancie and courage in extreamest danger
last, by his maruellous skil in determining at an instant what was to be done: I cannot
any notable acte or worthy seruice vnto this his good fortune, they talke of so much, as
Perseus couetousnes and miserie, was the destruction of himselfe, and his realme of Macedon. may do in other captains doings. Vnles they will say peraduenture, that *Perseus* couetous
miserie was *Æmylius* good fortune: for his miserable feate of spending money, was the
cause and destruction of the whole realme of MACEDON, which was in good state and
of continuing in prosperitie. For there came downe into the countrie of MACEDONIE
Perseus request, ten thousand Bastarnæ a horse back, and as many footemen to them, wh
waies ioyned with them in battell, all mercenary souldiers, depending vpon pay and en
Bastarnæ, a mercenarie people. ment of warres, as men that could not plowe nor sowe, nor trafficke marchandise by so
skill of grasing to gaine their liuing with: and to be short, that had no other occupa
marchandise, but to serue in the warres, and to ouercome those with whom they fought
thermore, when they came to incampe and lodge in the MEDICA, neere to the MACED
ANS, who saw them so goodly great men, and so well trained & exercised in handling all
of weapons, so braue and lusty in words and threats against their enemies: they began to
vp their hearts, and to looke big, imagining that the ROMAINES would neuer abide
but would be afeard to looke them in the face, and onely to see their marche, it was so
and fearfull. But *Perseus*, after he had incouraged his men in this sort, and had put them
a hope and iolitie, when this barbarous supply came to aske him a thousand crownes
for euery capmine, he was so damped and troubled with all in his minde, casting vp the
Note, what became of Perseus husbandrie. it came to, that his onely couetousnesse and miserie made him returne them back, and
their seruice: not as one that meant to fight with the ROMAINES, but rather to spare
sure, and to be a husband for them, as if he should haue giuen vp a straight account vnto
of his charges in this warre, against whom he made it. And notwithstanding also his en
A Romain armie against Perseus, was a hundred thousand men. did teach him what he had to do, considering that besides all other their warlike furnit
munition, they had no lesse then a hundred thousand fighting men lying in campe to
ready to execute the Consuls commaundement. Yet he taking vpon him to resist so po
an armie, and to maintaine the wars, which forced his enemies to be at extreame charge
tettening such multitudes of men, and more then needed: hardly would depart with his
and siluer, but kept it safe locked vp in his treasurie, as if he had bene affraide to touche it,
bene none of his. And he did not shew that he came of the noble race of these kings of L
and of PHOENICIA, who gloried to be riche: but shewed how by inheritance of bl
chalenged some part of the vertue of *Philip*, and of *Alexander*, who both because they este
to buie victorie with money, not money with victorie, did many notable things, and the
conquered the world. Hereof came the common saying in olde time, that it was not
but his gold and siluer that wonne the cities of GREECE. And *Alexander* when he went to
quer the INDIANS, seeing the MACEDONIANS caty with them all the welth of PERSIA, w
made his campe very heauie, and slowe to marche: he himselfe first of all set fire of his o
carriage that conueied all his necessaries, and perswaded other to do the like, that they m

marche more lightlie, and eaſlier go on the iourney. But *Perſeus* contrarily would not ſpend any part of his goods, to ſaue himſelfe, his children and realme, but rather yeelded to be led priſoner in triumphe with a great ranſome, to ſhewe the ROMAINES how good a husband he had bene for them. For he did not onely ſend away the GAVLES without giuing them pay as he had promiſed, but moreouer hauing perſwaded *Gentius* king of ILLYRIA to take his part in theſe warres, for the ſumme of three hundred talents which he had promiſed to furniſh him with, he cauſed the money to be told, and put vp in bags by thoſe whom *Gentius* ſent to receiue it. Whereupon *Gentius* thinking himſelfe ſure of the money promiſed, committed a fond and fowle part: for he ſtayed the ambaſſadours the ROMAINES ſent vnto him, and committed them to priſon. This part being come to *Perſeus* eares, he thought now he needed not hire him with money to be an enemie to the ROMAINES, conſidering he had waded ſo farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifeſt ſigne of his ill will towards them and that it was no late to looke back and repent him, now that his foule part had plunged him into certaine warres, for an vncertaine hope. So did he abuſe the vnfortunate King, and defrauded him of the three hundred talents he had promiſed him. And worſe then this, ſhortly after he ſuffered *Lucius Anicius* the ROMAINE Prætor, whom they ſent againſt him with an armie, to pluck king *Gentius*, his wife, and children, out of his realme and kingdome, and to carie them priſoners with him. Now when *Æmylius* was arriued in MACEDON, to make warre againſt ſuch an enemie, he made no manner of reckoning of his perſon, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one campe he had foure thouſand horſemen, & no leſſe then fortie thouſand footemen, with the which armie he had planted himſelfe alongſt the ſea ſide, by the foote of the mount *Olympus*, in a place vnpoſſible to be approached: & there he had ſo well fortified all the ſtraites and paſſages vnto him with fortifications of wood, that he thought himſelfe to lie ſafe out of all danger, and imagined to dally with *Æmylius*, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. *Æmylius* in the meane ſeaſon lay not idle, but occupied his wits throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put ſome thing in proofe. And perceiuing that his ſouldiers by ouermuch licentious libertie (wherein by ſufferance they liued before) were angrie with delaying and lying ſtill, and that they did buſſilie occupie themſelues in the generals office, ſaying this, and ſuch a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundly, and commaunded them they ſhould medle no more too curiouſlie in matters that pertained not to them, and that they ſhould take care for nothing elſe, but to ſee their armour, and weapon ready to ſerue valiantly, and to vſe their ſwords after the ROMAINES faſhion, when their generall ſhould appoint and commaund them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to themſelues, he commanded thoſe that watched, ſhould haue no ſpeares nor pikes, becauſe they ſhould be more wakefull, hauing no long weapon to reſiſt the enemie, if they were aſſaulted. The greateſt trouble his armie had, was lack of freſh water, becauſe the water that ranne to the ſea was very little, & maruellous foule by the ſea ſide. But *Æmylius* conſidering they were at the foote of the mount *Olympus* (which is of a maruellous height, and full of wood withall) coniectured, ſeeing the trees ſo freſh and greene, that there ſhould be ſome little pretie ſprings among them, which ran vnder the ground. So he made them dig many holes and wels alongſt the mountaine, which were ſtraight filled with faire water, being pent within ground before for lack of breaking open the heads, which then ran downe in ſtreames, and met together in ſundrie places. And yet ſome do denie, that there is any meeting of waters within the ground, from whence the ſprings do come. For they ſay, that running out of the earth as they do, it is not for that, that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendreth and riſeth at the ſame time and place where it runneth out, turning the ſubſtance into water, which is a moiſt vapour, thickneth & waxeth cold by the coldneſſe of the earth, and ſo becommeth a ſtreame, and runneth downe. Euen ſo, ſay they, as womens breſts are not alwaies full of milke, as milke pans are that continually keepe milke, but do of themſelues conuert the nutriment women take into milke, and after commeth forth at their nipples: the very like are ſprings and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, which haue no meeting of hidden waters, nor hollow places capable, readily to deliuer water ſto them, as one would draw it out of a pompe or ſeſterne,

Gentius king of the Illyrians aided Perſeus.

Perſeus double dealing with king Gentius.

King Gentius ouercome by Lucius Anicius Prætor.

Perſeus lay at the foote of the mount Olympus, with 4000 horſemen, and 40000 footmē.

Æmylius admoniſheth his ſouldiers.

Paulus Æmylius would haue the watch to haue no ſpeares nor pikes.

The originall of ſprings.

Fountaines compared to womens breſts.

from so many great brookes and deepe riuers. But by their naturall coldnesse & moistu
waxe thick, and put forth the vapour and aire so strong, that they turne it into water.
is the reason why the places where they dig and open the earth, do put forth more ab
of water by opening the ground: like as women's breasts do giue more milke, when
most drawne and sucked, because in a sort they do better feed the vapour within them
uert it thereby into a running humour. Where, to the contrarie, those parts of the
are not digged, nor haue no vent outward, are the more vnable, and lesse meete to
water hauing not that prouocation and course to run, that causeth the bringing forth
sture. Yet such as maintaine this opinion, do giue them occasion that lone argument,
tratie them thus. Then we may say by like reason also, that in the bodies of beasts the
bloud long before, and that it ingendreth vpon a sodaine, when they are hurt, by tra
of some spirit or flesh that readily changeth into some running licoure. And more
are confuted by the common experience of these mine men, that dig in the mines for
or that vndermine castels to win them: who when they dig any great depth, do
meete in the bowels of the earth with running riuers, the water whereof is not ingen
little and litle, as of necessitie it should be, if it were true, that vpon the present open
ground, the humour should immediatly be created, but it falleth vehemently all at
And we see oftentimes that in cutting through a mountaine or rock, sodainly there
out a great quantitie of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our
againe. *AEmylius* lay there a conuenient time, and stirred not: and it is said there were
seene two so great armies one so neere to the other, and to be so quiet. In the end, castin
nie things with himselfe, and deuising sundrie practises, he was enformed of another w
enter into MACEDON, through the countrie of PERRHEBIA, ouer against the temple
Pythion, and the rock vpon which it is built, where there lay no garrison: which ga
better hope to passe that way, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrowne
hardnesse of the way vnto it. So, he brake the matter to his counsell. Thereupon *Scipio*
Nasica (the sonne adopted of that great *Scipio* the *African*, who became afterwards a
& was president of the Senate or counsell) was the first man that offred himselfe to le
whom it would please him to send to take that passage, & to assault their enemies behin
second was *Fabius Maximus*, the eldest sonne of *AEmylius*, who being but a very young
rose notwithstanding, & offred himself very willingly. *AEmylius* was very glad of their
and gaue them not so many men as *Polybius* writeth, but so many as *Nasica* himselfe de
in a letter of his he wrot to a king, where he reporteth all the story of this iorney. There
3000 ITALIANS leauied in ITALY, by the cõfederats of the ROMAINS, who were
ROMAINE legions, & in the left wing about 5000. Besides those, *Nasica* toke also 120
armes, & about 200 CRETIANS & THRACIANS mingled together, of those *Harpalus*
thither. With this number *Nasica* departed from the campe, & tooke his way toward
side, & lodged by the temple of *Hercules*, as if he had determined to do this feat by sea, to
ron the campe of the enemies behind. But when the soldiers had supped, and that it wa
night, he made the captaines of euery band priuie to his enterprise, and so marched all
contrary way from the sea, vntill at the length they came vnder the temple of *Pythion*, w
he lodged to rest the soldiers that were sore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount O
pus is aboue ten furlong high, as appeareth in a place ingrauen by him that measured it.

Scipio Nasica, and Fabius Maximus offer themselues to take the straights.

The height of the mount Olympus.

Olympus mount is iust, by measure made with line,
twelue hundred seuentie paces trod, as measure can assigne.
The measure being made, right ore against the place,
whereas Apolloes temple stands, ybuilt with stately grace.
Euen from the leauell plot, of that same countries plaine,
vnto the top which all on high, doth on the hill remaine.
And so Xenagoras the sonne of Eumelus,
in olden dayes by measure made, the same did finde for vs.
And did engraue it here in writing for to see,
when as he tooke his lateſt leaue (Apollo god) of thee.

Yet the *Geometricians* say, that there is no mountaine higher, nor sea deeper, then the length of tenne furlongs: so that I thinke this *Xenagoras* (in my opinion) did not take his measure at auenture, and by gesse, but by true rules of the arte, and instrumentes Geometricall. There *Nasica* rested all night. King *Perseus* perceiuing in the meane time that *Æmilius* stirred not from the place where he lay, mistrusted nothing his practise, and the comming of *Nasica* who was at hand: vntill such time as a trayrour of CRETA (stealing from *Nasica*) did reueale vnto him the pretended practise, as also the ROMAINES compassing of him about. He wondred much at these newes, howbeit he remoued not his campe from the place he laie in, but dispatched one of his captaines called *Milon*, with tenne thousand straungers, and two thousand MACEDONIANS: and straightly commanded him with all the possible speede he could, to get the toppe of the hill before them. *Polybius* saieth, that the ROMAINES came and gaue them an alarom, when they were sleeping. But *Nasica* writeth, that there was a marueilous sharpe and terrible battell on the toppe of the mountaine: and saide plainely, that a THRACIAN souldier comming towardes him, he threw his dart at him, and hitting him right in the breast, slew him starke dead: and hauing repulsed their enemies, *Milon* their captaine shamefully running away in his coat without armour or weapon, he followed him without any danger, and so went downe to the valley, with the safetie of all his companie. This conflict hapning thus, *Perseus* raised his campe in great haste from the place where he was, and being disapointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wits ende, and not knowing how to determine. Yet was he constrained either to stay, and incampe before the citie of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of battell: or else to deuide his armie into his cities & strong holdes, and so receiue the warres within his owne countrie, the which being once crept in, could neuer be driuen out againe, without great murder & bloudshed. Hereupon his friends did counsell him, to chuse rather the fortune of battell: alledging vnto him, that he was the stronger in men a great way, and that the MACEDONIANS would fight lustily with all the courage they could, considering that they fought for the safetie of their wiues & children, and also in the presence of their king, who should both see euery mans doing, & fight himselfe in person also for them. The king moued by these perswasions, determined to venter the chance of battell. So he pitched his campe, and viewed the situation of the places all about, and deuided the companies amongest his captaines, purposing to giue a whotte charge vpon the enemies when they should draw neere. The place and countrie was such, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to raunge a battell of footemen in, and litle pretie hils also one depending vpon another, which were very commodious for archers, naked men, and such as were lightly armed, to retire themselues vnto being distressed, & also to enuiron their enemies behinde. There were two small riuers also, *Æson* and *Leucus* that ranne through the same, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the latter end of the sommer, yet they would annoy the ROMAINES notwithstanding. Now when *Æmilius* was ioyned with *Nasica*, he marched on straight in battell ray towards his enemies. But perceiuing a farre off their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same: he wondred to behold it, and sodainely staied his armie, considering with himselfe what he had to doe. Then the young captaines hauing charge vnder him, desirous to fight it out presently, went vnto him to pray him to giue the onset: but *Nasica* specially about the rest, hauing good hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. *Æmilius* smiling, answered him: So would I doe, if I were as young as thou. But the sundry victories I haue wonne heretofore, hauing taught me by experience the fashion the vanquished doe commit: do forbid me to goe so wholly to worke (before my souldiers haue rested, which did returne but now) to assault an armie set in such order of battell. When he had answered him thus, he commaunded the first bands that were now in view of the enemies, should imbattell themselues, shewing a countenance to the enemie as though they would fight: and that those in the rereward should lodge in the meane time, and fortifie the campe. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindmost, by chaunging from man to man before the enemies were ware of it: he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noise, and the enemies neuer perceiuing it. But when night came, and euery man

Nasica wanne the straights of Macedon.

Perseus pitched his campe before the citie of Pydne.

The riuers of AEson and Leucus.

AEmylius answere to Scipio Nasica, for giuing charge vpon the enemies.

The skill and foresight of a wise captaine.

The eclipse of the moone.

had supped, as they were going to sleepe and take their rest: the moone which was at the ful and of a great height, beganne to darken and to chaunge into many sorts of colours, losing light, vntill such time as shee vanished away, and was eclipsed altogether. Then the ROMAINES beganne to make a noyse with basons and pannes, as their fashion is to doe in

The superstition of the Romaines when the moone is eclipsed.

chaunce, thinking by this sound to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, vp many torches lighted, and firebrands into the aire. The MACEDONIANS on the other did no such matter within their campe, but were all together striken with an horrible and there ranne straight a whispering rumour through the people, that this signe in the ment signified the eclipse of the King. For *AEmylius* was not ignorant of the diuersities eclipses, and he had heard say the cause is, by reason that the moone making her ord course about the world (after certaine reuolutions of time) doth come to enter into the shadowe of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden: vntill such time as past the darke region of the shadow, she commeth afterwardes to recouer her light which taketh of the sunne. Neuertheless, he being a godly deuout man, so soone as he perceiued moone had recouered her former brightnesse againe, he sacrificed eleuen calues. And the morning also by the breake of day, making sacrifice to *Hercules*, he could neuer haue any or tokens that promised him good lucke, in sacrificing twentie oxen one after another: the one & twentieth he had signes that promised him victorie, so he defended himself. Wherefore, after he had vowed a solemne sacrifice of a hundred oxen to *Hercules*, and also gam prices at the weapons, he commaunded his captaines to put their men in readines to fight so sought to winne time, tarying till the sunne came about in the after noone towards West, to the end that the ROMAINES which were turned towards the East, should not it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he reposed him selfe in his which was all open behind towardes the side that looked into the valley, where the ca his enemies lay. When it grew towardes night, to make the enemies set vpon his men say he vsed this policie. He made a horse be driuen towards them without a bridell, & c ROMAINES followed him, as they would haue taken him againe: and this was the

AEmylius policie to procure skirmish.

procuring the skirmish. Other say, that the THRACIANS seruing vnder the charge taine *Alexander*, did set vpon certaine forragers of the ROMAINES, that brought to to the campe: out of the which, seuen hundred of the LAOVRIANS ranne so lustily rescue, and relieue comming still from both armies, at the last the maine battell followed Wherefore *AEmylius* like a wise generall foreseeing by the daunger of this skirmish, stirring of both campes, what the furie of the battell would come to: came out of his and passing by the bandes did encourage them, and praied them to sticke to it like men. meane time, *Nasica* thrusting himselfe into the place where the skirmish was whotte ceiued the armie of the enemies marching in battell, readie to ioine. The first that

The armie of the Macedonians, marching against the Romaines in battell.

the vpward, were the THRACIANS, who seemed terrible to looke vpon, as he waited selfe: for they were mightie made men, and caried meruellous bright targets of steele them, their legges were armed with greaues, and their thighes with tases, their coates blacke, and marched shaking heauie halberds vpon their shoulders. Next vnto these OIANS, there followed them all the other straungers and souldiers whom the King had diuersely armed and set forth: for they were people of sundrie nations gathered toge mong whom the PEONIANS were mingled. The third squadron was of MACEDONI and all of them chosen men, aswell for the flower of their youth, as for the valiantnesse persons: and they were all in goodly gilt armours, & braue purple cassocks vpon them and spanne new. And at their backes came after them, the old bandes to shew themselues of the campe, with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to shine with the bright their steele and copper. And all the hilles and mountaines thereabouts did bing again an Eccho, with the crie and noyse of so many fighting men, one incouraging another order they marched so fiercely with so great heart burning, and such swiftnesse: th

The battell betwixt Perseus and AEmylius

first which were slain at the incounter, fell dead two furlongs frō the camp of the ROMA The charge being giuen and the battell begunne, *AEmylius* galloping to the vpward battell, perceiued that the captaines of the MACEDONIANS which were in the first ran

had alreadie thrust their pikes into the ROMAINES targets, so as they could not come neere them with their swordes: and that the other MACEDONIANS carying their targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and did base their pickes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the ROMAINES. Which when he had considered, and of what strength and force his wall and ranke of targets was, one ioyning so neere another, and what a terrour it was to see a front of a battell with so many armed pikes and steele heades: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any sight he euer saw before. Nertheless he could wisely dissemble it at that time. And so passing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he shewed a noble cheresull countenance vnto them that fought. But on the contrarie side, *Perseus* the king of MACEDON, as *Polybius* writeth, so soone as the battell was begunne, withdrew himselfe, and got into the citie of PYDNE, vnder pretence to goe to doe sacrifice vnto *Hercules*: who doth not accept the faint sacrifice of cowardes, neither doth receiue their praiers, because they be vnreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not, should hit the white: nor that he should winne the victorie, that bideth not the battell: neither that he should haue any good, that doeth nothing toward it: nor that a naughtie man should be fortunate, and prosper. The goddes did fauour *AEmylius* praiers, because he prayed for victorie with his sworde in his hande, and fighting did call to them for aide. Howbeit there is one *Posidonius* a writer, who saieth he was in that time, and moreouer, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an historie containing many bookes of the actes of king *Perseus*, where he saith that it was not for faint heart, nor vnder colour to sacrifice vnto *Hercules*, that *Perseus* went from the battell: but because he had a stripe of a horse on the thigh the day before. Who though he could not verie well helpe himselfe, and that all his friends sought to perswade him not to go to the battell: yet he caused one of his horse to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly vsed to ride vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of darts were throwen at him from both sides. And among those, he had a blow with a dart that hurt him somewhat, but it was ouerthwart, and not with the point, and did hit him on the left side glansing wise, with such a force, that it rent his coate, and rased his skinne vnderneath, so as it left a marke behinde a long time after. And this is all that *Posidonius* writeth to defend and excuse *Perseus*. The ROMAINES hauing their hands full, and being stayed by the battell of the MACEDONIANS that they could make no breach into them: there was a captaine of the PELIGNIANS called *Salius*, who tooke the ensigne of his band, and cast it among the prease of his enemies. Then all the PELIGNIANS brake in vpon them, with a marueilous force and furie into that place: for all ITALIANS thinke it too great a shame and dishonour for souldiers to lose or forsake their ensigne. This was there marueilous force of both sides vsed in that place: for the PELIGNIANS prouoked to cut the MACEDONIANS pikes with their swordes, or else to make them giue backe with their great targets or to make a breach into them, and to take the pikes with their handes. But the MACEDONIANS to the contrarie, holding their pikes fast with both handes, ranne them thorow that came neere vnto them: so that neither target nor corselet could hold out the force and violence of the push of their pikes, in so much as they turned vp the heeles of the PELIGNIANS and TERRACINIANS, who like desperate beastes without reason, shutting in themselues among their enemies, ranne wilfully vpon their owne deathes, and their first rancke were slaine euerie man of them. Thereupon those that were behind, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backes, and only retired giuing backe towards the mountaine *Olocrus*. *AEmilius* seeing that (as *Posidonius* writeth) rent his armour coate from his backe for anger, because that some of his men gaue backe: other durst not from the battell of the MACEDONIANS, which was so strongly imbattelled on euerie side, and so mured in with a wall of pikes, presenting their armed heads on euery side a man could come, that it was impossible to breake into them, no not so much as come neere them onely. Yet notwithstanding, because the fielde was not altogether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the front, could not alwayes keepe their wall, continuing their targets close one to another, but they were driuen of necessitie to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battels, according to the great

Perseus goeth out of the battell vnto Pydne.

Victorie woonne by labour, not by sleth.

Salius a captaine of the Peligniens tooke the ensigne, and threwe it among the enemies.

force of the ſouldiers: that in one place they thruſt forward, and in another they giue back and leaue a hole. Wherefore *AEmilius* ſodainely taking the vantage of this occaſion deuided his men into ſmall companies, and commaunded them they ſhould quickly thruſt in betwixt their enemies, and occupie the places they ſaw voide in the front of their enemies, and that they ſhould ſet on them in that ſort, and not with one whole continuall charge, but diuerſly pying them here and there with diuers companies in ſundry places. *AEmilius* gaue this charge vnto the priuate captaines of euery band and their lieutenantes, and the captaines alſo gaue the like charge vnto their ſouldiers that could skilfully execute their commaundement. For they went preſently into thoſe parts where they ſawe the places open, and being once entred in among them, ſome gaue charge vpon the flankes of the MACEDONIANS, who they were all naked and vnarmed: other ſet vpon them behind: ſo that the ſtrength of all the corpes of the battell (which conſiſteth in keeping cloſe together) being opened in this ſort was ſtraight ouerthrowen. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or two againſt a fewe: the MACEDONIANS with their litle ſhort ſwordes, came to ſtrike vpon the great ſhields of the ROMAINES, which were very ſtrong, and couered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrarie, were driuen of neceſſitie to receiue the blowes of the ſtrong heauie ſwordes of the ROMAINES, vpon their litle weake targets: ſo that what with their heauineſſe, and the vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was no target nor corſelet, but they paſſed it through, and ranne them in. By reaſon whereof they could make no long reſiſtance, whereupon they turned their backes and ranne away. But when they came to the ſquadron of the olde beaten ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruelleſt fight and moſt deſperate ſeruice, where they ſay that *Marcus Cato* (ſonne to great *Cato*, and ſonne in lawe of *AEmylius*) ſhewing all the valiantneſſe in his perſon that noble minde could poſſibly performe, loſt his ſword which fell out of his hand. But he being a young man of noble courage, that had bene valiantly brought vp in all diſcipline, and knew how to follow the ſteppes of his father (the nobleſt perſon that euer man ſawe) was more ſorie then his value and worthineſſe, and thought it more honour for him there to die, then liue to ſuffer his enemies to enioy any ſpoile of his. So, by and by he ranne into the ROMAINES armie, to find out ſome of his friends, whom he tolde what had befallen him, and prayed them to helpe him to recouer his ſword: whereto they agreed. And being a good company of luſtie valiant ſouldiers together, they ruſhed ſtraight in among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and ſo did ſet vpon them with ſuch force and furie, that they made a way through the middeſt of them, and with great ſlaughter and ſpilling of bloud, euen by force they cleared the way ſtill before them. Now when the place was voyded, they ſought for the ſword, and in the ende found it with great a doe, amongeſt a heape of other ſwordes and dead bodies, whereat they reioyced maruellouſly. Then ſinging a ſong of victorie, they went againe more fiercely then before to giue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not broken a ſunder: vntill ſuch time as at the length, the three thouſand choſen MACEDONIANS fighting valiantly euen to the laſt man, and neuer forſaking their rankes, were all in the place. After whoſe ouerthrow, there was a great ſlaughter of other alſo that fled: ſo that all the vallie and foote of the mountaines thereaboutes was couered with dead bodies. The next day after the battell, when the ROMAINES did paſſe ouer the riuer of *Leuca*, they found it running all a bloud. For it is ſaide there were ſlaine at this fielde, of *Perſeus* men aboue fiue and twentie thouſand: and of the ROMAINES ſide, as *Poſidonius* ſaieth, not aboue ſixe ſcore, or as *Naſica* writeth, but foureſcore onely. And for ſo great an ouerthrowe, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done and executed. For they beganne to fight about three of the clocke in the after noone, and had wonne the victorie before foure, and all the reſt of the day they followed their enemies in chaſe, an hundred and twentie furlongs from the place where the battell was fought: ſo that it was verie late, and farre foorth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So ſuch as returned, were receiued with maruellous great ioye of their pages that went out with linckes and torches lighted, to bring their maſters into their tents, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them vp with crownes and garlands of laurell, ſauing the generals tent onely: who was very heauie, for that of his ſonne

The valiantnes of Marcus Cato.

AEmylius victorie of Perſeus.

The battell fought and wonne in one houre.

sonne he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be found, which he loued best of the twaine, because he saw he was of a better nature then the rest of his brethren. For euen then, being new crept out of the shell as it were, he was marueilous valiaunt and hardy, and desired honour wonderfully. Now *AEmylius* thought he had been cast away, fearing least for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the rashnesse of his youth, he had put himselfe too farre in sight amongst the preasse of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard straight what sorrow *AEmylius* was in, and how grieuously he tooke it. The Romaines being set at supper rose from their meate, and with torch light some ran to *AEmylius* tent, other went out of the campe to seek him among the dead bodies, if they might know him: so all the campe was full of sorrow and mourning, the vallies and hilles all about did ring againe with the cries of those that called *Scipio* by name. For euen from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him aboue all the rest, and singular paine required in a captaine and wise gouernour of the commonweale aboue all the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his comming againe, he happily returned from the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars only, all bloudied with new blood (like a swift running greyhound flobbed with the blood of the hare) hauing pursued very farre for ioy of the victory. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards destroyed both the cities of Carthage and Numantia, who was the greatest man of warre, and valiantest captaine of the Romaines in his time, and of the greatest authority and reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time her reuenge of her spite, which she did beare to so noble an exploite, suffered *AEmylius* for that time to take his full pleasure of this noble victory. And as for *Perseus*, he fled straight from the city of Pydna, vnto the city of Pella, with his horsemen, which were in number all armed. Whereupon the footmen that saued themselues by flying, meeting them by the way, called them traitours, cowards, and villaines: and worse then that, they turned head of their owne accord, and fought it out lustely with them. *Perseus* seeing that, and fearing least this might turne to light on his necke, he rowelled his horse out of the high way, and put off his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing least they should know him by these tokens: and because he might more easily speake with his friends by the way, he lighted a foote, and led his horse in his hand. But such as were about him, one made as though he would mend the lacket of his shooe, another seemed to water his horse, another as though he would drinke: so that one dragging after another in this sort, they all left him at last, and ranne their way, not fearing the enemies fury so much, as their Kinges cruelty: who being grieued with his misfortune, sought to lay the fault of the ouerthrow vpon all other but himselfe. Now he being come into the city of Pella by night, *Eudeus* and *Eudeus*, two of his treasurers came vnto him, & speaking boldly (but out of time) presumed to tell him the great fault he had committed, and did counsell him also what he should do. The King was moued with their presumption, that with his owne hands he stabbed his dagger in their sides, and slue them outright. But after this fact, all his seruaunts and friends refused him, and left him onely caried with him but *Euander* Cretan, *Archedamus* Aetolian, and Neobolo Macedon. And as for the mean souldiers, there were none that followed him but the Cretans, and that was not for the good will they did beare him, but for the loue of his gold and siluer, as they that keepe their liues for loue of the hony. For he caried with him a great treasure, and gaue them leaue to spoile certaine plate and vessell of golde and siluer, to the value of fifty talents. But first of all, when he was come into the city of Amphipolis, and afterwards into the city of Alexander, and that the feare was well blowen ouer: he returned againe to his old humour, which was borne and bred with him, and that was, auarice and misery. For he made his complaint vnto those that were about him, that he had vnwares giuen to the souldiers of Crete all his plate and vessell of gold to be spoiled, being those which in old time belonged vnto the great, and praied them with teares in his eyes, that had the plate, they would be content to chāge it for ready money. Now such as knew his nature, found straight this was but a fraude and a Cretan lie, to deceiue the Cretans with: but those that trusted him, and did restore againe the plate they had, did lose it euery iotte, for he neuer paid them penny of it. He got of his friends the value of thirty talents, which his enemies soone after did take from

The valiantnes of Scipio the lesse.

Perseus fled from Pydna to Pella.

Time and duty to be obserued to the Prince.

Disdain, the indignation of the Prince.

The couetousnes of the Cretans.

Misers whine for their goods.

him. And with that ſumme he went into the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he tooke the ſanctuary and priuiledge of the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: They ſay, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuance did naturally loue their Kings: but then ſeeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hearts failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and ſubmitted themſelues vnto *AEmylius*, and made him Lord of the whole Realme of MACEDON. *The Macedonians ſubmit themſelues to AEmylius.*

daies: and this doth ſeeme to confirme their wordes, who impute all *AEmylius* deſerts his good fortune. And ſurely, the maruellous fortune he happened on in the citie of PELLA, doth confirme it much, which a man cannot aſcribe otherwiſe, but to the grace of the goddes. For one day beginning to doe ſacrifice, lightning fell from heauen, ſet all the wodde a fire vpon the aulter, and ſanctified the ſacrifice. But yet the miracle *Wonders.*

fame is more to be wondred at. For foure daies after *Perſeus* had loſt the battell, and the citie of PELLA was taken, as the people of ROME were at the liſtes or ſhew place, for games: ſodainly there roſe a rumour at the entring into the liſtes where they were, how *AEmylius* had wonne a great battell of king *Perſeus*, and had conquered MACEDON. *Newes brought to Rome out of Macedon in 4. daies, of AEmylius victorie there: and no man knew how they came.*

These newes was rife ſtraight in euery mans mouth, and there followed vpon maruellous ioy and great cheere in euery corner, with ſhouts and clapping of hands, that continued all the day through the citie of ROME. Afterwardes they made diligent enquirie, this rumor firſt came vp, but no certaine author could be knowen, and euery man ſaid heard it ſpoken: ſo as in the end it came to nothing, and paſſed away in that ſort for vaine. But ſhortly after, there came letters, and certaine newes that made them wonder more before, from whence the meſſenger came that reported the firſt newes of it: which could deuiſed by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwardes. We doe read alſo of tell that was fought in ITALIE, neare vnto the riuer of SAGRA, whereof newes was the very ſame day vnto PELOPONNESVS. And of another alſo in like maner that was in ASIA againſt the MEDES, before the citie of MEDIA: the newes whereof came day vnto the campe of the GRECIANS, lying before the citie of PLATONIA. And in the iourney where the ROMAINES ouerthrew the *Tarquines*, and the army of the LATINES immediatly after the battell was wonne, they ſaw two goodly young men come newly from campe, who brought newes of the victory to ROME, and they iudged they were *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. The firſt man that ſpake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where he watered their horſe being all of a white ſome, told them: that they wondred how they could ſo quickly bring theſe newes. And they laughing came to him, and rooke him ſoftly by the beard with both their handes, and euen in the market place his haire being blacke before, preſently turned yellow. This miracle made them beleeue the report the man made, who after was called *AEnobarbus*, as you would ſay, bearded as yellow as gold. Another matter that happened in our time, maketh all ſuch newes credible. For when *Antonius* rebelled againſt the Emperour *Domitian*, the citie of ROME was in a maruellous perplexity, becauſe they looked for great warres towardes GERMANIE. But in this feare, there grew a ſodaine rumor of victory, and it went currantly through ROME, that *Antonius* him ſelfe was ſlaine, and his army ouerthrowen, & not a man left aliue. This rumor was ſo rife, that many of the feſt men of ROME beleeued it, and did ſacrifice thereupon vnto the gods, giuing them thanks for the victory. But when the matter came to fifting, who was the firſt author of the rumor, man could tell. For one put it ouer ſtill to another, & it died ſo in the end amongſt them, as in a bottomleſſe matter, for they could neuer bouke out any certaine ground of it: but as it came flying into ROME, ſo went it flying away againe, no man can tell how. Notwithſtanding, *Domitian* holding on his iourney to make this warre, met with poſtes that brought him letters for the certaine victory: and remembring the rumor of the victory that ranne before in ROME, he found it true, that it was on the very ſame day the victory was gotten, the diſtance betweene ROME and the place where the fielde was wonne, was aboue two thouſand furlongs off. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe to our ſtory. *Cn. Octauius*, lieutenant of the army of *AEmylius* by ſea, came to ancker vnder the iſle SAMOTHRACIA, where he would not take *Perſeus* by force out of the ſanctuary where he was, for the reuerence he did beare vnto the goddes *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: but he did beſiege *AEnobarbus* why ſo called. *Cn. Octauius AEmylius lieutenant by ſea.*

in such sort, as he could not scape him, nor flie by sea out of the Iland. Yet he had secretly practised with one *Oroandes* a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a prise with him for a summe of money to conuay him away by night: but the CRETAN serued him a right CRETANS tricke. For when he had taken a bord by night into his vessell, all the Kings treasure of golde and siluer, he sent him word that he should not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of *Ceres*, with his wife, his children and seruants, where in deed was no possibility to take shipping: but the next night following he hoised saile, and got him away. It was a pittifull thing that *Perseus* was driuen to do and suffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a litle straight window vpon the wals, and not only him selfe, but his wife and litle babes, who neuer knew before what flying and hardnes ment. And yet he fetched a more grieuous bitter sigh, when one told him on the peere, that he saw *Oroandes* the CRETAN vnder saile in the main seas. Then day beginning to breake, & seeing him self voide of all hope, he ran with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the sanctuary againe, before the ROMAINES that saw him could ouertake him. And as for his children, he had giuen them him selfe into the hands of one *Ion*, whom before he had maruellously loued, and who then did traiterously betray him: for he deliuered his children vnto the ROMAINES. Which part was one of the chiefest causes that draue him (as a beast that will follow her litle ones being taken from her) to yeeld him selfe into their hands that had his children. Now hee had a special confidence in *Scipio Nasica*, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeeld him selfe, but it was aunswered him, that he was not there. Then hee beganne to lament his hard and miserable fortune euery way: And in the end, considering how necessity enforced him, he yeelded him selfe into the handes of *Cneus Octauius*, wherein he shewed plainely, that he had another vice in him more vnmanly and vile, then auarice: that was, a faint heart, and fear to die. But hereby he depriued him selfe of others pity and compassion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot deny and take from the afflicted, and specially from them that haue a noble hart. For he made request they wold bring him vnto the generall *AEmylius*, who rose from his chaire when he saw him come, and went to meete him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to meete a great King by fortune of warre, and by the will of the gods, fallen into that most lamentable fact. But he to the contrary, vnmanly, and shamefully behaued him selfe. For he fell downe at his feete, and embraced his knees, and vttered such vncomely speach and vile requestes, as *AEmylius* selfe could not abide to heare them: but knitting his browes against him, being heartely offended, he spake thus vnto him. Alas poore man, why dost thou discharge fortune of this fault, wher thou mightest iustly charge & accuse her to thy discharge, doing things, for the which euery one iudgeth thou hast deserued thy present misery, and art vnworthy also of thy former honor? why dost thou defame my victory, and blemish the glory of my doings, shewing thy selfe so base a man, as my honor is not great to ouercome vnworthy an enemy? The ROMAINES haue euer esteemed magnanimity, euen in their greatest enemies: but dastardlines, though it be fortunate, yet it is hated of euery body. Notwithstanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hand, gaue him into the custody of *Aelius Tubero*. Then *Amylius* went into his tent, and caried his sonnes, and sons in law with him, and other men of quality, and specially the younger sort. And being set downe, he continued a great space very pensiue with him selfe, not speaking a word: in so much that all the standers by wondered much at the matter. In the end he began to enter into discourse and talke of fortune, and the vnconstancy of these worldly things, and said vnto them. Is there any man liuing, my frends, who hauing fortune at will, should therefore boast and glory in the prosperitie of his doings, for that he hath conquered a countrey, city, or Realme: and not rather to feare the vnconstancy of fortune? who laying before our eyes, and all those that professe armes at this present, so notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainely teach vs to thinke, that there is nothing constant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men may think them selues assured, considering that when they haue ouercome others, then are they driuen to mistrust fortune most, and to mingle fear & mistrust, with ioy of victory: if they will wisely consider the cõmon course of fatall destiny that altereth daily, sometime fauouring one, otherwhile throwing down another? you see, that in an houres space we haue troden vnder our feet

The miserable state Perseus was brought vnto, by the craft and sublety of a Cretan.

King Perseus yeeldeth him selfe in Samothracia, vnto Cneus Octauius

Perseus vnprincely behauiour vnto AEmylius.

AEmylius oration vnto Perseus prisoner.

AEmylius oration touching fortune and her vnconstancy.

» the house of *Alexander* the great: who hath bene the mightiest and most redoubted prince
» the world. You see a king, that not long since was followed and accõpanied, with many tho
» sand souldiers of horsemen and footemen: brought at this present into such miserable extre
» ty, that he is inforced to receiue his meat and drinke dayly at the hands of his enemies. Sho
» we haue any better hope then, that fortune will alwaies fauour our doings, more then she do
» his now, at this present? no out of doubt. Therefore digesting this matter well, you youn
» men I say, be not too brag nor fooliſh proude, of this conqueſt and noble victory: but thin
» what may happen hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuy of this our pr
» sent prosperity. Such were *AEmylius* wordes to these yong men, as it is reported, brideling
» these and such like perswasions, the lusty brauery of this youth, euen as with the bit and bri
of reason. Afterwards he put his army into garrisons to refresh them: and went him selfin p
son in the meane time to visite GREECE, making it an honorable progresse, and also a cõm
dable. For as he passed through the cities, he releeued the people, reformed the gouernment
their state, and euer gaue them some gift or present. Vnto some he gaue corne, which king P
seus had gathered for the wars: and vnto other he gaue oyles, meeting with so great store
prouision, that he rather lacked people to giue it vnto, to receiue it at his hands, then want
to giue, there was so much. As he passed by the city of DELPHES, hee saw there a great pill
foure square, of white stone, which they had set vp, to put king *Perseus* image of gold vpon
Whereupon he commanded them to set vp his in that place, saying: it was reason the conq
red should giue place vnto the conquerours. And being in the city of OLYMPIA, visiting
temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, he spake this openly, which euer since hath bene remembred
Phidias had rightly made *Iupiter*, as *Homer* had described him. Afterwardes when the
ambassadors were arriued that were sent from ROME to establish with him the realm of M
CEDON, he redeliuered the MACEDONIANS their countrey and townes againe, to liue
berty, according to their lawes, paying yearely to the ROMAINS for tribute, a hundred ta
where before they were wont to pay vnto their Kinges tenne times as much. And he m
playes and games of all sortes, and did celebrate sumptuous sacrifices vnto the goddes.
kept open court to all commers, and made noble feasts, and defrayed the whole charge th
of, with the treasure *Perseus* had gathered together, sparing for no cost. But through his c
and foresight there was such a speciall good order taken, euery man so curteously rec
and welcommed, and so orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and cal
that the GRECIANS wondred to see him so carefull in matters of sport and pleasure: and
he tooke as great paines in his own person, to see that small matters should be ordered as
ought: as he took regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a maruellous
sure to him, to see that among such sumptuous sightes prepared to shew pleasure to th
sons inuited, no sight nor stately shew did so delight them, as to enioy the sight and com
of his person. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence and care in these m
that to order a feast well, required as great iudgement and discretion, as to set a battell: to m
the one fearefull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friends. But men esteem
bountie and magnanimitie for his best vertue and qualitie. For he did not onely refuse
the kings wonderfull treasure of golde and siluer, but caused it to be told, and deliuered
custodie of the treasurers, to carie to the coffers of store in ROME: and only suffered his
that were learned, to take the bookes of the kings librarie. When he did reward the so
ers for their valiant seruice in this battell, he gaue his sonne in law *Æmylius Tubero* a cup
ing fiue talents. It is the same *Tubero* we tolde you of before, who liued with sixteene o
his kin all in one house, and of the onely reuenue they had of a litle farme in the co
Some say, that cup was the first peece of plate that euer came into the house of the *Æliani*
yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither themselues,
their wiues, would euer haue, or weare, any golde or siluer. After he had very well or
and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leaue of the GRÆCIANS, and counselled the
CEDONIANS to remember the libertie the ROMAINES had giuen them, and that they
be carefull to keepe it, by their good gouernement and concorde together. Then he dep
from them, and tooke his iourney towards the countrie of EPIRVS, hauing receiued

AEmylius honorable progresse in Greece.

AEmylius setteth Macedon at a stay.

AEmylius words about the care and good order at feasts.

AEmylius abstinence.

mission from the Senate of ROME, to suffer his souldiers who had done seruice in the battell, and ouerthrowe of king *Perseus*, to spoile all the cities of that countrie. Wherefore that he might surprise them on a sodaine, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the cities that they should send him by a certaine day, tenne of the chiefest men of euerie citie. Who when they were come, he commaunded them to go and bring him by such a day, all the gold and siluer they had within their cities, aswell in their priuate houses, as in their temples and Churches, and gaue vnto euerie one of them a captaine and garrison with them, as if it had beene onely to haue receiued and searched for the golde and siluer he demaunded. But when the day appointed was come, the souldiers in diuers places (and all at one time) set vpon their enemies, and did rifle and spoile them of that they had, and made them also pay ransome euerie man: So as by this policie, there were taken and made slaues in one day, a hundred and fiftie thousand persons, and three score and tenne cities spoiled and sacked euery one. And yet when they came to deuide the spoile of this generall destruction of a whole Realme by the polle, it came not to euerie souldiers part, aboue eleuen siluer Drachmes a peece. Which made euerie one to wonder greatly, and to feare also the terrour of the warres, to see the wealth and riches of so great a Realme, to amount to so litle for euerie mans share. When *Æmylius* had done this fact against his owne nature, which was verie gentle and courteous: he went vnto the sea side to the citie of ORICA, and there imbarked with his army bound for ITALIE. Where when he was atriued, he went vp the riuer of Tyber against the streame, in king *Perseus* cheefe galley, which had sixteene owers on a side, richely set out with the armour of the prisoners, riche clothes of purple colour, and other such spoiles of the enemies: so that the ROMAINES running out of ROME in multitudes of people to see this galley, and going side by side by her as they rowed softly, *Æmylius* tooke as great pleasure in it, as in any open games or feastes, or triumphe that had bene shewed in deed. But when the souldiers saw, that the golde and siluer of king *Perseus* treasure was not deuided amongst them according vnto promise, and that they had a great deale lesse then they looked for, they were maruellously offended, and inwardly grudged *Æmylius* in their hearts. Neuerthelesse they durst not speake it openly, but did accuse him, that he had bene too straight vnto them in his warre: and therefore they did shewe no great desire, nor forwardnesse, to procure him the honour of triumphe. Which *Seruius Galba* vnderstanding, that had bene an olde enemie of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a thousand men vnder him in this warre: he like an enuious viper tolde the people, how *Æmylius* had not deserued the honor of triumph, and sowed seditious words against him among the souldiers, to aggraduate their ill will the more against him. Moreouer, he craued a day of the Tribunes of the people, to haue respit to bring forth such matter as they determined to obiect against him: saying, the time then was ouer spent, the sunne being but foure houres high, and that it would require longer time and leysure. The Tribunes made him answer, that he should speake then what he had to say against him, or otherwise they would not graunt him audience. Hereupon he began to make a long oration in his dispraise, full of railing wordes, and spent all the rest of the day in that railing oration. Afterwardes when night came on, the Tribunes broke vp the assembly, and the next morning the souldiers being incouraged by *Galbaes* oration, and hauing conferred together, did flocke about *Galba*, in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had giuen warning they would keepe their assembly. Now being broad day, *Æmylius* triumphe was referred to the most number of voices of the people, and the first tribe flatly did denie his triumphe. The Senate, and the residue of the people hearing that, were very sory to see they did *Æmylius* so open wrong and iniury. The common people saide nothing to it, but seemed to be very sory, howbeit they sought no redresse. The Lords of the Senate cried out vpon them, and saide it was too much shame, and exhorted one another to bridle the insolency and boldnesse of these souldiers, who would grow in the end to such tumult and disorder, that they would commit all mischiefe and wickednesse, if betimes they were not looked to, and preuented, seeing they did so openly stand against their generall, seeking to deprine him of the honour of his triumphe and victory. So they assembled a good company of them together, and went vp to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would stay to take the voices of

Æmylius cruell act spoyling of Epirus.

Æmylius tooke ship at the citie of Orica, and returned into Italie.

The enuie of Seruius Galba vnto Æmylius.

Contention about Æmylius triumphe.

Seruilius oration for the furtherance of AEmylius triumph.

the people, vntill they had acquainted them with such needefull matter, as they had to
vnto them. The Tribunes graunted to it, and silence was made. Then *Marcus Seruilius*,
had bene Consull, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his own
son, and had alwaies slaine as many of his enemies as chalenged him man for man: rose vp
» spake in fauour of *Æmylius* in this manner. I know now (saide he) better then before,
» noble and worthie a captaine *Paulus Æmylius* is, who hath atcheiued such glorie and hono-
» ble victorie, with so dishonorable and disobedient souldiers. And I can but wonder tha
» people not long since reioyced, and made great account of the victories and triumphes
» vpon the ILLYRIANS and other nations of AFRICKE: and that now they should for
» enuie his glorie (doing what lieth in them to hinder) to bring a MACEDONIAN king
» a triumph, and to shew the glorie & greatnes of king *Philip* and *Alexander* the great,
» by the ROMAINES force and power. What reason haue ye, that not long since, vpon a
» rumour that *AEmylius* had wonne the battell against *Perseus*, you straight made sacrifice
» the goddes with great ioy, praying them that you might be witnesses of the truth there-
» now that the person himselfe whom ye made generall is returned home, and doth
» you most assured victorie, you doe frustrate the goddes most solemne thankes and
» due to them, and doe deprive your selues also of your wonted glorie in such a case: as
» were afeard to see the greatnesse of your prosperitie, or that you ment to pardon a King
» slaue and prisoner. And yet of the two, you haue more reason to hinder the triumphe, as
» ing the King, then enuying your captaine. But the malice of the wicked, through your
» ence is growne to such an insolent audacitie & boldnesse, that we see men present here
» vs, which neuer went from the smoake of the chimney, nor caried away any blowes
» field, being crammed at home like women and housedoues, and yet they are so impudent
» shamlesse, as they dare presume vnreuerently to your faces, to prate of the office and
» generall of an armie, and of the desert of triumphe, before you I say, who by experience
» ny a sore cut and wound vpon your bodies in the warres, haue learned to know a good
» liant captaine, from a vile and cowardly person. And speaking these words, he cast
» gowne, & shewed before them all, the infinite scars and cuts he had receiued vpon his
» when turning him behinde, shewed all such places as were not fit to be seene openly, and
» ned him againe to *Galba*, and said vnto him, Thou mockest me for that I shew thee: but
» ioyce before my countrimen and citizens: that for seruing my countrie night and day
» back, I haue these wounds vpon me which thou seest. Now get thee about thy busines
» receiue their voices: & I wil come after, noting them that are naughtie and vnthankfull
» orns, who like to be soothed with flatterie, and not stourly commanded, as behoueth a
» rall in the war. These words so reined the hard headed souldiers with the curbe of reason
all the other tribes agreed in one, and granted *AEmylius* triumphe: the order and solem-
whereof was performed in this sort. First the people hauing set vp sundry scaffoldes, also
the lists and field (called *Circus* by the LATINES) where the games and common runn
horses and charrets are made, as also about the market place, and in other streetes of the
she which, the shew of the triumph should passe, they all presented them selues in their
gownes to see the magnificence and state thereof. All the temples of the goddes also were
wide open, hanged full of garlandes of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there
set through all the quarters of the city, numbers of sergeaunts and other officers holding
staues in their handes to order the straggling people, and to keepe them vp in corners and
rudes, that they should not pester the streetes, and hinder the triumphe. Furthermore
sight of this triumphe was to continue three daies, whereof the first was scant sufficient
the passing by of the images, tables and pictures, and statues of wonderfull bignes, all
and gotten of their enemies, and drawen in the shew vppon two hundred and fifty
The second day, there were caried vppon a number of carres, all the faire[st] and riche[st]
of the MACEDONIANS, as well of copper, as also of iron and steele, all glistering bright
ing newly furbished, and artificially layed in order (and yet in such sort, as if they had
in heaps one vpon an other, without taking any care otherwise for the ordering and lay
them) faire burganets vpon targets: habergions, or brigantines and corselets vppon

A notable description of AEmylius triumphe.

round targets of the CRETANS, and iauelings of the THRACIANS, and arrowes amongst the armed pikes: all this armour and cariage, being bound one to another so trimly (neither being too lose, nor too straight) that one hitting against another, as they drew them vpon the cartes through the citie, they made such a sound and noise, as it was fearefull to heare it: so that the only sight of these spoiles of the captaines being ouercome, made the sight so much more terrible to behold it. After these carts loden with armor, there followed three thousand men, which caried the ready money in seuen hundred and fiftie vessels, which waighed about three talents a peece, and euery one of them were caried by foure men: and there were other that caried great bowles of siluer, cups and goblets fashioned like hornes, and other pots to drinke in, goodly to behold, aswell for ther bignes, as for their great and singular imbossed workes about it. The third day early in the morning, the trumpets beganne to sound and set forwards, sounding no march nor sweet note, to beautifie the triũph withall: but they blew out the braue alarõ they sound at an assault, to giue the souldiers courage for to fight. After them followed fixe score goodly fat oxen, hauing all their hornes gilt, and garlands of flowers & nosegaies about their heads, and there went by them certaine young men, with aprons of needle worke, girt about their middle, who led them to the sacrifice, & young boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold and siluer, to cast & sprinkle the bloud of the sacrifices about. And after these, followed those that caried all coynes of gold deuided by basons & vessels, and euery one of them waying three talents as they did before, that caried the great holy cup, which *Æmylius* had caused to be made of massie gold, set full of precious stones, waying the weight of ten talents, to make an offering vnto the gods. And next vnto them went other that caried plate, made & wrought after antike fashion, and notable cups of the ancient kings of MACEDON: as the cup called *Antigonus*, and another *Seleucus*: and to be short, all the whole cubberd of plate of golde and siluer of king *Perseus*. And next them came the charret of his armour, in the which was all king *Perseus* harneſſe, and his royall band (they call a *Diademe*) vpon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, followed next the Kings children, whom they led prisoners, with the traine of their scholemasters and other officers, & their seruants, weeping and lamenting: who held vp their hands vnto the people that looked vpon them, and taught the kings young children to do the like, to aske mercie and grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety litle children, two sonnes and a daughter amongst them, whose tender yeares and lacke of vnderstanding, made them (poore soules) they could not feele their present miserie, which made the people so much more to pittie them, when they saw the poore litle infants, that they knew not the change of their hard fortune: so that for the compassion they had of them, they almost let the father passe without looking vpon him. Many peoples hearts did melt for very pittie, that the teares ran downe their cheekes, so as this sight brought both pleasure & sorow, together to the lookers on, vntil they were past & gone a good way out of sight. King *Perseus* the father, followed after his children and their traine, and he was clothed in a blacke gowne, wearing a paire of slippers on his feete after his country maner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled mind, oppreſt with sorrow of his most miserable state and fortune. He was followed with his kinsefolks, his familiar friends, his officers and houshold seruants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamenting teares, and sorrowfull eyes cast vpon their vnfortunate maister, how much they sorrowed & bewailed his most hard and cruell fortune, litle accounting of their own misery. The voice goeth, that *Perseus* sent vnto *Æmylius* to intreat him, that he should not be led through the city in the shew & sight of the triumph. But *AEmylius* mocking (as he deserued) his cowardly faint heart, aunswered: as for that, it was before, and is now in him, to do if he will. Meaning to let him vnderstand thereby, that he might rather chuse to die, then liuing to receiue such open shame. Howbeit his hart would not serue him, he was so cowardly, and made so effeminate, by a certaine vaine hope hee knew not what, that he was contented to make one among his owne spoils. After all this, there followed 400. princely crownes of gold, which the cities and towns of GREECE had purposely sent by their ambassadours vnto *AEmylius*, to honour his victory: and next vnto them, he came him selfe in his charret triumphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth and adorned. It was a noble sight to behold: and yet the person of him selfe onely was worth the loo-

Perseus children.

King Perseus

AEmylius scorneth Perseus cowardlinesse.

Foure hundred crowns of gold sent vnto AEmylius by the cities of Greece

king on, without al that great pomp & magnificence. For he was apparelled in a purple gown branched with gold, & caried in his right hand a laurell bough, as all his army did beside which being deuided by bands & companies, followed the triumphing charret of their captaine, some of the souldiers singing songs of victorie, which the ROMAINES vse to sing in their triumphs, mingling them with merrie pleasant toyes, reioycing at their captaine. Other of them also did sing songs of triumph, in the honor & praise of *Æmylius* noble conquest and victorie. He was openly praised, blessed, & honored of euery bodie, & neither hated nor enuied of honest men. Sauing the ordinarie vse of some god, whose propertie is alwaies to lesson or cut off some part of mans exceeding prosperitie & felicitie, mingling with mans life the sence & feeling of good and euill together: because that no liuing person should passe all his time of life without some aduersitie or misfortune, but that such (as *Homer* saith) should only thinke themselues happie, to whom fortune hath equally sorted the good with the euill. And this I speake because *Æmylius* had 4. sonnes, two of the which he gaue in adoption vnto the families of *Scipio* & of *Fabius*, as we haue said before: and two other which he had by his second wife, he brought vp with him in his owne house, & were both yet very young. Of the which the one died, being 14. yeres of age fiue daies before his fathers triumph: and the other died also 3. daies after the pompe of triumph, at 12. yeres of age. When this sorowfull chance had befallen him, euerie one in ROME did pittie him in their hearts: but fortunes spight and crueltie did more greeue and feare them, to see her litle regard towards him, to put into a house of triumphe (full of honour and glorie, and of sacrifices and ioy) such a pittifull mourning, and mingling of sighs, sorowes and lamentations of death, amongst such songs of triumphe and victory. Notwithstanding this, *Æmylius* taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to vse constancie & magnanimitie, against the sword and pike of the enemy: but a like also against all aduersitie and enmitie of spightfull fortune. So, he wisely waied and considered his present fortune with his former prosperitie: & finding his misfortune counterpeased with felicity, & his priuate griefes cut off with common ioy, he gaue no place to his sorowes & mischance, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triumphe & victory. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sonnes, he left not to make his triumphant entrie, as you haue heard before. And his second sonne also being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to assemble, and in face of the whole city he made an oration, not like a discomforted man, but like one rather that did comfort his sorowfull countrimen for his mischance. He told them, that concerning mens matters, neuer any thing did feare him: but for things aboue, he euer feared fortune, mistrusting her change and inconstancie, and specially in the last warre, doubting for so great prosperitie as could be wished, to be paide home with an after intollerable aduersitie, or sinister chance. For as I went (said he) I passed ouer the gulfe of the Adriatike sea, from BRUNDUSIVM vnto CORCYRE in one day. And from thence in fiue daies after, I arriued in the citie of DELPHES, where I did sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And within fiue other daies, I arriued in my campe, where I found mine army in MACEDON. And after I had done the sacrifice, and also ceremonies for purifying of the same, I presently began to follow the purpose and cause of my comming: so as in 15. daies after, I made an honorable end of all those warres. But yet, mistrusting fortune alwaies, seeing the prosperous course of my affaires, and considering that there were no other enemies, nor dangers I needed to feare: I feared sorely she would change at my returne, when I should be vpon the sea, bringing home so goodly & victorious an army, with so many spoiles, and so many Princes and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arriued in the hauen, and seeing all the city at my returne full of ioy, and of feasts and sacrifices, I still suspected fortune, knowing her manner well enough, that she vseth not to gratifie men frankly, nor to graunt them so great things clearly, without some certain sparke of enuy waiting on them. Neither did my minde being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the common wealth, shake off this fear behind me: but that I saw, this home mishap and misery lighted vpon me, enforcing me with mine own hands in these holy daies of my triumph, to bury my two young sonnes one after another, which I onely brought vp with me, for the succession of my name & house. Wherefore, me thinkes now I may say, I am out of all danger, & the least touching my chiefest and greatest misfortune: and do begin to stablish my selfe with

Æmilius aduersitie.

Æmylius fortitude in his great aduersity

Æmylius oration in his trouble for the death of his children.

this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with vs euermore, without feare of other vnlucky or siniſter chance. For ſhe hath ſufficiently countermailed the fauorable victorie ſhe gaue you, with the enuious miſhap wherewith ſhe hath plagued both me & mine: ſhewing the conquerer and triumpher, as noble an example of mans miſerie & weaknes, as the partie conquered, that had bene led in triumph. Sauing that *Perſeus* yet conquered as he is, hath this comfort left him: to ſee his children liuing, & that the conquerour *Aemylius* hath loſt his. And this was the ſumme of *Æmylius* notable oration he made vnto the people of ROME, proceeding of a noble and honorable diſpoſed minde. And though it pitied him in his heart to ſee the ſtraunge chaunge of king *Perſeus* fortune, and that he heartily deſired to helpe him, and to doe him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but onely to remoue him from the common priſon (which the ROMAINES call *Carter*) into a more cleanly and ſweeter houſe: where being ſtraightly garded & looked vnto, he killed himſelfe by abſtinence from meate, as the moſt part of hiſtoriographers do write. Yet ſome writers tell a maruellous ſtraunge tale, and manner of his death. For they ſay the ſouldiers that garded him, kept him from ſleepe, watching him ſtraightly when ſleepe tooke him, & would not ſuffer him to ſhut his eye lidde (onely vpon malice they did beare him, becauſe they could not otherwiſe hurt him) keeping him awake by force, not ſuffering him to take reſt: vntill ſuch time as nature being forced to giue ouer, he gaue vp the ghoſt. Two of his ſonnes died alſo: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent turner and ioyner, and was learned, and could ſpeake the ROMAINES tongue very well, and did write it ſo trimly, that afterwards he was chancelour to the magiſtrates of ROME, and did wiſely and diſcreetly behaue himſelfe in his office. Furthermore, they do adde to this goodly conqueſt of the realme of MACEDON, that *Æmylius* conquered another ſpeciall good thing, that made him maruellouſlie well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought ſo much golde and ſiluer vnto the treaſurie ſtore of ROME, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yeare that *Hirtius* and *Panſa* were Conſuls, which was about the beginning of the firſt warres of *Auguſtus* and *Antonius*. And yet *Æmylius* had one ſingular good gift in him: that though the people did greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke part with the Senate and nobilitie, and did neuer by worde nor deed any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or pleaſe them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he did euer leane to the nobilitie and good men. And this did *Appius* afterwards caſt in his ſonnes teethe, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefeſt men of their time, and contending together for the office of Cenſor: *Appius* had about him to fauour his ſute, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the *Appians* had euer held on their part. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of himſelfe, yet he was in all times fauoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when *Appius* ſawe him come into the market place, followed with men of ſmall quality and baſe condition, that had bene ſlaues before, but otherwiſe could skilfully handle ſuch practiſes, bring the people together, and by opportunity of cries and loud voices (if neede were) obtaine what they would in the aſſemblies of the city: he ſpake out aloud, and ſaide. O *Paulus Æmylius*, now haſt thou good cauſe to ſighe and mourne in thy graue where thou lieſt (if the dead doe know what we doe here on earth) to ſee *Æmylius* a common ſergeant, and *Licinius* a prattling fellow, how they bring thy ſonne vnto the dignity of a Cenſor. And as for *Scipio*, he was alwaies beloued of the common people, becauſe he did fauour them in all things. But *Æmylius* alſo, although hee tooke euer the noble mens part, he was not therefore leſſe beloued of the common people, then thoſe that alwaies flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to pleaſe them: which the common people did witneſſe, aſwell by other honors and offices they offred him, as in the dignity of the Cenſor which they gaue him. For it was the higheſt office of all other at that time, & of greateſt power and authority, ſpecially for inquiry and reformation of euery mans life & manners. For he that was Cenſor, had authority to put any Senatour of the counſell, and ſo diſgrade him, if he did not worthely behaue him ſelfe according to his place and calling: & might name and declare any one of the Senat, whom he thought to be moſt honeſt, and fitteſt for the place again. Moreouer, they might by their authority, take frõ licẽtious yong men, their horſe

The death of king Perſeus.

A ſtraunge kind of death.

The ſtate of Perſeus ſonnes.

By Æmylius victorie, the people payed no more ſubſidie.

Æmylius choſen Cenſor.

The office and authority of the Cenſor.

which was kept at the charge of the common weale. Furthermore, they be the seſſours of the people, and the muſter maſters, keeping bookes of the number of perſons at euery muſter. So there appeared numbred in the regiſter booke *Æmilius* made then of them, three hundred ſeuen and thirtie thouſand, foure hundred and two and fiftie men, and *Marcus Æmylius Lepidus* named preſident of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and did put out of counſell three Senators, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he and his companion, *Martius Philippus* kept, vpon view and muſter taken of the Romane horſemen. And after he had ordered and diſpoſed the greateſt matters of his charge and office,

Aemylius ſickneſſe.

he fell ſicke of a diſeaſe that at the beginning ſeemed very daungerous, but in the ende there was no other daunger, ſauing that it was a lingring diſeaſe, and hard to cure. So, following

Aemylius removed from Rome, and dwelt in the citie of Velia.

the counſell of phiſitians, who willed him to goe to a citie in ITALY called VELIA, he tooke ſea and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleaſant houſes, vpon the ſea ſide quietly and out of all noiſe. But during this time of his abſence, the ROMAINES ſhed for him many a time and often. And when they were gathered together in the Theatre to ſee the playes and ſportes, they cryed out diuerſe times for him: whereby they ſhewed how they had a great deſire to ſee him againe. Time being come about when they vſed to make the ſolemne yearely ſacrifice, and *Æmilius* finding himſelfe alſo in good perfect health, he returned againe to ROME, where he made the ſacrifice with the other prieſtes, all the people of ROME gathering about him, reioycing much to ſee him. The next day after, he made another particular ſacrifice, to giue thankes vnto the gods for recouerie of his health. After the ſacrifice was ended, he went home to his houſe, and ſate him downe to dinner: but ſuddenly he

The death of AEmylius in Rome.

fell into a rauing (without any perſeuerance of ſickneſſe ſpied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went from him in ſuch ſort, that he dyed within three dayes after, lacking no neceſſarie thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy in this world. For he was euen honoured at his funerals, and his vertue was adorned with

AEmylius funeralles.

many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with golde, ſiluer, nor iuorie, nor with other ſumptuouſneſſe or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and good will of the people of them confeſsing his vertue and well doing: and this did not onely his naturall countrie performe in memorie of him, but his very enemies alſo. For all thoſe that met in Rome by chance at that time, that were either come out of SPAINE, from GENNA, or out of MACEDON, all thoſe that were young and ſtrong, did willingly put themſelues vnder the bier where his bodie laye, to helpe to carrie him to the churche: and the olde men followed his bodie to accompanie the ſame, calling *Æmylius* the benefactour, ſauiour, and father of their countrie. For he did not onely intreate them gently, and graciouſlie, whom he had ſubdued: but all his life time hee was euer readie to pleaſure them, and to ſet forwarde their cauſes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinſmen. The true inuentory of all his gooddes after his death, did ſcant amount vnto the ſumme of

AEmylius goods what they came to.

three hundred, three ſcore, and ten thouſand ſiluer Drachmes, which his two ſonnes did inherite. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother *Fabius*, becauſe he was adopted into a very riche houſe, which was the houſe of the great *Scipio Africanus*.

Such they ſay was *Paulus Æmylius* conditions and life.

The end of Paulus AEmylius life

THE LIFE OF *Timoleon.*

BEFORE *Timoleon* was sent into SICILE, thus stoode the state of the SYRACVSANS. After that *Dion* had driuen out the tyraunt *Dionysius*, he himselfe after was slaine immediatly by treason, and those that ayded him to restore the SYRACVSANS to their libertie, fel out, and were at diffention among themselues. By reason whereof, the cittie of SYRACVSA chaunging continually newe tyrantes, was so troubled and turmoiled with all sort of euills, that it was left in manner desolate, & without inhabitants. The rest of SICILE in like case was vtterly destroyed, and no cities in maner left standing, by reason of the long warres: and those few that remained, were most inhabited of forreine souldiers & straungers (a company of lose men gathered together that tooke pay of no prince nor cittie) & the dominions of the same being easily vsurped, & as easie to change their lord. Insomuch, *Dionysius*, the tyrant, ten yeres after *Dion* had driuen him out of SICILE, hauing gathered a certen number of souldiers together againe, and through their helpe driuen out *Nisetus*, that reigned at that time in SYRACVSA: he recouered the Realme againe, and made himselfe King. So, if he was strangely expulsed by a small power out of the greatest kingdom that euer was in the world: likewise he more strangely recouered it againe, being banished and very poore, making himselfe King ouer them, who before had driuen him out. Thus were the inhabitantes of the cittie compelled to serue this tyrant: who besides that of his owne nature he was neuer courteous nor ciuill, he was now growne to be far more dogged and cruell, by reason of the extreme miserie and misfortune he had endured. But the noblest cittizens repaired vnto *Icetes*, who at that time as lord ruled the cittie of the LEONTINES, and they chose him for their generall in these wars: not for that he was any thing better then the other tyrants, but because they had no other to repaire vnto, at that time, and they trusted him best, for that he was borne (as themselues) within the cittie of SYRACVSA, and because also he had men of war about him, to make head against this tyrant. But in the meane time, the CARTHAGINIANS came downe into SICILE with a great armie, and inuaded the countrie. The SYRACVSANS being afraid of them, determined to send ambassadours into GRECE vnto the CORINTHIANS, to praye

The state of the Syracusans, before Timoleons comming.

Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines.

ayde of them against the barbarous people, hauing better hope of them, then of any other the GRECIANS. And that not altogether because they were lineally descended from them: that they had receiued in times past many pleasures at their hands: but also for that they knew that CORINTHE was a cittie, that in all ages and times, did euer loue libertie and hate tyrannie: & that had always made their greatest warres, not for ambition of kingdoms, nor of couetous desire to conquer and rule, but onely to defend and maintaine the libertie of the GRECIANS. But *Icetes* in another contrarie sort, he tooke vpon him to be generall, with a minde to make himselfe king of SYRACVSA. For he had secretly practised with the CARTHAGINIANS: and openly notwithstanding, in wordes he commended the counsell and determination of the SYRACVSANS, & sent ambassadours from himselfe also with theirs, vnto PELOPONNESVS: not that he was desirous any ayde should come from them to SYRACVSA, but because he hoped if the CORINTHIANS refused to send them ayde (as it was very likely they would for the warres and troubles that were in GREECE) that he might more easilie turne all ouer to the CARTHAGINIANS, and vse them as his friendes, to ayde him against the SYRACVSANS and the tyrant *Dionysius*. And that this was his full purpose and intent, it appeared plainelie soone after. Now when their ambassadours arriued at CORINTHE, and had deliuered their message to the CORINTHIANS, who had euer beene careful to defend such cities as had sought vnto them, and specially SYRACVSA: very willingly determined in counsell to send them ayde, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, hauing warres with none of the GRECIANS. So their onely stay rested vpon choosing of a generall to lead their armie. Now when the magistrates and gouernours of the cittie were naming such citizens, as willingly offered their seruice, desirous to aduaunce themselues: there stept vp a meane commoner who named *Timoleon*, *Timodemus* sonne, a man that vntill that time was neuer called on for seruice, neither looked for any such preferment. And truly it is to be thought it was the secret worke of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane commoner to name *Timoleon*: whose fortune fauored very much, and ioyned to his valiantnes and vertue, maruellous good successe in all his doings afterwardes. This *Timoleon* was borne of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called *Timodemus*, and his mother *Demarete*. He was naturally inclined to loue his countrie and common weale: and was alwayes gentle and courteous to all men, sauing that he mortally hated tyrants & wicked men. Furthermore nature had framed his bodie apt for warres and for paines: he was wise in his greenest youth, in all things behauing himselfe in hand, and in his age he shewed himselfe very valiant. He had an elder brother called *Timophanes*, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a rash harebraind man, and of a greedie desire to reigne, being put into his head by a companie of meane men, that banded in hand they were his friends, and by certeine souldiers gathered together which he had alwaies about him. And because he was very hotte and forward in warres, his citizens tooke him for a noble captaine, and a man of good seruice, and therefore oftentimes they gaue him charge of men. And therein *Timoleon* did helpe him much to hide his fault he committed, or at the least, made them seeme lesse, & lighter then they were, still increasing that small good grace nature brought forth in him. As in a battell the CORINTHIANS had against the ARGIVES and the CLEONEIANS, *Timoleon* serued as a priuate souldier amongest the footemen: but *Timophanes* his brother, hauing charge of horsemen, was in great daunger to be cast away if present helpe had not beene. For his horse being hurte, threwe him on the ground in the middest of his enemies. Whereupon part of those that were about him, were afraide and dispersed themselues here and there: and those that remained with him, being fewe in number and hauing many enemies to fight withall, did hardly withstand their force and charge. Then his brother *Timoleon* seeing him in such instant danger a farre off, ranne with all speede possible to helpe him, & clapping his target before his brother *Timophanes*, that lay on the ground receiuing many woundes on his body with sword and arrowes, with great difficultie he repulsed the enemies, & saued his owne and his brothers life. Now the CORINTHIANS seeing the like matter to come that before had happened vnto them, which was to lose their citie through default of their friends helpe: they resolued in counsell, to entertaine in pay continually foure hundreth souldiers that were straungers, whom they assigned ouer to *Timophanes*

By what voice Timoleō came to be generall.

Timoleons parentage and maners.

Timophanes, Timoleōs brother, what he was.

Timoleō saued his brothers life.

The Corinthians entertained 400. straūgers, & made Timophanes

charge

charge. Who, abandoning all honestie and regard of the trust reposed in him, did presently practise all the wayes he could to make himselfe lord of the cittie: and hauing put diuers of the chiefest cittizens to death without order of lawe, in the end he openly proclaimed himselfe King. *Timoleon* being very sorie for this, & taking his brothers wickednes would be the very high way to his fall and destruction: sought first to winne him with all the good words and persuasion he could, to moue him to leaue his ambitious desire to reigne, and to salue (as neere as might be) his hard dealing with the cittizens. *Timophanes* set light by his brothers persuasions, and would giue no eare vnto them. Thereupon *Timoleon* then went vnto one *Æschilus* his friend, and brother vnto *Timophanes* wife, and to one *Satyrus* a soothsayer (as *Theopompus* the historiographer calleth him, and *Ephorus* calleth him *Orthagoras*) (with whom he came againe another time vnto his brother: and they three comming to him instantly beought him to beleeue good counsell. And to leaue the kingdome, *Timophanes* at the first did but laugh them to scorne, and sported at their persuasions: but afterwards he waxed warme, and grewe into great choller with them. *Timoleon* seeing that, went a litle aside, and couering his face fell a weeping: & in the meane season, the other two drawing out their swordes, slewe *Timophanes* in the place. This murther was straight blowen abroade through the cittie, & the better sorte did greatly commend the noble minde and hate *Timoleon* bare against the tyrant: considering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kinne, did notwithstanding regard the benefit of his countrie, before the naturall affection of his brother, and preferred iustice and iustice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had saued his brothers life, fighting for the defence of his countrie: and now in seeking to make himselfe king and to rule the same, he made him to be slaine. Such then as misliked popular gouernment and libertie, and alwayes followed the Nobilitie: they set a good face on the matter, as though they had bene glad of the tyrants death. Yet still reprouing *Timoleon* for the horrible murther he had committed against his brother, declaring how detestable it was both to the gods and men: they so handled him, that it greeued him to the hart he had done it. But when it was told him that his mother tooke it maruellous euill, and that shee pronounced horrible curses against him, and gaue him terrible wordes of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit she could neuer abide to see him, but alwayes shut her doore against him. Then he being wounded to the hart with sorrow, tooke a conceite so dainly, to kill himselfe by absteining from meate: but his friends would neuer forsake him in this despaire, and vrged him so farre by intreatie and perswasion that they compelled him to eate. Thereupon he resolued thenceforth to giue himselfe ouer to a solitarie life in the countrie, secluding himselfe from all companie and dealings: as at the beginning, he did not onely refuse to repaire vnto the cittie, and all accesse of companie, but wandring vp and downe in most solitarie places, consumed himselfe and his time with melancholie. And thus we see, that counsells and iudgments are lightly caried awaye (by prayse or dispraise) if they be not shored vp with rule of reason, and philosophie, and rest not grounded in themselues. And therefore it is very requisite and necessarie, that not onely the thing be good and honest of it selfe, but that the resolution thereof be also constant, and not subiect vnto chaunge: to the end we may do all things considerately. Least wee be like vnto licke-mouthed men, who as they desire meates with a greedy appetite, and after are soone weary, disliking the same: euen so we do sodainely repent our actions grounded vpō a weake imagination, of the honestie that moued vs thereunto. For repentance maketh the acte which before was good, nought. But determination, grounded vpon certaine knowledge and truth of reason, doth neuer chaunge, although the matter enterprised, haue not alwayes happie successe. And therefore *Phocion* the ATHENIAN hauing resisted (as much as in him laye) certain things which the generall *Leosthenes* did, and which contrary to his mind tooke good effect; and perceiuing the ATHENIANS did open sacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes for the same, and much reioyce at the victorie they had obteined. I would haue reioiced (sayed he) if I had done this: but so would I not for any thing, but I had giuen the ouerthrow. And after that sort, but more sharply did *Aristides* LOCRIAN (a very friend and companion of *Platoes*) answer *Dionysius* the elder, tyrāt of SYRACVSA: who asked his good will to marrie one of his daughters. I had rather see my daughter dead (sayde hee) then maried

captaine of them to keepe their cittie.

Timophanes cruelties and vsurpation of the kingdome.

Timophanes slaine by his brothers procurement

Our acts must be honest, and constant.

Phocions saying.

Aristides graue saying.

vnto a tyrant. And within a certaine time after, the tyrant put all his sonnes to death: and then he asked him in derision, to greeue him the more, if he were still of his former opinion for the marying of his daughter. I am very sorie, (sayed he) with all my harte for that which thou hast done: but yet I do not repent me of that I haue sayed. That peradventure proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne againe vnto *Timoleon*. While that inward sorrowe strooke him to the harte for the death of his brother *Timophanes*, that shame did so abashe him, as he durst not abide his mother, twentie yeeres after, he neuer did any notable or famous acte. And therefore, when he was named to be generall of the ayde that should be sent into SICILE, the people hauing willingly chosen and accepted him: *Telecl ides*, who was chiefe gouernour at that time in the cittie of CORINTH, fell downe vpon his feete before the people, spake vnto *Timoleon*, and did exhort him to behaue himselfe like an honest man, and valiant Captaine in his charge. For, sayed he, if that you handle your selfe well, we will thinke you haue killed a tyrant: but if you do order your selfe otherwise then well, we will iudge you haue killed your brother. Now *Timoleon* being busie in leauying of men, & preparing himselfe: letters came to the CORINTHIANS frō *Icetes*, who by plainely appeared, that *Icetes* had caried two faces in one hood, and that he was become traytor. For he had no sooner dispatched his ambassadours vnto them, but he straight took the CARTHAGINIANS part, and dealt openly for them, intending to driue out *Dionysius*, to make himselfe king of SYRACVSA. But fearing least the CORINTHIANS would send aide before he had wrought his feate: he wrote againe vnto the CORINTHIANS, sending them worde, that they should not neede nowe to put themselues to any charge or daunger for coming into SICILE, and specially, because the CARTHAGINIANS were very angrie, and did also lye in wayte in the waye as they should come, with a great fleete of shippes to meete with their armie: and that for himselfe, because he sawe they taried long, he had made league and amitie with them, against the tyrant *Dionysius*. When they had read his letters, if any of the CORINTHIANS were before but coldly affected to this iorney, choller did then so warme them against *Icetes*, that they franckly granted *Timoleon* what he would aske, and did help to furnish him to set him out. When the shippes were readie rigged, and that the souldiers were furnished of all thinges necessarie for their departure, the Nunnes of the goddesse *Proserpina* sayed they sawe a vision in their dreame, and that the goddesses *Ceres* and *Proserpina* did appeare vnto them, apparelled like trauellers to take a iorney: and tolde them, that they would goe with *Timoleon* into SICILE. Vpon this speech onely, the CORINTHIANS rigged a galley, they called, the galley of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*: and *Timoleon* himselfe before he would take the seaes, went into the cittie of DELPHES, where he made sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And as he entred within the Sanctuarie where the aunsweres of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull signe vnto him. For amongest the vowes and offeringes that were hanged vppe vppon the walles of the Sanctuarie, there fell a bande directly vppon *Timoleons* heade, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: so that it seemed *Apollo* sent him already crowned, before he had set out one foote towardes the iorney. He went to shippe, and sayled with seuen gallyes of CORINTHE, two of CORPHVE, and ten of LEVCADIANS did set out. When he was launched out in the mayne sea, hauing a fresh gale of winde and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the same there came a maruellous great bright light ouer his shippe, and it was much like to a torche burning, when they shewe the ceremonies of the holy mysteries. This torche did accompanie and guide them all their voyage, and in the ende it vanished awaye, and seemed to fall downe vppon the coast of ITALIE, where the Shippemasters had determined to arriue. The wise mens opinions being asked what this might signifie: they answered. That this wonderfull sight did betoken the dreame, the Nunnes of the goddesse *Ceres* dreamed, and that the goddesses fauoring this iorney, had shewed them the way by sending of this light from heauen: because that the Ile of SICILE is consecrated to the goddesse *Proserpina*, and specially for that they reporte her rauishment was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was assigned vnto her for her ioynter, at the day of her mariage. Thus did this celestiall signe of the goddes both encourage those that went this iorney

Timoleon chosen generall to go into Sicile.

Icetes tyrant of the Leontines a traytor.

A signe happened to Timoleon.

Timoleon tooke shippe towards Sicile.

A burning torch appeared in the element vnto Timoleō.

deliuer them also assured hope, who sayled with all possible speede they coulde: vntill such time as hauing crossed the seaes, they arriued vpon the coast of ITALIE. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderstood from SICILE put *Timoleon* in great perplexitie, and did maruellously discourage the souldiers he brought with him, for *Icetes* hauing ouerthrowen the battell of the tyrant *Dionysius*, and possessed the greatest part of the cittie of SYRACVSA, he did besiege him within the castell, and within that part of the cittie which is called the Ile, where he had pent him vp, and inclosed him in with walles round about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGINIANS, that they would be carefull to keepe *Timoleon* from landing in SICILE, to the ende that by preuenting that ayde, they might easily deuide SICILE betweene them, and no man to let them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his request, sent twentie of their gallyes vnto RHEGIO, amongst which *Icetes* Ambassadours were sent vnto *Timoleon*, with testimonie of his doings: for they were fayre flattering wordes to cloake his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed *Timoleon* that he should goe himselfe alone (if he thought good) vnto *Icetes*, to counsell him, and to accompanie him in all his doinges, which were nowe so farre onwardes in good towardnesse, as he had almost ended them all. Furthermore, they did also persuade him, that he should send backe his shippes and souldiers to CORINTHE, againe, considering that the warre was nowe brought to good passe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS would in no case that his men shoulde passe into SICILE, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the CORINTHIANS at their arriuall into the cittie of RHEGIO, finding there these Ambassadours, and seeing the fleete of the CARTHAGINIANS shippes, which did lyde at ancker not farre off from them: it spighted them on the one side to see they were thus mocked and abused by *Icetes*. For euery one of them were maruellous angry with him, and were greatly afeard also for the poore SICILIANS, whome too plainely they sawe left a preye vnto *Icetes* for reward of his treason, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompence of the tyrannie, which they suffered him to establish. So, on the other side they thought it impossible to conquer the shippes of the CARTHAGINIANS, which did laye in waite for them, and so neere vnto them: considering they were twise as many in number as they, and hard for them to subdue the armie also that was in the handes of *Icetes* in SICILE, considering that they were not come to him, but onely for the mayntenaunce of the warres. Notwithstanding, *Timoleon* spake very courteously vnto those Ambassadors, and captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS shippes, letting them vnderstande that he would doe as much as they would haue him: and to say truly, if he would haue done otherwise, he could haue wonne nothing by it. Neuertheless he desired for his discharge, they would say that openly, in the presence of the people of RHEGIO, (being a cittie of GREECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had spoken to him in secret: and that done he would departe incontinently alledging that it stood him very much vpon, for the safetie of his discharge, and that they themselues also should more faithfully keepe that they had promised vnto him touching the SYRACVSANS, whē they had agreed vpon it & promised it before all the people of RHEGIO, who should be witnes of it. Now all this was but a fetch and pollicy deliuered by him, to shadow his departure, which the captaines and gouernors of RHEGIO did fauor, & seeme to help him in because they wished SICILE should fall into the hands of the CORINTHIANS, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cause they cōmanded a generall assembly of all the people, during which time, they caused the gates of the cittie to be shut, giuing it out, that it was because the citizens should not go about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the people were assembled, they began to make long orations without concluding any matter: the one leauing alwayes to the other a like matter to talke of: to the end they might winne time, vntill the gallyes of the CORINTHIANS were departed. And saying the CARTHAGINIANS also in this assembly they mistrusted nothing, because they sawe *Timoleon* present: who made a countenance, as though he would rise to say something. But in the meane time, some one did secretly aduertise *Timoleon*, that the other gallyes were vnder sayle, and gone awaye, and that there was but one galley left, which tarryed for him in the hauen. Thereupon he sodainely stole away through the preasse, with

Icetes besieged Dionysius.

Icetes sendeth Ambassadors vnto Timoleō.

Timoleō craftier then the Carthaginians.

Rhegio a cittie of Greece.

the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the chayre where the orations were made, and trudgeing quickely to the hauen, he imbarked incontinently, and hoysed sayle. And when he had ouertaken his fleete, they went all safe together to lande at the cittie TAVROMENON, which is in SICILE: there they were very well receiued by *Andromachus*, who long time before had sent for them, for he gouerned this cittie as if he had been Lorde thereof. He was the father of *Timæus* the Historiographer, the honestest man of those that did beare rule at that time in all SICILE. For he did rule his cittizens, in all integritie and equitie, and did allwayes shewe him-selfe an open enemie of tyrantes. And following his affection therein, he lent his cittie at that time vnto *Timoleon*, to gather people together and persuaded his Cittizens to enter into league with the CORINTHIANS, and to ayde them to deliuer SICILE from bondage, and to restore it againe to libertie. But the captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS that were at RHEGIO, when they knewe that *Timoleon* was vnder sayle and gone, after that the assembly of the counsell was broken vppe: they were ready to eate their fingers for spight to see themselues thus finely mocked and deceiued. The RHEGIANS on the other side, were merry at the matter, to see howe the PHENICIANS had beene mocked at it, that they had such a fine parte played them. Howbeit in the end, they determined to send an Ambassadour vnto TAVROMENION, in one of their gallyes. This ambassadour spake very boldly and barbarously vnto *Andromachus*, and in a choller: and last of all, he shewed him first the palme of his hande, then the backe of his hande, and did threaten him that his cittie should be so turned ouer hand, if he did not quickely send awaye the CORINTHIANS. *Andromachus* fell a laughing at him, and did turne his hand vppe and downe as the Ambassadour had done, and commaunded him that he should gette him going, and that with all speede out of his cittie, if he would not see the keele of his gally turned vpwards. *Icetes* nowe vnderstanding of *Timoleons* comming, and being afrayed, sent for a great number of gallyes vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the SYRACVSANS began to despaire vtterly when they sawe their hauen full of the CARTHAGINIANS gallyes, the best part of their cittie kept by *Icetes*, and the castell by the tyrante *Dionysius*. And on the other side, *Timoleon* was not yet come but to a litle corner of SICILE, hauing no more but the cittie of TAVROMENION, with a small power, and lesse hope: because there was not aboue a thousand footemen in all, to furnish these warres, neither prouision of victuall nor so much money as would serue to entertaine and paye them. Besides also, that the cities of SICILE did nothing trust him. But by reason of the violent extortions which they had of late suffered, they hated all captaines and leaders of men of war to the death, specially for the treacherie of *Calippus* and *Pharax*, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN and the other a LACEDÆMONIAN. Both of them sayed they came to set SICILIE at libertie, and to driue out the tyrantes: and yet neuertheless, they had done so much hurte to the poore SICILIANS, that the miserie and calamitie which they had suffered vnder the tyrantes, seemed all to be golde vnto them, in respect of that which the Captaines had layed them to abide. And they did not thinke them more happy, that had willingly submitted themselues vnto the yoke of seruitude: then those which they sawe restored, and set at libertie. Therfore persuading themselues, that this CORINTHIAN would be no better vnto them then the other had beene before, but supposing they were tho selfe same former traines, and alluring baytes of good hope and fayre wordes, which they had tasted of before, to deceiue them to accept new tyrants: they did sore suspect it, and reiected all the CORINTHIANS persuasions. Sauing the ADRANITANS onely, whose litle cittie being consecrated to the god *Adranus* (and greatly honored and reuerenced through all SICILE) was then in dissention one against another: insomuch as one part of them tooke part with *Icetes*, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and another side of them sent vnto *Timoleon*. So it fortuned, that both the one and the other, making all the possible speede they coulde, who should come first: arriued in maner at one selfe time. *Icetes* had about 5000 souldiers. *Timoleon* had not in all, about 1200 men, with which he departed to go towards the cittie of ADRANVS distant from TAVROMENION, about three hundred & 40 furlõgs. For the first dayes iorney he went not great, but lodged betimes: but the next morning he marched very hastely, & had maruelous ill

Timoleon landeth at Tauromenion in Sicile.

Andromachus the father of Timæus the historiographer, gouernor of the cittie of Tauromenion

The Carthaginians Ambassador did threaten to destroye the cittie of Tauromenion, by shewing Andromachus the palme and backe of his hand.

The god Adranus.

When night was come, and day light shut in, he had news that *Icetes* did but newly arriue before ADRANVS, where he encamped. When the priuate captaines vnderstood this, they caused the vward to stay, to eate and repose a litle, that they might be the lustier, & the stronger to fight. But *Timoleon* did set still forwards, and praied them not to stay, but to go on with all the speed they could possible, that they might take their enemies out of order (as it was likely they should) being but newly arriued, and troubled with making their cabbons, and preparing for supper. Therewithall as he spake these words, he toke his target on his arme, and marched himselfe the formost man, as brauely & couragiously as if he had gone to a most assured victorie. The souldiers seeing him marche with that life, they followed at his heeles with like courage. So they had not passing thirty furlongs to go, which when they had ouercome, they straight set vpon their enemies, whom they found all out of order, and began to flie, so soone as they saw they were vpon their backs before they were aware. By this meanes there were not aboue three hundred men slaine, and twise as many more taken prisoners, and so their whole campe was possessed. Then the ADRANITANS opening their gates, yeelded vnto *Timoleon*, declaring vnto him with great feare, and no lesse wonder, how at the very time when he gaue charge vpon the enemies, the dores of the temple of their god opened of themselues, and that the laueling which the image of their god did hold in his hād, did shake at the very end where the iron head was, and how all his face was seene to sweat. This (in my opinion) did not only signifie the victorie he had gotten at that time, but all the notable exploites he did afterwards, vnto the which, this first encounter gaue a happy beginning. For immediatly after, many cities sent vnto *Timoleon*, to ioyne in league with him. And *Mamercus*, the tyrant of CATANA, a souldier, and very full of money, did also seeke his friendship. Furthermore, *Dionysius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA, being weary to follow hope any longer, and finding himselfe in maner forced vnto it by long continuance of siege: made no more reckoning of *Icetes*, when he knew that he was so shamefully ouerthrowne. And contrariwise, much esteeming *Timoleons* valiantnesse, he sent to aduertise him, that he was contented to yeeld himselfe and the castell into the hands of the CORINTHIANS. *Timoleon* being glad of this good hap vnlooked for, sent *Euclides* and *Telemachus*, two captaines of the CORINTHIANS, to take possession of the castel, with foure hundred men, not all at a time, nor openly (for it was vnpossible, the enemies lying in waite in the hauen) but by small companies, and by stealth, he conueied them all into the castell. So the souldiers possessed the castell, and the tyrants pallace, with all the moueables and munition of wars within the same. There were a great number of horse of seruice, great store of staues and weapons offensiue of all sorts, and engines of batterie to shoot farre off, and sundry other weapons of defence, that had bene gathered together of long time, to arme threescore and ten thousand men. Moreouer, besides all this, there were two thousand souldiers, whom with all the other things rehearsed, *Dionysius* deliuered vp into the hands of *Timoleon*: and he himself, with his money and a few of his friends, went his way by sea, *Icetes* not knowing it, and so came to *Timoleons* campe. This was the first time that euer they saw *Dionysius* a priuate man, in base and meane estate. And yet within few dayes after, *Timoleon* sent him from thence vnto CORINTH in a ship, with little store of money. Who was borne and brought vp in the greatest and most famous tyrannie, and kingdome, conquered by force, that euer was in the world: and which himselfe had kept by the space of ten yeares after the death of his father. Since *Dion* draue him out, he had bene maruellously turmoiled in warres, by the space of twelue yeares: in which time, although he had done much mischiefe, yet he had suffered also a great deale more. For he saw the death of his sonnes when they were men growne, and also of seruice and carse armor. He saw his daughters rauished by force, and defloured of their virginitie. He saw his owne sister (who was also his wife) first of all shamed, and cruelly handled in her person, with the greatest villanies and most vile parts done vnto her, that his enemies could deuise: & afterwards horribly murthered with his children, & their bodies in the end throwne into the sea, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Dion*. Now when *Dionysius* was arriued in the cite of CORINTH, euery GRECIAN was wonderfull desirous to go see him, and to talke with him. And some went thither very glad of his ouerthrow, as if they had troden him downe with their feete, whom fortune had ouerthrowne, so bitterly did

Timoleon ouerthrew Icetes armie, & made him flie from Adranus.

The Adranitans yeeld vnto Timoleon.

Mamercus tyrant of Catana

Dionysius the tyrant, yeeldeth himselfe and the castell of Syracusa, vnto Timoleon.

Dionysius the tyrant of Syracusa sent to Corinthe.

The miseries & calamities of Dionysius the tyrant.

Dionysius brought to Corinthe.

they hate him. Other pittying him in their hearts, to see so great a change, did behold him as were with a certaine compassion, considering what great power, secret and diuine causes ha- ouer mens weakenesse and frailtie, and those things that daily passeth ouer our heads. F the world then, did neuer bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand so wonder- as was this of fortune. Who made the world see a man, that before was in maner Lord o King of all SICILE, sit then commonly in the citie of CORINTHE, talking with a victu- or sitting a whole day in a perfumers shop, or commonly drinking in some celler or tau- or to brawle and scolde in the middest of the streetes, with common whores in face of t world, or else to teach common minstrels in euery lane and alley, and to dispute with th with the best reason he had, about the harmony & musick of the songs they sang in the T ATERS. Now some say he did this, because he knew not else how he should driue the ti way, for that indeed he was of a base minde, and an effeminate person, giuen ouer to all d nest lusts and desires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the lesse regarded, for feare le CORINTHIANS should haue him in iealousie and suspition, imagining that he did take change & state of his life in grieuous part, & that he should yet looke back, hoping for a to recouer his state againe: and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose fained many th against his nature, seeming to be a starke ideot, to see him do those things he did. Some withstanding haue gathered together certaine of his answers, which do testifie that he did all these things of a base brutish minde, but to fit himselfe onely to his present misery and fortune. For when he came to LEVCADES, an ancient citie built by the CORINTHIAN was also the citie of SYRACVSA: he told the inhabitants of the same, that he was like to boyes that had done a fault. For as they flie from their fathers being ashamed to come in sight, & are gladder to be with their brethren: euen so is it with me, said he: for it would me better to dwell here with you, then to go to CORINTHE our head citie. Another time ing at CORINTHE, a stranger was very busie with him, (knowing how familiar *Dion* was with learned men and philosophers, while he raigned in SYRACVSA) & asked him end in derision: what benefit he got by *Platoes* wisedome and knowledge? he answered again: how thinkest thou, hath it done me no good, when thou seest me beare so pa this change of fortune? *Aristoxenus* a musitian, and other, asking him what offence *Pla* done vnto him: he answered. That tyrants state is euer vnfortunate, & subiect to many but yet no euill in their state was comparable to this. That none of all those they take their most familiars, dare once tell them truely any thing: and that through their fault, *Platoes* company. Another time there commeth a pleasant fellow to him, and think mock him finely, as he entred into his chamber, he shooke his gowne, as the manner is they come to tyrants, to shew that they haue no weapons vnder their gownes. But *Di* encountred him as pleasantly, saying to him: do that when thou goest hence, to see if tho stolne nothing. And againe, *Philip* king of MACEDON, at his table one day descending talke of songs, verse, and tragedies, which *Dionysius* his father had made, making as tho wondred at them, how possibly he could haue leisure to do the: he answered him very and to good purpose. He did them euen at such times (quod he) as you and I, and other lords whom they reckon happy, are disposed to be drunke, and play the fooles. Now for he neuer saw *Dionysius* at CORINTHE. But *Diogenes Sinopian*, the first time that eue with *Dionysius*, said vnto him. O, how vnworthy art thou of this state. *Dionysius* staied ly, and replied: Truly I thanke thee (*Diogenes*) that thou hast compassion of my misery. said *Diogenes* againe: Doest thou thinke, I pitty thee? Nay it spighteth me rather to see slaue as thou worthy to die in the wicked state of a tyrant like thy father) so liue in such ritie, and idle life as thou leadest amongst vs. When I came to compare these words of *genes*, with *Philistus* words the Historiographer, bewailing the hard fortune of the ters of the LEPTINES, saying that they were brought from the top of all worldly felic nour, and goods (whereof tyrannicall state aboundeth) vnto a base, priuate, and humb me thinkes they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that sorroweth for the lose boxes of painting colours, or for her purple gownes, or for other such pretty fine trim gode, as women vse to weare. So, me thinkes these things I haue intermingled con-

The inconstancie of fortune.

Notable sayings of Dionysius Syracusan.

The benefite of Philosophie.

A tyrats state vnfortunate.

This agreeth with AEsops words to Solon, who wished him comming to princes, to please them, or not to come neere them.

See Solons life, and his answer to AEsop.

Diogenes saying to Dionysius the tyrant.

Dionysius, are not impertinent to the description of our liues, neither are they troublesome nor vnprofitable to the hearers, vnlesse they haue other hastie businesse to let or trouble them. But now if the tyrant *Dionysius* wretched estate seeme strange, *Timoleons* prosperitie then was no lesse wonderfull. For within fiftie dayes after he had set foote in SICILIA, he had the castell of SYRACVSA in his possession, & sent *Dionysius* as an exile to CORINTH. This did set the CORINTHIANS in such a iollitie, that they sent him a supply of two thousand footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were appointed to land in ITALIE, in the countrie of the THVRIANS. And perceiuing that they could not possiblie go from thence into SICILIE, because the CARTHAGINIANS kept the seas with a great nauie of ships, and that thereby they were compelled to stay for better opportunitie, in the meane time they bestowed their leisure in doing a notable good act. For the THVRIANS, being in warres at that time with the BRVTIANS, they did put their citie into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as if it had bene their owne native countrie. *Item* all this while did beleeue the castell of SYRACVSA, preuenting all he could possible, that there should come no corne by sea vnto the CORINTHIANS that kept within the castell: and he had hiered two strange souldiers, which he sent vnto the citie of ADRANVS, to kill *Timoleon* by treason, who kept no garde about his person, and continued amongst the ADRANITANS, mistrusting nothing in the world, for the trust and confidence he had in the safegard of the god of the ADRANITANS. These souldiers being sent to do this murther, were by chance enformed that *Timoleon* should one day do sacrifice vnto this god. So vppon this, they came into the temple, hauing daggers vnder their gownes, and by isle and isle thrust in through the preasse, that they got at the length hard to the aulter. But at the present time as one encouraged another to dispatche the matter, a third person they thought not of gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his sworde, that fell to the grounde. The man that had hurt him, this, fled straight vpon it, with his sworde drawne in his hand, and recouered the top of a high rocke. The other souldier that came with him and that was not hurt, got holde of a corner of the aulter, and besought pardon of *Timoleon*, and told him he would discouer the treason practised against him. *Timoleon* thereupon pardoned him. Then he tolde him how his companion that was slaine, and himselfe, were both hired, and sent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him also that had taken the rocke, who cryed out aloude, he had done no more then he should do: for he had killed him that had slaine his owne father before, in the citie of the LEONTINES. And to instifie him to be true, certaine that stood by did affirme, it was so in deed. Whereat they wondered greatly to consider the marueilous working of fortune, how she doth bring one thing to passe by meanes of another, and gathereth all things together, how far a sunder soeuer they be, and knitteth them together, though they seeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no manner of likenesse or coniunction betweene them, making the end of the one, to be the beginning of another. The CORINTHIANS examining this matter throughly, gaue him that slue the souldier with his sworde, a crowne of the value of ten minas, because that by meanes of his owne anger, he had done good seruice to the God that had preserued *Timoleon*. And furthermore, this good hap did not onely serue the present turne, but was to good purpose euer after. For those that sawe it, were put in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard vnto *Timoleons* person, because he was a holy man, one that loued the gods, and that was purposely sent to deliuer SICILE from captiuitie. But *Icetes* hauing missed his first purpose, and seeing numbers daylie drawne to *Timoleons* deuotion: he was mad with himselfe, that hauing so great an armie of the CARTHAGINIANS at hand at his commandement, he tooke but a few of them to serue his turne, as if he had bene ashamed of his fact, and had vsed his friendship by stealth. So he sent hereupon for *Mago* their generall, with all his fleete. *Mago* at his request brought an huge armie to see too, of a hundred and fiftie saile, which occupied and couered all the hauen: and afterwards landed three score thousand men, whom he lodged euery man within the citie of SYRACVSA. Then euery man imagined the time was now come, which old men had threatned SICILE with many yeares before, and that continually; that one day it should be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the warres the CARTHAGINIANS euer had before in the countrie of SICILE, they could

Timoleons prosperitie.

Icetes hireth two souldiers to kil Timoleon at Adranum.

The treason discouered to Timoleon by one of the souldiers.

The wonderfull worke of fortune.

Icetes bringeth Mago a Carthaginian with a great armie to Syracusa.

neuer come to take the citie of SYRACVSA: and then through *Icetes* treason, who had
ued them, they were seene encamped there. On the other side, the CORINTHIANS
within the castell, found themselues in great distresse, because their victuals waxed
the hauen was so straightly kept. Moreouer, they were driuen to be armed continually
fend the walles, which the enemies battered, and assaulted in sundrie places, with all
engines of batterie, and sundry sorts of deuised instruments and inuentions to take
reason whereof, they were compelled also to deuide themselues into many companies
uertheless, *Timoleon* without, gaue them all the ayde he could possible, sending them
from CATANA, in little fisher boates and small crayers, which got into the castell many
but specially in stormie and foule weather, passing by the gallies of the barbarous people
lay scatteringly one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billowes
sea. But *Mago* and *Icetes* finding this, determined to go take the citie of CATANA,
whence those of the castell of SYRACVSA were victualled and taking with them the
diers of all their armie, they departed from SYRACVSA, and sailed towards CATANA.

Leon captaine of the Corinthians within the castell. Leon winneth Acradina.

In the meane space, *Leon* CORINTHIAN, captaine of all those that were within the
perceiuing the enemies within the citie kept but slender warde: made a sodaine
vpon them, and taking them vnwares, slue a great number at the first charge, and drue
the other. So by this occasion he wanne a quarter of the citie, which they call ACRADINA,
and was the best part of the citie, that had receiued least hurt. For the citie of SYRACVSA
seemeth to be built of many townes ioyned together. So hauing found there great
corne, golde, and siluer, he would not forsake that quarter no more, nor returne again
the castell: but fortifying with all diligence the compasse and precinct of the same,
ning it vnto the castell with certaine fortifications he built vp in hast, he determined
both the one & the other. Now were *Mago* and *Icetes* very neere vnto CATANA, when
ouertooke them, purposely sent from SYRACVSA vnto them, who brought them
the ACRADINA was taken. Whereat they both wondred, and returned backe again
speed possible, hauing failed of their purpose they pretended) to keepe that they had
in their hands. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute

Contention of fortune and valliancie.

wisedome and valliancie, or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in
nion, is altogether to be ascribed vnto fortune. And this it is. The two thousand foote
two hundred horsemen of the CORINTHIANS, that remained in the city of the TAVRO
partly for feare of the gallyes of the CARTHAGINIANS that laye in waite for them
should passe, *Hanno* being their admirall: and partly also for that the sea was very rough
high many dayes together, and was alwaies in storme and tempest. In the ende, they
red to go through the country of the BRVTIANS. And partly with their good will (but
by force) they got through, and recouered the citie of RHEGIO, the sea being yet ma
high and rough. *Hanno* the admirall of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more
their passage, thought with himselfe that he had deuised a marueilous fine policie, to

The stratagem of Hanno the admirall of the Carthaginians.

the enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of
their heads, and therewithall also made them dresse vp, and set forth his gallyes, with
corselets, and brigantines after the GRÆCIANS fashion. So in this brauery he returned
againe, sailing towards SYRACVSA, & came in with force of owers, rowing vnder the
side of SYRACVSA, with great laughing, and clapping of hands: crying out aloude
that were in the castell, that he had ouerthrowne their aide which came from CORINTH
they thought to passe by the coast of ITALIE into SICILE, flattering themselues, that
much discourage those that were besieged. But whilest he sported thus with his fond
the two thousand CORINTHIANS being arriued through the countrie of the BRVTIANS
the citie of RHEGIO, perceiuing the coast cleare, and that the passage by sea was not kept
that the raging seas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpose calme for them: they
seas forthwith in such fisher boats & passengers as they found ready, in the which they
into SICILE, in such good safety, as they drue their horse (holding them by the raines)
gest their boates with them. When they were all passed ouer, *Timoleon* hauing
them, went immediatly to take MESSINA, and marching thence in battell raie, tooke

wards SYRACVSA, trusting better to his good fortune, the to his force he had: for his whole number in all, were not aboue foure thousand fighting men. Notwithstanding *Mago* hearing this comming, quaked for feare, & doubted the more vpon this occasion. About SYRACVSA are certaine marishes, that receiue great quantitie of sweete fresh water, aswell of fountaines and springes, as also of litle running brookes, lakes & riuers, which runne that waies towards the sea: and therefore there are great store of eeles in that place, and the fishing is great there at all times, but specially for such as delight to take eeles. Whereupon the GRECIANS that stoode pay on both sides, when they had leasure, and that all was quiet betweene them, they attended fishing. Now, they being all countrymen, and of one language, had no priuate quarrell one with another: but when time was to fight, they did their duties, and in time of peace also frequented familiarly together, and one spake with another, and specially when they were busie fishing for eeles: saying, that they maruelled at the situation of the goodly places thereabours, and that they stood so pleasantly and commodious vpon the sea side. So one of the souldiers that serued vnder the CORINTHIANS, chaunced to say vnto them. Is it possible that you that be GRECIANS borne, and haue so goodly a citie of your owne, & full of so many goodly commodities: that ye will giue it vppe vnto these barbarous people, the CARTHAGINIANS, and most cruell murderers of the world? where you should rather wish that there were many SICILIES betwixt them and GREECE. Haue ye so litle consideration or iudgement to thinke, that they haue assembled an armie out of all APHRICKE, vnto *Hercules* pillers, and to the sea ATLANTICKE, to come hither to fight to stablish *Icetes* tyrannie? who, if he had bene a wise and skilfull Captaine, would not haue cast out his auncestors & founders, to bring into his countrie the auncient enemies of the same: but might haue receiued such honor and authoritie of the CORINTHIANS and *Timoleon*, as he could reasonably haue desired, and that with all their fauour & good will. The souldiers that heard this tale, reported it again in their campe: Insomuch they made *Mago* suspect there was treason in hand, and so sought some colour to be gone. But hereupon, notwithstanding that *Icetes* praied him all he could to tarie, declaring vnto him how much they were stronger then their enemies, and that *Timoleon* did rather preuaile by his hardines and good fortune, then exceede him in number of men: yet he hoysed saile, and returned with shame enough into APHRIKE, letting slippe the conquest of all SICILE out of his hands, without any sight of reason or cause at all. The next day after he was gone, *Timoleon* presented battell before the citie, when the GRECIANS and he vnderstoode that the CARTHAGINIANS were fled, and that they saw the hauen rid of all the ships: and then beganne to ieast at *Magoes* cowardlinesse, and in derision proclaimed in the citie, that they would giue him a good reward that could bring them newes, whither the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS were fled. But for all this, *Icetes* was bent to fight, & would not leaue the spoile he had gotten, but defende the quarters of the citie he had possessed, at the wordes point, trusting to the strength and situation of the places, which were hardly to be approached. *Timoleon* perceiuing that, deuided his armie, and he with one part thereof did set vpon that side which was the hardest to approch, and did stande vpon the riuer of ANAPVS: then he appointed another part of his armie to assault all at one time, the side of ACRADINA, whereof *Isias* CORINTHIAN had the leading. The third part of his armie that came last from CORINTH, which *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus* led: he appointed to assault the quarter called EPIPOLES. Thus, assault being giuen on all sides at one time, *Icetes* bandes of men were broken, and ranne their way. Now that the citie was thus wonne by assault, and come so suddainely to the handes of *Timoleon*, and the enemies being fled: it is good reason we ascribe it to the valiantnesse of the souldiers, and the captaines great wisedome. But where there was not one CORINTHIAN slaine, nor hurt in this assault: sure me thinkes herein, it was only the worke and deede of fortune, that did fauour and protect *Timoleon*, to contend against his valiantnesse. To the end that those which should hereafter heare of his doings, should haue more occasion to wonder at his good happe: then to praise and commend his valiantnesse. For the fame of this great exploite, did in fewe daies not onely runne through all ITALIE, but also through all GRECE. Insomuch as the CORINTHIANS, (who could scant beleeue their men were passed with safetie into SICILE) vnderstood with all that they were safely arriued there,

Mago forsaketh Sicile vpon suspect of treason.

Anapus fl.

Timoleon winneth the citie of Syracusa.

and had gotten the victorie of their enemies: so prosperous was their iorney, & fortune so ... dily did fauor his noble acts. *Timoleon* hauing now the castle of CYRACVSA in his hands ... not follow *Dion*. For he spared not the castle for the beautie and stately building thereof ... uoiding the suspition that caused *Dion* first to be accused, and lastly to be slaine: he caused ... be proclaimed by trompet, that any SYRACVSAN whatsoeuer, should come with crow ... iron, & mattocks, to helpe to digge downe & ouerthrow the fort of the tyrants. There was ... a man in all the citie of SYRACVSA, but went thither straight, and thought that procla ... and day to be a most happie beginning of the recouerie of their libertie. So they did not ... ouerthrow the castle, but the pallace also, and the tombes: and generally all that serued ... respect for the memorie of any of the tyrants. And hauing cleared the place in few dai ... made all plaine: *Timoleon* at the sute of the citizens, made counsell hals, and places of ... to be built there: and did by this meanes stablish a free state and popular gouernment, ... suppresse all tyrannicall power. Now, when he saw he had wonne a citie that had no ... tants, which warres before had consumed, and feare of tyrannie had emptied, so as grasse ... so high and ranke in the great market place of SYRACVSA, as they grased their horses ... and the horsekeepers lay downe by them on the grasse as they fed: and that all the cities ... excepted, were full of redde deare and wilde bores, so that men guien to delight in hun ... hauing leasure, might find game many times within the suburbes and towne ditches, ... the wals: and that such as dwelt in castles and strong holdes in the countrie, would not ... them, to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all growen so stout, and did so ha ... detest assemblies of counsel, orations, & order of gouernment, where so many tyrants had ... ned. *Timoleon* thereupon seeing this desolation, and also so few SYRACVSANS borne ... escaped, thought good, and all his Captaines, to write to the CORINTHIANS, to send ... out of GREECE to inhabite the citie of SYRACVSA againe. For otherwise the countrie ... grow barren and vnprofitable, if the ground were not plowed. Besides, that they looked ... for great warres out of AFRICKE: being aduertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had ... vp the bodie of *Mago* their generall vpon a crosse, (who had slaine himselfe for that he ... not answere the dishonour laid to his charge) and that they did leauy another great might ... mie, to returne again the next yere following, to make warres in SICILE. These letters ... *moleon* being brought vnto CORINTH, and the Ambassadors of SYRACVSA being ... with them also, who besought the people to take care & protection ouer their poore citie, ... that they would once againe be founders of the same: the CORINTHIANS did not ... desire to be Lords of so goodly and great a citie, but first proclaimed by the trumpet in all ... assemblies, solemne feastes, and common plaies of GREECE, that the CORINTHIANS had ... destroyed the tyrannie that was in the citie of SYRACVSA, and driuen out the tyrants, did ... the SYRACVSANS that were fugitiues out of their countrie, home againe, and all other SICI ... LIANS that liked to come and dwell there, to enioy all freedome and libertie, with promise ... make iust and equall diuision of the landes among them, the one to haue as much as the ... Moreouer they sent out postes and messengers into ASIA, and into all the Ilands where ... vnderstoode the banished SYRACVSANS remained: to perswade and intreat them to ... to CORINTH, and that the CORINTHIANS would giue them ships, Captaines, and ... to conduct them safely vnto SYRACVSA, at their owne proper costes and charges. In recom ... pence whereof, the citie of CORINTHE receiued euerie mans most noble praise and bles ... aswell for deliuering SICILE in that sort from the bondage of tyrantes: as also for keep ... it out of the handes of the barbarous people, and restored the naturall SYRACVSANS and SI ... CILIANS, to their home and countrie againe. Neuertheless, such SICILIANS as repaired ... CORINTH vpon this proclamation (themselues being but a small number to inhabite ... countrie) besought the CORINTHIANS to ioyne to them some other inhabitants, aswell ... CORINTHE it selfe, as out of the rest of GREECE: the which was performed. For they gath ... red together about tenne thousande persons, whom they shipped, and sent to SYRACVSA ... Where there were alreadie a great number of other come vnto *Timoleon*, aswell out ... SICILE it selfe, as out of all ITALIE besides: so that the whole number (as *Athanis* wri ... teth) came to three score thousand persons. Amongest them he deuided the whole countrie

Timoleon ouerthroweth the castle of Syracusa.

Timoleon made Syracusa a popular gouernement.

The miserable state of Sicile.

Mago slew him selfe, being called to answere his departure out of Sicile.

The Corinthians replenished the citie of Syracusa, with three score thousand inhabitants.

and sold them houses of the citie, vnto the value of a thousand talents. And because he would leaue the old SYRACVSANS able to recouer their owne, and make the poore people by this meanes to haue money in common, to defray the common charge of the citie, as also their expences in time of warres: the statues or images were sold, and the people by most voices did condemne them. For they were solemnely indited, accused, and arraigned, as if they had bene men aliue to be condemned. And it is reported that the SYRACVSANS, did reserue the statue of *Gelon*, an auncient tyrant of their citie, honouring his memorie because of a great victorie he had wonne of the CARTHAGINIANS, neere the citie of HIMERA: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of euery corner of the citie, and to be sold. Thus beganne the citie of SYRACVSA to replenish againe, and by litle and litle to recouer it selfe, many people comming thither from all parts to dwell there. Thereupon *Timoleon* thought to set all other cities at libertie also, and vtterly to roote out all the tyrants of SICILE and to obtaine his purpose, hee went to make warres with them at their owne dodres. The first he went against was *Icetes*, whom he compelled to forsake the league of the CARTHAGINIANS, and to promise also that he would raze al the fortresses he kept, & to liue like a priuate mã within the city of the LEONTINES. *Leptines* in like maner, that was tyrant of the citie of APPOLLONIA, and of many other litle villages thereabouts: when he saw himselfe in daunger to be taken by force, did yeeld himselfe. Whereupon *Timoleon* saued his life, & sent him vnto CORINTHE: thinking it honorable for his countrie, that the other GRECIANS should see the tyrants of SICILE in their chiefe citie of fame, liuing meanely and poorely like banished people. When he had brought this to passe, hee returned forthwith to SYRACVSA about the stablishment of the common weale, assisting *Cephalus* & *Dionysius*, two notable men sent from CORINTHE to reforme the lawes, and to helpe them to stablish the goodliest ordinances for their common weale. And now in the meane time, because the souldiers had a mind to get some thing of their enemies, & to auoid idlenesse: he sent them out abroad to a countrie subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, vnder the charge of *Dimarchus*, & *Demaretus*. Where they made many litle townes rebell against the barbarous people, and did not only liue in all abundance of wealth, but they gathered money together also to maintaine the warres. The CARTHAGINIANS on the other side, while they were busie about the matters, came downe into LILYBEA, with an army of three score & ten thousand men, two hundred gallies, & a thousand other ships & vessels that caried engines of batterie, carts, victuals, munition, and other necessary prouision for a campe, intending to make sporting wars no more, but at once to driue all the GRECIANS againe quite out of SICILE. For indeede it was an able army to ouercome all the SICILIANS, if they had bene whole of themselues, & not deuided. Now they being aduertised that the SICILIANS had inuaded their countrie, they went towards them in great furie led by *Asdrubal* & *Amilcar*, generals of the armie. This newes was straight brought to SYRACVSA, & the inhabitants were so striken with feare of the report of their armie: that being a maruellous great number of them within the citie, scant three thousand of them had the harts to arme themselues, and to goe to the field with *Timoleon*. Now the strangers that tooke pay, were not aboue foure thousand in all: and of them, a thousand of their harts failed, & left him in mid way, and returned home againe. Saying, that *Timoleon* was out of his wits, and more rash then his yeres required, to vndertake with fiue thousand footmen, & a thousand horse, to go against three score & ten thousand men: and besides, to carie that small force he had to defend himselfe withall, eight great daies iorney from SYRACVSA. So that if it chaunced they were compelled to flie, they had no place whither they might retire themselues vnto with safetie, nor man that would take care to burie them, when they were slaine. Neuertheless, *Timoleon* was glad he had that proofe of them, before he came to battell. Moreouer, hauing incouraged those that remained with him, he made them march with speede towards the riuer of CRIMESVS, where he vnderstood he should meete with the CARTHAGINIANS. So getting vp vpon a litle hill, from whence hee might see the campe of the enemies on the other side: by chance certaine moyles fell vpon his army, loden with smallage. The souldiers tooke a conceit at the first vpõ sight of it, & thought it was a token of ill lucke: because it is a maner we vse, to hang garlands of this herbe, about the tombes of the dead. Hereof came the common prouerbe they vse to speake, when one lyeth

Leptines tyrant of Apollonia, yeelded to Timoleon.

The armie and ships of the Carthaginians against Timoleon, Asdrubal and Amilcar being generals.

Timoleon went with 6000. men against the Carthaginians.

Crimesus fl.

Smallage an ill signe.

Prouerbe.

a passing in his bed: he lacketh but smallage. Asmuch to say, he is but a dead man. But *Timoleon* to draw the from this foolish superstition, & discorage they tooke, staied the army. And when he had vsed certaine persvvasions vnto them, according to the time, his leasure, and occasion told them that the garland of it selfe came to offer them victorie before hand. For, said he, CORINTHIANS doe crowne them that winne the ISTMIAN games (which are celebrated their country) with garlands of smallage. And at that time also euen in the solemne ISTMIAN games, they vsed the garland of smallage for reward and token of victorie: and at this present it is also vsed in the games of NEMEA. And it is but lately taken vp, that they haue vsed branches of pine apple trees in the ISTMIAN games. Now *Timoleon* had thus incouraged his men as you haue heard before: he first of all tooke of this smallage, and made himselfe a garland & put it on his head. When they saw that, the Captaines and all the souldiers also tooke of the same, and made themselues the like. The soothsaiers in like maner at the very same time, perceiued two eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a snake in her talents, which she pierced through and through, and the other as she flew, gaue a terrible cry. So they flew both vnto the souldiers, who did then all together with one voice call vpon the gods for helpe. Now this fortuned about the beginning of the sommer, and towards the later end of May, the sunne drawing towards the solstice of the sommer: when there rose a great mist out of the riuer, that couered all the fields ouer, so as they could not see the enemies camp, but onely heard a maruellous confused noise of mens voyces, as it had come from a great armie, and rising vp to the toppe of the hill, they laide their targets downe on the ground to take a litle breath: and the sunne hauing drawen and sucked vp all the moist vapours of the earth vnto the toppe of the hils, the aire beganne to be so thicke, that the toppes of the mountaines were all couered ouer with cloudes, and contrarily, the valley vnderneath was all cleare and faire, that they might easily see the riuer of CRIMESVS, and the enemies also, how they passed it ouer in this sort. First they had put their cartes of warres foremost, which were very well armed and well appointed. Next vnto them there followed tenne thousand footemen, armed with white targets vpon their armes: whom they seeing a far off so well appointed, they coniectured by their stately march and goodly order, that they were the CARTHAGINIANS themselues. After them, diuerse other nations followed confusedly one with another, and so were throng ed ouer with great disorder. There *Timoleon* cõsidering the riuer gaue him opportunitie to take them before they were halfe past ouer, and to set vpon what number he would: after he had shewed his men with his finger, how the battel of their enemies was deuided in two parts by meanes of the riuer, some of them being alreadie passed ouer, & the other to passe: he commaunded *Demaratus* with his horsemen to giue a charge on the voward, to keepe them from putting themselues in order of battell. And himselfe comming downe the hill also with all his footemen into the valley, he gaue to the SICILIANS the two winges of his battell, mingled with them some strangers that serued vnder him: & placed with himself in the midst, the MAMERTINES, with all the choice & best liked strangers. So he taried not long to ioine, when he saw the small good his horsemen did. For he perceiued they could not come to giue the charge vpon the battell of the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were paled in with the armed carts, that ranne here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled to wheele about continually, (vnlesse they would haue put themselues in danger to haue bene vtterly ouerthrowen) & in their returnes to giue venture of charge, by turnes on their enemies. Wherefore *Timoleon* taking his target on his arme, cried out aloud to his footemen, to follow him courageously, and to feare nothing. Those that heard his voice, thought it more then the voice of a man, whether the furie of his desire to fight did so straine it beyond ordinarie course, or that some god (as many thought it then) did stretch his voice to crie out so loud and send it. His souldiers answered him againe with the like voice: and praied him to lead them without longer delay. Then he made his horsemen vnderstand, that they should draw on the one side from the cartes, and that they should charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the flankes: and so soone as he did set the formost ranke of his battell, target to target against the enemies, commaunding the trumpets withall to sound. Thus with great furie he went to giue a charge vpon them, who valiantly receiued the first charge, their bodies being armed with good iron corslets

Garlands of smallage.

The order of the Carthaginians armie.

Timoleon giueth charge vpon the Carthaginians as they came ouer the riuer of Crimesus.

The seruice of the armed cartes.

Timoleons maruellous bigge voice.

Timoleons order and fight.

and their heades with faire murrions of copper, besides their great targets they had also, which did easily receiue the force of their darts, and the thrust of the pike. But when they came to hand strokes, where agility was more requisite then force, a fearefull tempest of thunder and flashing lightning with all, came from the mountaines. After that came darke thicke clouds also, (gathered together from the toppe of the hils) and fell vpon the valley, where the battell was fought, with a marueilous extreame showre of raine, fierce violent windes, and haile withall. All this tempest was vpon the GREEKIANS backes, and full before the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindfold their eies, and continually tormented them with the raine that came full vpon them with the winde, and the lightnings so often flashing amongst them, that one vnderstood not another of them. Which did marueilously trouble them, and specially those that were but fresh water souldiers, by reason of the terrible thunderclaps, and the noise, the hydeous winde and haile made vpon their harnes: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captains. Moreouer, the dust did as much annoy the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were not nimble in their armour, but heauily armed as we haue told you: and besides that also, when the plaines of their coates were throughwet with water, they did lode and hinder them so much the more, that they could not fight with any ease. This stood the GREEKIANS to great purpose, to throw them downe the easier. This when they were stumbling in the dust with their heauy armour, vp they could rise no more. Furthermore, the riuer of GRIMASVS being risen high through the great rage of waters, and also for the multitude of people that passed ouer it, did ouerflow the valley all about: which being full of ditches, many caues, and hollow places, it was straight all drowned ouer, and filled with many running streames, that ran ouerthwart the fielde, without any certaine channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compassed all about with these waters, they could hardly get the way out: for, as in the end they being ouercome with the storme that still did beate vpon them, and the GRECIANS hauing slaine of their men at the first onset, to the number of foure hundred of their choicest men, who made the first front of their battell: all the rest of their army turned their backes immediately, and fled for life. Insomuch, some of them being followed too neare, were put to the sword in the middest of the valley, other holding one another hard by the armes together, in the middest of the riuer as they passed ouer, were carried downe the streame and drowned, with the swiftnes and violence of the riuer. But the greatest number did thinke by footemanship to recouer the hils thereabouts, who were ouertaken by the that were light armed, and put to the sword euery man. They say, that of ten thousand which were slaine in this battell, 3. thousand of them were meere naturall citizens of CARTHAGE, which was a very sorrowfull and grieuous losse to the city. For they were of the noblest, the richest, the lustiest, and valiantest men, of all CARTHAGE. For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former wars at any time before, where there died so many of CARTHAGE at one field and battell, as were slaine at that present time. For before that time, they did alwaies entertaine the GREEKIANS, the SPANIARDS, & the NOMADES, in all their wars: so as when they lost any battell, the lesse lighted not on them, but the strangers paid for it. The men of account also that were slaine, were easily knowen by their spoiles. For they that spoiled them, stood not trifling about getting of copper and iron together, because they found gold and siluer enough. For the battell being won, the GREEKIANS passed ouer the riuer, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their cariages and bagage. And as for the prisoners, the souldiers stole many of them away, and sent them going: but of them that came too short to make common diuision of the spoile among them, they were about fiue thousand men, and two hundred cartes of warre that were taken besides. Oh, it was a noble sight to behold the tent of *Timoleon* their generall, how they enuironed it all about with heaps of spoils of euery sort: among which there were 3. thousand braue corselets guilt and grauen, with marueilous curious works, and brought thither with them also ten thousand targets. So the conquerors being but a small number, to take the spoile of a multitude that were slaine they filled their purses euen to the top. Yet were they three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battell, they set vp a marke or token of their victory. The *Timoleon* sent vnto CORINTH, with the news of this ouerthrow, the fairest armors that were gotten in the spoile: because he would make his country & natiue city spo-

A marueilous tempest of thunder, lightning, raine, winde and haile, full in the Carthaginians faces as they fought.

Timoleons victory of the Carthaginians.

omit

ken of & commended through the world, aboue all the other cities of GREECE. For that at CORINTH only, their chiefe temples were set forth and adorned, not with spoiles of the GAULIANS, nor offrings gotten by spilling the bloud of their own nation and countrey; (which I say truly, are vnpleasant memories) but with the spoils taken from the barbarous people their enemies, with inscriptions witnessing the valiancy and iustice of those also, who by victory obtained them. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS and their captaine *Timoleon* (hauing deliuered the GAULIANS dwelling in SICILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had giuen those offrings vnto the gods, to giue thanks for their victory. That done, *Timoleon* leauing the strangers he had in pay, in the country subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS (to ouerrun and destroy) he returned with the rest of his army vnto SYRACVSA. Where at his first coming home, he banished the thousand souldiers that had forsaken him in his iourney, with these charge that they should depart the city before sun set. So these thousand couragious mutinous souldiers passed ouer into ITALIE, where, vnder promise of the countrey, they were all vnfortunately slaine by the BRVTIANS: such was the iustice of the gods to pay their reward of their treason. Afterwards, *Mamercus* the tyrant of CATANA, *Icetes* (whether it were the enuy they did beare to *Timoleons* famous deeds, or for that they were afraid of him) pursuing tyrants could looke for no peace at his handes: they made league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote vnto them that they should send another army and captaine to daunt, for they would not vtterly be driuen out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS sent *Gisco* thither with threescore and tenne saile, who at his first comming tooke a certaine number of GREEKE souldiers into pay, which were the first the CARTHAGINIANS euer retained in their seruice: for they neuer gaue them pay vntill that present time, when they thought them to be inuincible, & the best souldiers of the world. Moreouer, the inhabitants of the territory of MESSENA, hauing made a secret conspiracy amongst themselues, did slay foure hundred men that *Timoleon* had sent vnto them and in the territories subiect vnto the CARTHAGINIANS vnto a place they call HIMERE, where was another ambush laid for *Eutimus* Leocadius as him selfe and all his souldiers were cut in peeces. Howbeit the losse of them made *Timoleons* doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were euen those that had forcibly entred the temple of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, with *Philodemus* the PHOCIAN, and with *Onomarchus*, who were partakers of their sacriledge. Moreouer, they were lose people & abiects, and were abhorred of euery body, who vacabondlike wãdred vp & down the country of PELOPONNESVS, when *Timoleon* for lack of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into SICILE, they alwaies ouercame in all battels they fought, whilest they were in his company. But in the end, when the fury of wars was pacified, *Timoleon* sending them about foure ciall seruice to the aide of some of his, they were cast away euery man of them and not altogether, but at diuers times. So as it seemed that gods iustice, in fauor of *Timoleon*, did seperate them from the rest, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deseртes, fearing that good men should suffer hurt by punishing of the euil. And so was the grace & good will of the gods wonderfull towards *Timoleon*, not onely in matters against him, but in those things that prospered well with him. Notwithstanding, the common people of SYRACVSA tooke delight in flying words and writings of the tyrants against them, in marueilous euill part. For *Mamercus* amongst other, thinking wel of him selfe, because he could make verses & tragedies, hauing by certain battels gotten the better hand of the straigers, which the SYRACVSANS gaue pay vnto, he gloried very much. And when he offered vp the targets he had gotten of them, in the temples of the gods: he set vp also these cutting verses, in derision of them that were vanquished:

With buckilers potlid like, which of no value were,
we haue these goodly targets wonne, so richly trimmed here,
All gorgeously with golde, and eke with iuorie,
with purple colours finely wrought, and decked with Ebonie.

These things done, *Timoleon* led his army before the city of CALAVRIA, and *Icetes* while entred the confines of the SYRACVSANS with a maine army, & caried away a marueilous great spoile. And after he had done great hurt, and spoiled the country, he returned backe againe, and came by CALAVRIA, to despite *Timoleon*, knowing well enough hee had at

Timoleon banisheth the thousand treacherous souldiers out of Sicile.

Gisco sent from Carthage with 70. saile into Sicile.

Messina riseth against Timoleon.

Mamercus verses, tyrant of Catana.

Calauria, a city of Sicile.

time but few men about him. *Timoleon* suffered him to passe by, but followed him afterwards with his horsemen and lightest armed footemen. *Icetes* vnderstanding that, passed ouer the riuer called DAMYRIAS, and so staied on the other side as though he would fight, trusting to the swift running of the riuer, and the height of the bankes on either side of the same. Now the captaines of *Timoleons* bands fell out maruellously amongest themselues, striuing for honour of their seruice, which was cause of delaying the battell. For none would willingly come behind, but euery man desired to lead the voward, for honor to begin the charge: so as they could not agree for their going ouer, one thrusting another to get before his companion. Wherefore *Timoleon* fell to drawing of lots, which of them should passe ouer first, & tooke a ring of euery one of them, & cast them all within the lap of his cloke: so rolling them together, by chance he pluckt one at the first, whereon was grauen the marks and tokens of a triumph. The yong captains seeing that, gaue a shout of ioy, & without tarying drawing of other lots, they began euery man to passe the riuer as quickly as they could, and to set vpon the enemies as sodainly. But they being not able to abide their force, ran their waies, and were faine to cast their armour away to make more hast: howbeit there were a thousand of the lay dead in the field. And within few daies after, *Timoleon* leading his army to the city of LEONTINES, tooke *Icetes* aliue there, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the generall of his horsemen, who were deliuered into his hands by his own souldiers. So *Icetes* & his son were put to death, like the traytors & tyrants: and so was *Euthydemus* also, who though he was a valiant souldier, had no better mercy shewed him, then the father and the son, because they did burden him with certaine iniurious words he spake against the CORINTHIANS. For they say, that when the CORINTHIANS came first out of their country into SICILE, to make warre against the tyrants: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, said amongst other things, that they should not need to be afraid, if

The women of Corinth were come out of their country.

Thus we see, that men do rather suffer hurt, then put vp iniurious words: & do pardon their enemies, though they reuenge by deeds, because they can do no lesse. But as for iniurious words they seeme to proceed of a deadly hate, and of a canckred malice. Furthermore, when *Timoleon* was returned again to SYRACVSA, the SYRACVSANS arraigned the wiues of *Icetes*, and his son, and their daughters: who being arraigned, were also condemned to die by the iudgement of the people. Of all the actes *Timoleon* did, this of all other (in my opinion) was the foulest order: for if he had listed, he might haue saued the poore women from death. But he passed not for them, and so left them to the wrath of the citizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the iniuries that were done to *Dion*, after he had driuen out the tirant *Dionysius*. For it was *Icetes* that caused *Arete*, the wife of *Dion*, to be cast into the sea, his sister *Aristomache*, and his son that was yet a sucking child, as we haue written in another place in the life of *Dion*. That done, he went to CATANA against *Mamercus*, who taried him by the riuer of ABOLVS, where *Mamercus* was ouerthrowen in battell, & aboue two thousand men slaine, the greatest part whereof were the CARTHAGINIANS, who *Gisco* had sent for his relefe. Afterwards he granted peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, vpo earnest sute made to him, with codition, that they should keep on the other side of the riuer of LYCVS, and that it should be lawfull for any of the inhabitants there that would, to come & dwell in the territory of the SYRACVSANS, and to bring away with them their gods, their wiues & their children: and furthermore, that fro thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS should renoue ceal league, confederacy, & alliance with the tyrants. Whereon *Mamercus* hauing no hope of good successe in his doings, hee would go into ITALY, to set vp the LVCANIANS against *Timoleon*, and the SYRACVSANS. But they that were in his company, returned backe again with their gallies in the mid way: and when they were returned into SICILE, they deliuered vp the city of CATANA into the hands of *Timoleon*, so as *Mamercus* was constrained to fauche him self, and to flie vnto MESSINA, to *Hippon* the tyrant there. But *Timoleon* followed him, & besieged the city both by sea and by land. Whereat *Hippon* quaked for feare, and thought to flie by taking shippe, but hee was taken starting. And the MESSINIANS hauing him in their hands, made al the children come from the schoole to the THEATER, to see one of the goodliest sights that they could deuise: to wit, to see the tyraunt punished, who was openly whipped, and afterwards put to death. Now for *Mamercus*, he did

Damirias fl.

Strife among Timoleons captains for passing ouer the riuer.

Timoleons deuise to draw lots to pacifie the strife.

Timoleon taketh Icetes, and Eupolemus his son aliue, and did put them to death.

Icetes wiues and children put to death.

The cruelty of Icetes towards Dion and his.

Mamercus ouercome in battell.

Abolus. fl.

Timoleon maketh peace with the Carthaginians.

Lycus fl.

Catana yeelded vp vnto Timoleon.

Hippon the tyrant of Messina.

Hippon put to death.

yeeld him selfe vnto *Timoleon*, to be iudged by the SYRACVSANS, so that *Timoleon* might be his accuser. So that he was brought vnto SYRACVSA, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But seeing that the people cried out, and made a great noise, because they would not heare him, and that there was no likelihood they would pardon him: he ranne ouerthwart the THEATER, and knocked his head as hard as he could driue, vppon one of the degrees whereon they sate there to see their sports, thinking to haue dashed out his brains, and haue rid him selfe sodainely out of his paine. *Mamercus the tyrant put to death.* he was not happy to die so, for he was taken straight being yet aliue, & put to death as the tyrant and murtherers are. Thus did *Timoleon* roote all tyrants out of SICILE, and made an end of wars there. And whereas he found the whole Ile, wilde, sauage, and hated of the naturall countrey men and inhabitants of the same, for the extreame calamities and miseries they suffered: *Timoleon quieteth all Sicile.* brought it to be so ciuil, and so much desired of strangers, that they came far and neare to dwell there, where the naturall inhabitants of the countrey selfe before, were glad to flie and forsake it. For AGRIGENTVM, and GELA, two great cities, did witnes this, which after the wars of the ATHENIANS, had bene vtterly forsaken and destroied by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe. The one, by *Megellus* and *Pheristus*, two Captaines that came from GELA: and the other by *Gorgos*, who came from the Ile of CEO. And as neare as they could they gathered again together the first ancient citizens and inhabitants of the same: whom *Timoleon* did not only assure of peace and safety to liue there, to settle them quietly together: but willingly did helpe them besides, with all other things necessary, to his vttermost meane and ability, for which they loued and honored him as their father & founder. And this his good loue and fauour was common also to all other people of SICILE whatsoeuer. So that in all Sicile there was no truce taken in wars, nor lawes established, nor lands deuided, nor institution any pollicy or gouernment thought good or auaileable, if *Timoleons* deuise had not been as chiefe director of such matters, which gaue him a singular grace to be acceptable to them, and generally to be beloued of all men. For in those daies, there were other famous men in GREECE, that did marueilous great things: amongst whom were these, *Timotheus*, *Agesilaus*, *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, which *Epaminondas* *Timoleon compared with the famousest men in Greece.* *Timoleon* sought to followe in all things neare as he could, aboue any of them all. But in all the actions of these other great Captaines their glory was alway mingled with violence, paine, and labor: so as some of them haue been touched with reproch, and other with repentance. Weheras contrariwise, in all *Timoleons* doings (that only excepted which he was forced to do to his brother) there was nothing but might with troth (as *Timaeus* said) proclaime the saying of *Sophocles*:

Oh mighty goddes of heauen, what Venus stately dame,
or Cupid, (god) haue thus yput, their handes vnto this same?

And like as *Antimachus* verses, and *Dionysius* painting both COLOPHONIANS, are full of sinewes and strength, and yet at this present we see they are things greatly labored, and troubled with much paine: and that contrariwise in *Nicomachus* tables, and *Homers* verses, beside the passing workmanship and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight, that they were easily made, and without great paine. Euen so in like manner, whosoeuer will consider the painefull bloudy warres and battells of *Epaminondas*, and *Agesilaus*, with the warres of *Timoleon*, in the which, besides equity and iustice, there is also great ease and quietnesse like to finde, waying things indifferently, that they haue not beene fortunes doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. *Timoleon attributeth his good successe vnto fortune.* Yet he him selfe doth wisely impute it vnto his good happe, and fauorable fortune. For in his letters he wrote vnto his familiar friends in CORINTHE, and in some other orations he made to the people of SYRACVSA: he spake many times, that he thanked the almighty goddes, that it had pleased them to saue and deliuer SICILE from bondage, by his meanes and seruice, and to giue him the honour and dignity of the name. *Timoleon dwelleth still with the Syracusans.* And hauing builded a temple in his house, he did dedicate it vnto fortune, and furthermore did consecrat his whole house vnto her. For he dwelt in a house the SYRACVSANS kept for him, and gaue him in recompence of the good seruice he had done them in the warres, with a marueilous faire pleasaunt house in the country also, where he kept most when he was at leysure. For he neuer after returned vnto CORINTHE againe, but sent for his wife and

dren to come thither, and neuer dealt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongst the GRÆCIANS, neither did make himselfe to be enuied of the citizens: (a mischiefe that most gouernours and captaines do fall into, through their vnsatiable desire of honour and authoritie) but liued all the rest of his life after in SICILE, reioycing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many cities and thousands of people happy by his meanes. But because it is an ordinarie matter, and of necessitie, (as *Simonides* saith) that not onely all larkes haue a tuft vpon their heads, but also that in all cities there be accusers, where the people rule: there were two of those at SYRACVSA, that continually made orations to the people, who did accuse *Timoleon*, the one called *Laphystius*, and the other *Demænetus*. So this *Laphystius* appointing *Timoleon* a certaine day to come and answer to his accusation before the people, thinking to conuince him: the citizens began to mutinie, and would not in any case suffer the day of adiornment to take place. But *Timoleon* did pacifie them, declaring vnto them, that he had taken all the extreame paines and labour he had done, and had passed so many dangers, because euery citizen and inhabitant of SYRACVSA, might frackly vse the liberty of their laws. And another time *Demænetus*, in open assembly of the people, reprouing many things *Timoleon* did when he was generall: *Timoleon* answered neuer a word, but only said vnto the people, that he thanked the gods they had granted him the thing he had so oft requested of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once see the SYRACVSANS haue full power and liberty to say what they would. Now *Timoleon* in all mens opinion, had done the noblest acts that euer GRÆCIAN captaine did in his time, and had aboue deserued the fame and glory of all the noble exploits, which the rhetoricians with all their eloquent orations perswaded the GRÆCIANS vnto, in the open assemblies, & common feasts and plaies of GREECE, out of the which fortune deliuered him safe and sound before the trouble of the ciuill warres that followed soone after: and moreouer he made a great proofe of his valiancie and knowledge in warres, against the barbarous people and tyrants, and had shewed himselfe also a iust and mercifull man vnto all his friends, & generally to all the GRÆCIANS. And furthermore, seeing he won the most part of all his victories and triumphes, with out the shedding of any one teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and also rid all SICILE of all the miseries and calamities raigning at that time, in lesse then eight yeares space: he being now growne blinde, his sight first beginning a litle to faile him, shortly after he lost it altogether. This happened, not through any cause or occasion of sickneesse that came vnto him, nor that fortune had finally done him that iniurie: but it was in my opinion, a disease inheritable to him by his parents, which by time came to lay hold on him also. For the voice went, that many of his kin in like case had also lost their sight, which by little and little with age, was cleane taken from them. Howbeit *Athanis* the Historiographer writeth, that during the warres he had against *Mamercus* & *Hippon*, as he was in his campe at MYLES, there came a white spot in his eyes, that dimmed his sight somwhat: so that euery man perceiued that he should lose his sight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his siege, but continued his enterprise, vntill he tooke both the tyrants at last: and so sooneas he returned to SYRACVSA againe, he did put himselfe out of his office of generall, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, or rather becaule things were brought to so good passe, as they themselues could desire. Now, that he paciently tooke this misfortune to be blinde altogether, peraduenture men may somwhat maruell at it: but this much more is to be wondred at, that the SYRACVSANS after he was blind, did so much honor him, & acknowledge the good he had done thē, that they went themselues to visit him oft, & brought strangers (that were trauellers) to his house in the city, and also in the coūtry, to make them see their benefactor, reioycing & thinking thēselues happie that he had chosen to end his life with them, & that for this cause he had despised the glorious returne that was prepared for him in GREECE, for the great & happy victories he had won in SICILE. But amongst many other things the SYRACVSANS did, and ordained to honor him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefest: that they made a perpetuall lawe, so that as they should haue warres against forrein people, and not against their owne countrimen that they should euer choose a CORINTHIAN for their generall. It was a goodly thing also to see how they did honor him in the assemblies of their counsell. For if any trifling matter fell

Simonides saying.

Timoleons accusers.

Timoleons great praise.

Timoleon in his age lost his sight.

The great honor the Syracusans did Timoleon being blind.

A lawe made to honour Timoleon.

in question among them, they dispatched it of themselues: but if it were a thing that requ
great counsell and aduise, they caused *Timoleon* to be sent for. So he was brought through
market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the assembly of the people was, and
ried in euen so in his litter as he sate: and then the people did all salute him with one voi
and he them in like case. And after he had paused a while to heare the praises and bles
the whole assembly gaue him, they did propound the matter doubtfull to him, and he de
red his opinion vpon the same: which being passed by the voices of the people, his kins
caried him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens did waite on h
little way with cries of ioy, and clapping of hands, and that done, they did repaire to dis
common causes by themselues, as they did before. So his old age being thus entertained w
The death of Timoleon. such honour, and with the loue and good will of euery man, as of a common father to th
all: in the end a sickneſse tooke him by the backe, whereof he died. So the SYRACVSANS
Timoleons funerals. a certaine time appointed them to prepare for his funeralles, and their neighbours also th
abouts to come vnto it. By reason whereof his funerall was so much more honorably per
med in all things, and specially for that the people appointed the noblest young gentlemen
the citie to carrie his coffin vpon their shoulders, richely furnished and set forth, whereon
body lay, & so did conueigh him through the place, where the pallace and castell of the ty
Dionysius had bene, which then was rased to the ground. There accompanied his body
many thousands of people, all crowned with garlands of flowers, and apparrelled in their
apparell: so as it seemed it had bene the procession of some solemne feast, and all their wo
were praisings and blessings of the dead, with teares running downe their cheekes, wh
was a good testimonie of the entire good will and loue they did beare him, and that
did not this as men that were glad to be discharged of the honour they did him, no
for that it was so ordained: but for the iust sorowe and griefe they tooke for his death,
for very hartie good loue they did beare him. And lastly, the coffin being put vpon the
An honorable decree of the Syracusans for the memorie of Timoleon. of wood where it should be burnt, *Demetrius* one of the heralds that had the lowdest v
proclaimed the decree that was ordained by the people, the effect whereof was this. The
ple of SYRACVSA hath ordained, that this present body of *Timoleon* CORINTHIAN,
sonne of *Timodemus*, should be buried at the charges of the commonweale, vnto the sum
two hundred *Minas*, and hath honoured his memorie with playes and games of mu
with running of horses, and with other exercises of the bodie, which shall be celebrated y
ly on the day of his death for euermore: and this, because he did driue the tyrants out of
CILE, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and because he repleniſhed many gre
ties with inhabitants againe, which the warres had left desolate and vnhabited: and lastly,
that he had restored the SICILIANS againe to their libertie, and to liue after their own
Timoleons tombe built in the market place. lawes. And afterwards, his tombe was built in the market place, about the which
a certaine time after, they builded certaine cloisters and galleries to exer-
cise the youth in, with exercise of their bodies, and the places so
walled in, was called *Timoleontium*: and so long as they
did obserue the lawes, and ciuill policie he sta-
blished amongst them, they liued long
time in great continuall
prosperitie.

THE COMPARISON OF
Paulus Æmylius with Timoleon.

SYth these two men were such as the Historiographers haue described them to be: it is certaine, that comparing the one with the other, we shall finde no great oddes nor difference betweene them. For first of all, the warres they made, haue beene against great and famous enemies: the one against the MACEDONIANS, and the other against the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the realme of MACEDON, which he tooke from the seuenth king that raigned by succession from the father to the sonne, since the time of the great *Antigonus*: and the other draue all the tyrants out of SICILE, and restored the whole Ile and cities therein, vnto their former libertie. Vnlesse some will alledge perhaps that there was this difference betweene them, that *AEmylius* fought against king *Perseus*, when he had all his power whole and entire, and had fought with the ROMAINES many times before, and had the better of them in all conflicts: where *Timoleon* set vpon *Dionysius*, when he was in greatest despaire, and in manner vtterly cast away. On the contrarie side, it may be obiected for *Timoleon*, that he ouercame many tyrants, and a mightie great armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a very small number of men, and yet men of all sorts: not as *AEmylius* with a great armie of well trained and expert souldiers in warres, but with men gathered together at aduenture of all sorts, being mercenarie hirelings, and fighting men for pay, loose people, and men vnruly in wars, that would do but what they listed. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we must confesse that the praise is due vnto the generall. Both the one and the other kept their hands cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke vpon them. But it seemeth that *AEmylius* came so fashioned and prepared, by the good ciuill lawe, and morall discipline of his countrie: and that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards fashioned himselfe to be that he was. And this is to be proued: for that all the ROMAINES in that time were so ciuilly brought vp, and exceeded all other in straight keeping the lawes of their countrie. Where to the contrarie, there was not one of the captaines of the GRÆCIANS that came then, or were sent into SICILE, but fell straight to corruption, when he had put his foote in SICILE, *Dion* onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine suspition of him, that he aspired to the kingdom, & imagined in his head to stablish a certaine Empire at SYRACVSA, like vnto that of LACEDÆMON. *Timeus* the Historiographer writeth, that the SYRACVSANS sent *Gilippus* with shame backe againe into his countrie, for his vnsatiable greedy couetousnesse, and for his great thefts, and bribes taken in his charge. Diuers other haue also written the great treasons and falshoods *Pharax* SPARTAN, & *Calippus*

The comparison of Timoleon and Paulus AEmylius for the warres.

ATHENIAN did commit, both of them seeking to make themselues lordes of SYRA and yet what men are they, and what meanes had they to haue such a foolish vaine hope fancie in their heads? Considering that the one did follow & serue *Dionysius*, after that he driuen out of SYRACVSA: and the other also was but a priuate captaine of a band of soco of those that came in with *Dion*. *Timoleon* in contrarie manner was sent, to be generall SYRACVSANS, vpon their great instance and sute. And he hauing no need to seeke or ha ter it, but onely to keepe the power and authoritie they did willingly put into his hand soone as he had destroyed and ouerthrowne all such as would vniustly vsurpe the gou ment, he did immediatly of his owne good wil, frankly resigne vp his office and charg sure, so is this a notable thing to be commended, and esteemed in *Paulus Æmylius*: wh uing conquered so great and riche a realme, he neuer increased his goods the value farthing, neither did see nor handle any money at all, although he was very liberall, largely vnto others. I meane not in speaking this to vpbraide or detect *Timoleon*, for accepted a faire house the SYRACVSANS gaue him in the citie, and a goodly manor the countrie: for in such cases there is no dishonestie in receiuing, but so is it greater h to refuse, then to take But that vertue is most rare and singular, where we see they will nor take nothing, though they haue iustly deserued it. And if it be so, that the body is and better compounded, which best abideth change of parching heate, and nipping c that the minde is much more stronger & stable, that swelleth not vp with pride of pro nor droopeth for sorow in aduersity. Thē it appeareth, that *Æmylius* vertue was so m perfect, in that he shewed himselfe of no lesse graue and constant a minde, in the p endured for his losse and sorrow happened vnto him: (loosing at one time in maner children) then he had done before, in all his triumphe & greatest felicitie. Where the contrary, hauing done a worthy act against his brother, could with no reason the griefe and sorowe he felt: but ouercome with bitter griefe and repentance, conti space of twentie yeares together, and neuer durst once onely shew his face againe in ker place, nor deale any more in matters of the commonweale. Truely, for a man beware to do euill, and to shun from euill, it is a very good and comely thing: so also to be sorie, and a feard of euery reproache, and ill opinion of the worlde, it sheweth a simplenesse of nature, and a good and well disposed minde, but no manly courage.

The wonderful continencie of Æmylius from bribes.

Not to take gifts, commended for a singular vertue.

Æmylius constancie far exceedeth Timoleons.

The end of Timoleons life.

THE LIFE OF *Pelopidas.*

CATO the elder, aunſwered certaine on a time, that maruellouſly commended a bolde, a venturous, and deſperate man for the warres: that there was great odds, to eſteeme manhood ſo much, and life ſo litle. And ſurely it was wiſely ſpoken of him. The report goeth, that king *Antigonus* gaue pay to a ſouldier among other, that was verie hardie and venturous, but he had a naughtie ſickely bodie. The king asked him one day, what he ayled to be ſo pale, and euill coloured? The ſouldier told him, he had a ſecret diſeaſe vpon him, that he might not tell him with reuerence. The king hearing him ſo, commaunded his Phiſitians and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they ſhould heale him with all poſſible ſpeede: and ſo they did. After the ſouldier had his health againe, he would venter no more ſo deſperately in the warres, as he did before. Inſomuch, king *Antigonus* ſelfe perceiuing his ſlackneſſe and drawing backe, rebuked him, and ſaide vnto him: that he wondred to ſee ſo great a chaunge and alteration in him. The ſouldier nothing ſtriking at the matter, told him the troth plainely. Your ſelfe, and it pleaſe your maieſtie, the cauſe of my cowardlineſſe now, by healing my diſeaſe; that made my life lothſome to me. Much like were a SYBARITANS words, touching the life and manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS. That it was no maruell they had ſuch a deſire to die in the warres, ſeeing they did it but tidde themſelues of their troubles, and moſt miſerable and ſtraight life. But we muſt not wonder though the SYBARITANS, being womaniſh men, and altogether giuen to pleaſure, did ſo thinke: that thoſe men hated their liues, who feared not death, for the deſire they had to be good, and goodwill they had to do their dutie. Which was contrarie in the LACEDÆMONIANS. For they were of opinion, that to liue and die willingly, was a vertue: as theſe ſubſtantiall verſes doe witneſſe.

To be too bold and venturous is not good.

The anſwere of a ſouldier to king Antigonus

Diuers opinions of life & death

The dead which here doe reſt, did not in life eſteeme,
that life or death were (of themſelues) or good or bad to deeme.
But euen as life did end, or death was brought to paſſe,
ſo life or death, was good or bad, this their opinion was.

And in deede to flie death is no shame, so it proceede not of a cowardly heart: neither desire death is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reason why *Homer* saith, the valianteſt men are euer beſt armed, when they come to battell. The lawmakers among the GRÆCIANS, doe euer puniſh him that caſtes away his target, but neuer him that caſteth away his ſworde or launce. For euery man muſt firſt thinke to defende himſelfe before he ſeeke to hurt his enemie, and ſpecially ſuch as haue the whole ſtate of a realme in their hands, and be generals of the field. For if the compariſon be true, that *Iphicrates* the THENIAN captaine made, that in an armie of men, the light horſemen reſemble the hands, the men of armes the feete, the battell of footemen the ſtomacke and breaſt, the captaine the head of a mans bodie: it ſeemeth then that the venturous captaine putting himſelfe in danger without cauſe, is not onely careleſſe of his owne life, but alſo of all theirs whoſe liues depend vpon his ſafetie. As contrarily, he being carefull of his owne perſon, cannot but be carefull of his ſouldiers that ſerue vnder him. Therefore *Callicratidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine, a worthie man otherwiſe, did vnwiſely anſwere a ſoothſaier that bad him take heede of himſelfe: for the ſignes and tokens of the ſacrifices did threaten his death. SPARTA, ſaid he, conſideth not vpon one manalone. It is true, that to fight by ſea or by land man for man, *Callicratidas* was but one man of himſelfe: but as captaine or lieuetenant generall, he had the whole power and force of the armie in his perſon. For he was not a man alone, when ſo many mens liues were loſt with his. Now old *Antigonus* was of a contrarie minde. For he being determined to giue battell by ſea, about the Ile of ANDROS, made a better anſwere to one that ſaid vnto him: his enemies had moe ſhips then himſelfe. For how many ſhips doeſt thou reckon me and my ſelfe, ſaid he? Therein he did wiſely to make great account of the worthines of a generall, ſpecially when it is ioyned with hardineſſe and experience. For the chiefeſt point of ſafetie is to ſaue him, that ſaueth all other. For when *Chares* on a time ſhewed the ATHENIANS openly, the ſundry woundes and cuts he had receiued vpon his bodie, and his target alſo thrilled through with many pikes: *Timotheus* ſtraight ſaid vnto him, *Chares*, I am not of the like minde. For when I did beſiege the citie of SAMOS, I was aſhamed to ſee a dart throwne ouer the wals, light hard by me, for that I ſhewed my ſelfe a raſh young man, and more venterous than became a generall of ſo great an armie. For when it ſtandeth much vpon the whole armie, that it is neceſſarie the generall thereof do put himſelfe in daunger: then he ſhould preſſe forward, and occupie both hands and bodie without reſpect, not regarding their weakneſſe. I ſay, a good wiſe captaine ſhould die for age, or at the leaſt old. But where there is ſmall hope to be wonne by very good ſucceſſe, and contrariwiſe much loſſe and deſtruction by ill fortune: no man of wiſedome or iudgement would wiſh a generall to fight as a priuate ſouldier, to hazard the loſſe of a generall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the liues of *Pelopidas* and of *Marcellus*, both which were worthie men, and died otherwiſe than they ſhould. For they both were valiant ſouldiers in the field, and did both of them aduance their countrie with famous victories, and ſpecially againſt great and dreadfull enemies. For the one was the firſt (as they ſay) that ouerthrew *Hannibal*, who was neuer ouercome before. And the other alſo ouercame the LACEDÆMONIANS in battell, that ruled all Greece at that time both by ſea and by land. Yet they both careleſſely loſt their liues, by venturing boldly: when their countrie ſtoode in greateſt neede of ſuch men and captaines as they were. This is the cauſe why we following the reſemblance that was betweene them, haue coupled their liues together. *Pelopidas*, the ſonne of *Hippoclus*, came of one of the nobleſt houſes in the citie of THEBES, as *Epaminondas* did. He being brought vp in great wealth, his father left him heire of all his lands and goods, being but a young man. So he ſtraight ſhewed himſelfe willing to do good with his money, to thoſe that needed helpe, and were worthie: and the world ſee, that his money was not his maſter. For as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, of theſe rich men, the one part of them do not vſe their goods, for extreeme couetouſneſſe: other againe do abuſe them as being giuen to ouermuch pleaſures. So rich men became ſlaues all their life time, either to pleaſure, other to profit. Now, all *Pelopidas* other friendes would be beholding to him, and take very thankfully his curteſie & liberalitie towards them. But *Epaminondas* could not be brought to take any thing at his hands. Howbeit *Pelopidas* ſelfe folowed *Epaminondas*

Why the Grecians do puniſh him that caſteth away his target.

Iphicrates compariſon of an armie of men.

A lieutenant of an armie muſt be careful to ſaue himſelf.

Timotheus ſaying.

Pelopidas and Marcellus loſt both their liues by too much aduenturing.

Pelopidas ſtock and liberalitie.

Ariſtotles ſaying of rich men.

for he tooke a pride and pleasure to go simply apparelled, to fare meanely, to labour willingly, and to make warres openly as he did. He was euen such an other, as *Euripides* the Poet described *Capaneus* to be, when he said of him:

He rich and wealthy was, yet was he therewithall,
no wight that purchast worldly bate, nor insolent at all.

For he would haue beene ashamed, that the poorest man of the citie of THEBES, should haue worne meaner apparell vpon his backe, then himselfe. As for *Epaminondas*, his pouertie was not dainty to him, because his parents were euer poore and yet for all that he passed it ouer more easily by studie of Philosophie, which he gaue himselfe vnto, & for that from his youth he liked to leade a spare life without excesse. Where *Pelopidas* matched in a noble house, and maried highly, and had two children by his wife: neuertheless he had no minde to keepe or increase his goods the more for that, but gaue himselfe altogether to serue the common weale as long as he liued. By reason whereof his wealth decaied, and his best friendes grew angrie with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was so necessarie, as to haue goods. And he answered them: In deede they are necessarie I do confesse it, but yet for such a one as this poore, lame, and blind man that standeth by. They both were alike borne to all vertue, sauing that *Pelopidas* tooke most pleasure in exercise of his bodie and strength, and *Epaminondas* in the exercise of his wit & learning. So as the pastime eche of them tooke when they were at leasure was, that the one delighted to wrastle and to hunt, and liked any kind of exercise of his bodie: and the other to heare, to studie, and alwaies to learne some thing of Philosophie. But among all the excellent giftes and good parts in either of them, and that most wanne them honour and estimation in the world, they were only commended and singularly noted of wise men, for the perfect loue and friendship that was euer inviolably kept betweene them vntill their deathes: hauing beene ioyned together in so many battels, warres, charges of armies, and otherwise in matters of state and gouernment. For if a man will consider, and looke into the doings of *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, and *Cimon*, of *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, how full of dissentions, enuies, and suspitions they were one against another in gouerning the common weale: and againe will consider the loue, honor, & kindnes, that continued alwaies betwixt *Pelopidas* & *Epaminondas*: no doubt they will say these two are more worthy to be called brethren in warre, (as they say) & companions in gouernment, then any of them we haue named before, whose care & studie was alwaies rather to ouercome one another, then to ouercome their enemies, & the only cause thereof was their vertue. For their actes shewed they did not seeke glorie, nor riches for themselues (the couetousnesse whereof doth alwaies breede quarrels and enuie) but both of them from the beginning fell one in loue with another, with a great kindnes & estimation of themselues, to see their countrie flourish, and grow to great honour through their seruice, and in their time: and so they reckoned all the good exploites both of the one and the other, that tended to that end, as their owne. The most part of writers thinke, this great and earnest loue the one did beare to another, did grow first betweene them in a iorney they made together vnto MANTINEA, to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, that were at that time confederates of the THEBANS. For they being both set in battell ray, one hard by an other among the footemen, against the *Arcadians* that stood before them: it fortuned that the point of the battell of the LACEDÆMONIANS in the which they were, gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. But they determining to die rather then to flie, stoode close together, and fought with the enemies that came vpon them vntill such time as *Pelopidas* being hurt in seuen places before, fell downe at the last vpon a heape of dead bodies, aswell of their owne souldiers as of their enemies, euen one vpon another. Then *Epaminondas* thinking he had beene slaine, stept notwithstanding before him to defend his bodie and armour, and he alone fought against many, being willing to die rather then to forsake *Pelopidas* lying amongest the dead bodies: vntill himselfe being thrust into the breast with a pike, and sore cut on his arme with a sworde, was euen readie to giue ouer, when *Agesipolis* (the king of the LACEDÆMONIANS) came with the other point of the battell in happie houre, who saued both their liues past all hope. Now after this battell, the LACEDÆMONIANS both in words and deedes did courteously intreat the THEBANS as their friendes and confederates.

Pelopidas saying for the necessity of money.

The perfect friendship betwixt Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

The true vsage of friendship.

Agesipolis king of the Lacedemonians.

Notwithstanding, in truth they beganne to feare the power and great courage of that cit
and specially the faction and associates *Ismenias* and *Androclidas* had set vp, whereof *Pelop*
also was a companion: because they thought it was popular, & inclined much to desire liber
Wherupon *Archias*, *Leontidas*, & *Philip*, all three great wealthy men of the citie of Thebes,
and misliking to be equall with other citizens, did perswade *Phabidas*, a captaine of the LACE-
DÆMONIANS, that going and comming through the countrie of BOEOTIA with an armie
he would one day assay to take the castle of THEBES called CADMEA, & driuing those out o
the citie that would resist him, he would put the gouernement of the state into the hands of
few of the noblest persons, who would be at the deuotion of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & do
them in all things. *Phabidas* brought it to passe, and did worke his feate before the Thebian
mustrusted any thing vpon a holy day called THESMOPHORIA. After he had wonne the
stle, he apprehended *Ismenias*, & sent him to LACEDÆMON, where shortly after they put him
to death. *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, and *Androclidas*, with many other, saued themselues by flying
and were banished THEBES by sound of Trumpet. *Epaminondas* taried still in THEBES, and no
man touched him, for they made small account of him, because he was altogether giuen to
booke: and though his goodwill had serued him to haue done some feate, his pouertie ma
him vnable to doe any thing. The LACEDÆMONIANS vnderstanding of the taking of the ca
stle, did straight put *Phabidas* out of his charge, and set a fine of a hundred thousand Drachm
vpon his head: but yet they kept still the castle of CADMEA in their handes with a great gar
rison. All the other cities and people of GREECE did wonder much at it, that they should s
low the fact, and punish notwithstanding the doer. So the THEBANS hauing lost their anci
ent libertie, and being made subiect by both these, *Archias* and *Leontidas*, so as all hope wa
taken from them euer to winde out of this tyrannie, or at any time to ouerthrowe it, seei
it was maintained and defended by the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that they could not possib
take from them all the seigniorie and dominion they had throughout GREECE, as well by
as by land: *Leontidas* and his followers notwithstanding, when they vnderstoode that th
who were banished from THEBES, were very well receiued and entertained of the people
ATHENS, and much made of also of the nobility, they sought secretly by treason to haue the
killed. To doe this feate, they sent certaine men vnknowen vnto ATHENS, who by treas
slew *Androclidas*, howbeit they missed the killing of the other. Furthermore, the LACE-
DÆMONIANS wrote to the ATHENIANS, that they should not receiue such as were banish
from THEBES, nor that they should fauour them, but driue them out of their citie, as th
which by their allies were iustly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS notwith
standing, being men alwaies ciuilly giuen, and inclined in nature to humanitie, as bein
borne and bred vp withall, and very desirous besides to requite the THEBANS courtesie, wh
had beene the chiefest meanes and doers in restoring againe the popular state and gouern
met at ATHENS: they would by no means offer the THEBANS any such iniury, seing they
stablished a law and decree, that if any ATHENIAN passing to and fro through the countr
BOEOTIA, did beare armor against the thirtie tyrants, that were gouernors and oppressors
the libertie of ATHENS, there should no BOEOTIAN seeme to see, or know any thing there
In the meane time *Pelopidas*, though he were of the younger sort, did procure still euerie co
that was banished, to seeke the libertie of his countrie, and openly made an oration to them
all, declaring that it were not onely a cowardly part, but also a wicked offence to the gods
if they would suffer their countrie to remain so in continuall bondage, & strangers to inha
it with a garrison, to make them subiect to the yoke: & they in the meane time to be coura
ged to saue themselues, to liue delicately & idlely at ATHENS, to studie to do what shall plea
the ATHENIANS to command them, & to be affraid of the orators, and those which throug
eloquence can perswade the common people to doe what they lust. Therefore he perswa
them that they should hazard all, being a matter of so great weight, and take example o
Thrasybulus noble courage and hardines: who departing from THEBES, did driue out the ty
rants that did oppresse ATHENS: & euen so, we departing from ATHENS, should seeke to di
uer THEBES also frō bondage. When he had by these perswasions drawen the to his opinio
they secretly sent vnto their friendes that remained still in THEBES, to let them vnderstand

Cadmea, the castle of Thebes taken by Phebidas captaine of the Lacedæmonians. Ismenias death.

Pelopidas, Pherenicus & Androclidas, banished from Thebes.

Archias and Leontidas, gouernors of Thebes, vnder the Lacedæmonians.

Androclidas slaine.

The thankefulnes of the Athenians vnto the Thebans.

Pelopidas counsell for the libertie of the Thebans.

their minde and determination: who all liked very well of of their purpose. Insomuch *Charon* that was the chiefest man among them, promised to lend them his house to assemble in. *Philidas* also found meanes to be secretary to *Philip* and *Archias*, who were gouernours and capitaines of the city at that time for the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Epaminondas* on the other side making no shew of any thing, had of long time practised to sturre vp the courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they were at any games or exercises of body, hee would euer prouoke them to wrastle with the LACEDÆMONIANS. And after he saw them reioyce when they had cast them, and that they were the stronger: he would chide them, and tell them they might be ashamed, for lacke of courage to suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to hold their noses to the grindstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now, the confederats appointed a day certaine, to breake the ise of their pretended enterprise, and agreed that *Pherenicus*, with other that were banished, should tary at the village of THRIASIVM, and that they should send the valiantest and lustiest young men before, to giue the venter to enter the city: adding thisther withall, that if the enemies fortuned to surprise them, all the other of the conspiracy ioyntly together, should be ready to giue order, that their fathers, mothers, & children, should lacke nothing necessary for them. *Pelopidas* was the first man offered him selfe to vndertake the enterprise: and after him *Melon*, *Damoclidas*, and *Theopompus*, all three, men of the greatest houses of THEBES, who loued maruellously together, and for no respect would euer offend one another, although from the beginning there was euer emulation among them for honour and glory, by striuing who should exceede other in vertue and valiantnes. Now they were twelue of them, who taking leaue of the rest, sent a foote post before to *Charon*, to aduertise him of their comming: and they thē selues went on their iourney casting litle short clokes vpon them, and taking houndes with them, and hunters staues in their handes, because their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met thē on the way, & that they should think them hunters vp and downe the fieldes for their pleasure. So, when their messenger they sent came to the city, and had told *Charon* that they were comming: hee neuer shrunke from his word, though the danger toward was great, but like a stoute and honest man did abide by his promise he made, and told him they should be most heartely welcome to his house. But an other man called *Hippostbenidas*, very honest otherwise, and one that loued his country and the preseruation thereof, and a good friend of those also that were banished, fainting straight vpon the sodaine report of these newes, and his mind was troubled, and his heart failed him so, as his nose fell a bleeding, to thinke vpon the greatnes of the instant danger hee was like to fall into, hauing neuer cast before with him selfe, how by this enterprise they should put all the empire of the LACEDÆMONIANS in hazard of vtter destruction, and lay a plotte besides to ouerthrow all their owne common weale and state, by laying all their hope vppon a few banished mē, hardly to wade through with their enterprise. Wherupon so soon as he was come home, he secretly dispatched a messenger one of his familiar friends, vnto *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, to will them they should defer their enterprise for better oportunity, & so to returne backe againe to ATHENS. *Chlidon* was the mā he sent of this message, who presently went home to his house: and taking his horse out of the stable, bad his wife fetch him the bridle quickly. The bridle not being readily to be found, she told him she had lent it out to one of their neighbors. Then they fell a chiding together about it, and at length brake out to fowle words, and lastly his wife fell a cursing of him, and praied the gods he might haue ill lucke in his iourney, and those that sent him. *Chlidon* hauing spent the most part of the day chiding and brawling with his wife about the bridle, and furthermore misliking the tokens of his wiues cursing and banning of him: hee determined not to go a foot out of the dores of that arrant, and so went about some other business. Thus had this noble enterprise in manner bene altogether dashed, before it was fully begun. Now those that were in *Pelopidas* company, changed apparell with the country men, because they would not be knowen, and did deuide thē selues, for that they would not come into the city all together, but at diuers gates, being day light. At that time it was a maruellous wind and great snow, & the weather was so boistrous, that euery man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the cōspirators, that they were not knowen when they came into the city. So their friends and confederats within the city receiued them as they came, & brought them

Conspiracy against the Lacedæmonians, for the liberty of Thebes.

Charon kept promise, with danger of life.

Pelopidas commeth into Thebes disguised in clowns apparell.

to *Charons* house: where were assembled together, with those that were banished, eight and forty persons only. Now for the tyrants, thus stood the matter with them. *Philidas* their secretary was of the conspiracy, as wee haue told you before, and he knew all the practise. Wherefore he had long before solemnly bidden *Archias* and his company, to supper in his house that very night, to be merry together, and had promised to entertaine them with women to welcome them withal: of purpose, that when they had in their full cups, & were in the middest of all their pleasure, the conspirators might then vse them as they would. So they being set at table, before they were sped of their cups, one came to them, and told them truly of the matter (not the particularities, neither as a thing certaine, but of a rumor onely that ran about the towne) how the banished men were hidden in *Charons* house. *Philidas* would haue pried the matter ouer. Howbeit *Archias* would needes send one of his gard straight for *Charon*, to command him to come to him presently. It was within night, and *Pelopidas* and his company prepared themselues to worke their feat, being armed euery man, and their swords in their hands, when vpon a sodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the house running straight to the gate, came backe againe afeard to tell them that it was one of *Archias* gard that came for *Charon*, to come immediatly to the gouernors. Then were they in doubt that their practise was discouered, and that they were all cast away, before they could make any proofe of their valiantnes: notwithstãding, they were all of opinion, that *Charon* should obey the message, and that he should present him selfe before the gouernors, to take away all suspition from them. *Charon* of himself was a stout man, very constant, and resolute in danger for his own person: yet it grieued him much at that time, for feare the confederates should suspect him he had bewraied them, if so many honest citizens whom he had lent his house vnto, should vnfortunatly miscary. Therfore before he went out of his house, he wẽt into his wiues chãber to see his son, that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to *Pelopidas*, and praied him, if he vnderstood he had betrayed them any way, or otherwise sought their hurt, they should then vse his son as an enemy, without any compassion towards him. When the confederats saw the good zeale and true noble minde of *Charon*, they fell a weeping, and were angry with him, that he should thinke any of them so faint hearted or timerous, for any danger could come to them, that they should suspect or accuse him for any thing: and therewith all they praied him, not to leaue the boy with them, but rather to conuey him into some place out of the tyrants danger, where he might be brought vp, that one day he might be reuenged of the wrong and iniury they had done to them, and to their country. *Charon* answered thẽ, he would not take him away, and that he saw no life nor health more sweet for him, then to die with his father without infamy, and with so many honest men his friends. So after he had besought the gods to prosper them, and had encouraged and embraced euery one of the confederators one after another: he went to the gouernors, and studied by the way so to frame his words and countenance, as though he should seeme to thinke of any thing rather then of that he purposed to do. When he came to *Philidas* dore that made the feast, *Archias* and *Philidas* him selfe came vnto him, & asked him *Charon*, what are they (said they) that are come into the city, and hidden in some house, with certain citizens, that do accompany them? *Charon* was somewhat abashed at the first, and asked them againe: what men be they? who are they that hides them in the city? But when he perceiued that *Archias* could tell nothing of certainty, then he thought straight that some man hadde informed them that was not priuy to the practise, but had heard some thing of it. Thereupon hee willed them to take heede that it were no false alarome, to make them afrayed: neuertheless (said he) I will enquire further of it. For at all aduenture it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure. *Philidas* answered that he said truly: and so he brought *Archias* backe againe into the hall, where he made him drink deeper then before, still entertaining the company with hope of the womens comming. *Charon* returning home againe, found all the confederats ready to attempt their enterprise, and mẽ that reckoned of their liues, not that had any hope to preuaile: but as those that were determined to die valiantly, & to sell their liues dearly. Now he truly told vnto *Pelopidas* only, what was said vnto him: and the rest, he told that *Archias* had sent for him to speake with him, and other matters. The storme of the former danger was scant blowen ouer, but fortune sent another

Philidas secretary to the tyrants.

Pelopidas danger.

nother. For immediatly vpon talke had with *Charon* at the first, came a messenger from A-THENS, that brought a letter to the same *Archias*, written by the Bishop of ATHENS at that time, called *Archias* also as himself, & was his old host and friend: wherin he wrote not of sim-ple coniecture, not surmised suspition, but the plaine conspiracy in euery degree, as afterwards fell out. So the messenger was brought to *Archias* that was drunke, and deliuering him the letter, he said vnto him. Sir, he that sēdeth you this letter, straightly charged me to tell you, that you should presently read the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. *Archias* laughing said vnto him: waighty matters to morrow. So he took the letter and put it vp, & then fell againe to his tale he had begun with *Philidas*. But euer after, the GRECIANS made this a common prouerb among them, waighty matters to morrow. Now when the conspira-tors spied their time to go about their busines, they deuided them selues in two companies. *Pe-lopidas* and *Damoclidas* went with one company, to set vpon *Leontidas* & *Hypates*, because they dwelt neare together: *Charon* and *Melon* with the rest, went against *Archias* and *Philip*, being disguised in womens apparel they had put vpon their priuy coats, & wearing garlands of pine apple and firre trees on their heads, they couered al their faces. So when they came to shew thē selues at the hall dore where the banket was made, they that were in the hall at the first sight, thinking they had bene the women they looked for, began to shout, and made great noise for ioy. But when the conspirators cast their eies round about the hall to know those which were at the table, they drew out their swords, and set vpon *Archias* and *Philip* ouerthwart the table: then they shewed themselues what they were. Then *Philidas* bad his guests he had bidden to the banket with them, that they should not stir, for they should haue no hurt: so some of them were still. But the greatest number of them would needes from the bord, to defend their gouer-nors. Howbeit because they were drunke that they knew not what they did, they were soone slaine with them. Now *Pelopidas* enterprise was not so easie. For they went against *Leonti-das*, that was a sober discrete man, and withal, hardy of his hands: and they found he was gone to bed, his dores were shut vp, and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length, one of his men that heard them rappe so hard, with much a do came to open the dore: but he had no sooner thrust backe the bolt of the dore, and beganne to open it, but they pushed in from them with such a force vpon him altogether, that they laied him on the grounde, and went straight to his maisters chamber. *Leontidas* hearing the noise of them that ranne vppe to him in such hast, presently mistrusted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, tooke his sword in his hand, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chāber all night, for if they had beene out, they might easily haue hurt one another in the darke. But the lampes giuing cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber dore, and gaue *Cephisodorus* the first man that presséd to enter vpon him, such a blow with is sword, that he dropped downe dead at his feete. Hauing slaine the first man, he dealt with the second that came after him, and that was *Pelopidas*. The fight went hard betweene them two, both for that the chamber dore was very straight, as also for that *Cephisodorus* body lying on the ground, did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithstanding, *Pelopidas* ouercame him in the end, and slue him: and went fro thence with his company, straight to *Hypates* house, where they got in, as they did vnto *Leon-tidas* house before. But *Hypates* knew presently what it was, and thought to saue him selfe in his neighbours houses. Howbeit the conspirators followed him so hard, that they cut him off before he could recouer their houses. Then they gathered togither, and ioyned with *Melons* company, and sent immediatly with all possible speed to ATHENS, to the banished THEBANS, to arme, & cried through the city, liberty, liberty, arming those citizens that came to thē, with the armor and spoils of their enemies, that were hanged vp in commmon vauts, & armorers shops about *Charons* house, which they brake open, or caused to be opened by force. On the other side, *Epaminondas*, and *Gorgidas*, came to ioine with them, with a company of yong men & ho-stold mē well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole city was straight in an vprore and tumult, and euery house was full of lights, one running to an other to know what the matter was. Neuertheles the people did not yet assēble together, but euery one being amazed, musing at this stur, not vnderstāding the troth, staied till day came on, that they might call a counsell. But truly herein, me thinkes the Captaines of the garrison of the LACE-

Archias Bishop of Athens, bewraieth the treason to Archias in a letter

waighty matters to morrow.

Prou. Pelopidas killeth the tyrants.

The liberty of the Thebans restored.

DÆMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not sturre betimes, and set vppon them continently: considering there were fifteene hundred souldiers, besides a great number of citizens that would haue come, one after another to take their parts. But the great noise heard, made them afeard, and to see lights in euery mans house, and the people running vp downe the streetes in great multitudes to and fro: whereupon they sturred not, but onely them within the castell of CADMEA The next morning by breake of day, came the other rinished THEBANS from ATHENS very well armed, and all the people of THEBES drew ther in counsaile. Thither did *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* bring *Pelopidas*, and his confo presented them before the people, compassed about with priests and the professed of the offering them crownes to put vpon their heads, and they praied the assembly of the cit that they would helpe their gods, and their countrey. All the people that were present, they saw them, rose vp, and stoode on their feete, and with great shouts and clapping of receiued them, as their sauiours, that had deliuered their countrey from bondage, and re them againe to liberty: and thereupon, before them all, euen in the market place, by the voice and consent of the people, they chose *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, and *Charon*, gouernors and taines of all BOEOTIA. *Pelopidas* then immediatly made them besiege the castell of CADM about, with trenches, and force of wodde, doing all he could possible to winne it, and to pulse the LACEDÆMONIANS, before any supply and aide came to them from SPARTA he did, and preuented it so sodainely, that the garrison being departed out of the castell by position, as they returned towards LACEDÆMONIA, they found *Cleombrotus* king of SPARTA in the countrey of MEGARA, comming towards them with a great army to helpe the Afterward, of the three captaines which had charge of their garrison that lay at THEBES SPARTANS condemned two of them to death: *Hermippidas* and *Arcissus* were present ecuted: and the third captaine, *Dysacoridas*, they set so grieuous a fine on his head, that he out of PELOPONNESVS. This enterprise being attempted, and executed with the like ant nesse, and the same daunger and trouble, that *Thrasybulus* practise was, when he deliu ATHENS from the slauery of the thirty gouernours and tyrants, and hauing the like for and happy end: the GRECIANS termed it cosin german to *Thrasybulus* act. And in de were a hard matter to find two other such, besides them two, that with so few men ouer their enemies, being many moe in number then them selues, or that with so small helpe uercome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprise with their valiantes and wisdome, & were cause besides of so great blessing and benefit to their coun as *Pelopidas* and *Thrasybulus* attempt was But the great change and alteration of the state wardes, did make their actes farre more noble and famous. For the warre that ouer the maiesty of SPARTA, and that tooke away all the seignory and rule of the LACEDÆ NIANS both by sea and by land, beganne the very same night, when *Pelopidas* him sel king the twelfth person, and entring into a priuate house, (taking neither city, nor castell strong hold) to tell truely by figuratiue speach, did breake and cut in sunder the links chaines that linked straight together, and strengthened the LACEDÆMONIANS whole pire and monarchy ouer all GREECE: who vntil that present time were thought so strong no possibility could breake or sunder them. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuning wards to inuade the countrey of BOEOTIA with a mighty army: the ATHENIANS trem for feare of their great power, did vtterly leaue to protect them, and renounced the leagu alliance they had made before with them. And moreouer, they did straightly prosecute against those, that were accused to take part with the BOEOTIANS: whereof some of were put to death, other were banished from ATHENS, and the rest condemned in great of money. To be short, euery man saide the THEBANS were but vndone, considering had no helpe, and were beloued besides of none. At that present time it fell out *Pelopidas* *Gorgidas* were generals ouer all BOEOTIA for that yeare, who deuising to throw a bone twixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, to make them square, they this policy. There was a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Sphodrias*, a valiant but else of small capacity, and vainely giuen, hauing a certaine fond ambition and humor, swading him selfe he had done some notable good seruice in his time. This *Sphodrias* was

Pelopidas receiueth the Castle of Cadmea by composition.

Pelopidas ouerthrew the seigniory of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas policy to make the Athenians fall out with the Lacedæmonians.

in the citie of THESPIES, with a great band of souldiers, to receiue & fauor al the BOEOTIANS that had a mind to reuolt from the THEBANS. *Pelopidas* of himselfe sent a marchant, (a verie friend of his) vnto *Sphodrias*, with a great some of money from him, and certaine perswasions withall, which preuailed more then the money, wishing him to attempt some greater matter, & to seeke to win the hauen of PIRÆA: a thing soone wonne, if he came to assault it on the sodaine, & the rather, for that the ATHENIANS mistrust nothing, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreouer, that he might assure himselfe, nothing could be better welcome to the lords of LACEDÆMONIA, then to make thē lords of the citie of ATHENS also. And againe, that the THEBANS, being at deadly food with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betraied & forsaken them in their need, would not aide nor succour thē in any respect. *Sphodrias* giuing too light eare to this vaine perswasion, tooke the souldiers he had with him, & marching away by night entred the realme of ATTICA, & went on to the citie of ELEVSIN: but when he came thither, his souldiers were afeard, & would go no further. So his purpose being discouered, he was forced to returne backe to THESPIES, hauing raised such a warre to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as fell out to be of no smal importance to them, nor easie to be pacified. For after that time, the ATHENIANS sought league & amity again with the THEBANS, & did aide them very louingly: and moreouer, putting thēselues to sea, they sailed vp & downe, procuring & drawing to their league all such as were willing to rebell against the LACEDÆMONIANS: and the THEBANS besides, had many prety skirmishes with the LACEDÆMONIANS in the meane time, in their owne country of BOEOTIA. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was such a great learning and continuall training of them in marshall discipline, as the THEBANS stil increased in courage and valiantnes, & waxed stronger and better souldiers: for by those skirmishes they grew not onely expert souldiers, but waxed more skilfull in vsing their weapons, then before. As we read, that *Antalcidas* a SPARTAN said one day to king *Agesilaus*, comming home sore hurt frō BOEOTIA: surely the THEBANS haue giuen you a worthy reward, for teaching thē to be soldiers against their wils. But to say truly, *Agesilaus* was not their maister to teach thē to make wars, but they were the good & wise leaders of the THEBANS, who like good woodmē in chosing their game, could skilfully chuse both time & place to giue their enemies battell, & make thē retire againe with safty, after they had bin fleshed, giuing thē a litle taste of the fruites & cōmodity of victory: but amōg them, *Pelopidas* was he that deserued most honor. For, since the first time they gaue him charge of men of war, they neuer failed, but chose him continually euery yeare, either captaine of the holy band, or gouernor of BOEOTIA so long as he liued: so that *Pelopidas* only did the most things in this war. The LACEDÆMONIANS were ouerthrowne in sundry iorneis, that they were distressed by the cities of PLATEES, & of THESPIES, where *Phœbidas* himselfe (that had before taken the castell of CADMEA) was slaine amōgst other. Another great power of theirs also was ouerthrowne nere to the city of TANAGRA, where *Pathoclidas* gouernor of the same, was also slaine. Now all these victories, though they much encouraged the hearts of the conquerors, and made them hardy: yet did they not therby altogether cōquer the minds of the vanquished. For the LACEDÆMONIANS were not ouercom in any pitched field, nor set battel, where they had their whole army together: but they were light rodes, and skirmishes properly laid of purpose, where sometime flying, somtime driuing them again, they bickered very oft, and put them to the worst. But the battell of TEGYRA, which was but a florish & proofe to the iourney of LEVCTRES, wan *Pelopidas* great honor. For he had no cōpanio to challenge any part of his glory and victory, neither did he leaue his enemies any lawful excuse, to shadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he spied al occasion he might possible, how to take the city of ORCHOMENE, that tooke part with the LACEDÆMONIANS, & had receiued two ensignes of footemen of theirs to keepe it. *Pelopidas* being aduertised one day, that the garrison of ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the country of the LOCRIANS hoping he should find ORCHOMENE without garrisō: he marched thither with his holy band, and certaine number of horsemen. But when he drew nere the city, he had intelligence there was another garrison comming from SPARTA, to supply the place of the garrison that was abroad: whereupon he returned backe againe by the city of TEGYRA, for hee could haue passed no other way, but to haue turned downe by the foote of the mountaine. For al the valley

The Thebans exercise in armes.

Antalcidas saying to king Agesilaus.

The victory of the Thebans against the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas victory of the Lacedæmonians at the battell of Tegyra.

Melas fl. that lay betweene both, was drowned with the ouerflowing of the riuer of MELAS, which from his very head carieth euer such breadth with it, as it maketh the marishes nauigable, it is vnpassable for any shallow it hath. Not farre from these marishes, standeth the temple *Apollo* TEGYRIAN, where was an oracle in old time, but left off at this day; and had no long continuance, but onely vntill the time of the warres of the MEDES, when *Esbrus* was maister, and chiefe priest there. And some hold opinion, that *Apollo* was borne there, for they call the next mountaine to it, DELOS, at the foote whereof the marishes of the riuer MELAS do end, and behind the temple are two goodly springs, from whence commeth abundance of good sweete water: whereof the one of them is called to this day the Palme, and the other the Oliue. And some say also, that the goddesse *Latona* was not brought to bed betweene two trees, but betweene these two springes. For mount PTOVM is hard by it, from whence the wild bore came of a sodaine that flighted her. And the tale that is told of the serpent *Python*, and of the giant *Tityus*, doe both confirme it, that *Apollo* was borne in the same place. I passe ouer many other coniectures confirming the same, for that we doe not beleeue in our countrie that *Apollo* is among the number of those, who from mortall men haue bene translated to immortall goddes, as are *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put off mortalitie, and tooke immortalitie vpon them: but wee may take him for one of those that neuer had beginning nor generation, at the least if those things be to be credited, which so many graue and auntient writers haue left in writing touching so great and holy things. The THEBANS returning back from ORCHOMENE, and the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side returning also frō LOCRIDE, both at one time, fortuned both armies to meete about the city of TEGYRA. Now, so soone as the THEBANS had discouered the LACEDÆMONIANS passing the straite, one of them ran sodainly to *Pelopidas*, and tolde him: Sir, we are fallen into the hands of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, aunswered *Pelopidas* againe? with these words, he commanded his horsemen that were in the rereward, to come before, and set vpon them: and himselfe in the meane time put his footemen immediatly into a prety squadron close together, being in all, not aboue three hundred men, hoping when he should come to giue charge with his battell, he should make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater number. For the LACEDÆMONIANS deuided themselues in two companies, and euery company, as *Ephorus* writeth, had fiue hundred men: and as *Callistenes* said, seauen hundred. *Polybius*, diuers other authors say, they were nine hundred men. So *Theopompus* and *Gorgoleon*, Captaines of the LACEDÆMONIANS, lustily matched against the THEBANS: and it fell so, that the first charge was giuen, where the chiefetaines or generalles were of either side with great furie on either part, so as both the generals of the LACEDÆMONIANS which set vpon *Pelopidas* together, were slaine. They being slaine, and all that were about them being either hurt or killed in the field: the rest of the army were so amased, that they deuided two, and made a lane on either side, for the THEBANS to passe through them if they would. But whē they saw *Pelopidas* ment not to take the passage they offered him, & that he came still with his men to set vpon those that were yet in battell ray, and slue all them that stood before him: then they turned taile, and tooke them to their legges. Howbeit the THEBANS not chase them farre, fearing the ORCHOMENIANS who were not farre from them, and a new garrison besides, that were come from LACEDÆMON not long before. And this was because they were contente that they had ouercommed them by force, and had passed through their army in despite of them, and broken and ouerthrowen thē. So when he had set vp many of triumphe, and spoiled their slaine enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for they obtained victory. For in all the warres the LACEDÆMONIANS euer made, aswell with the GRECIANS as with the barbarous people also, there was neuer chronicle mentioned at any time, that their enemies being so fewe, did ouercome them that were so many, nor that were ouercome also by any number equall in battell. Whereupon they grew so corageous and terrible, that no man durst once abide them: for their onely fame did so terrifie their enemies that came to fight against them, that they thought with no equall force to be able to performe as much as they had done. But this battell of TEGYRA was the first that made

Latona brought to bed betweene two springes called the Palme and the Oliue.

Pelopidas victorie.

hem and the other GRECIANS knowe, that it was not the riuer of EVROTAS alone, not *what enemies are most terrible: and to be feared.*
he valley that lyeth betweene the riuers of CNACION, and of BABYCE, that breedeth the
aliant and hardie fighting men: but that it is in all places elſe, where they learne young men
o be aſhamed of diſhoneſt and vile thinges, and to venter their liues for honeſt cauſes, fearing
ore diſhonorable reproch, then honorable daunger. Theſe are the people moſt to be feared, *The firſt inſtitution of the holy band.*
nd are moſt terrible alſo to their enemies. And for the holy band we mentioned before, it is
id, *Gorgidas* was the firſt erector of the ſame. They were three hundred choſen men enter-
ined by the ſtate, and they alwaies kept within the caſtle of CADMEA, and the band was cal-
d the townes band: for at that time, and ſpecially in that part of GREECE, they called the ca-
les and great holdes in cities, the townes. Other ſay it was a band of footemen that were in
ue one with an other. And therefore *Pammenes* pleaſant wordes are noted, ſaying, that
eſtor could no skill to ſet an armie in battell raye, ſeeing he gaue the GRÆCIANS counſell,
the Iliades of *Homer*, that they ſhould ſet them in battell ray, euerie countrie and tribe by
emſelues:

That by affections force, and linkes of kindly loue:
that one might alwaies helpe at hand, that other to behoue.

For, ſaid he, one friende ſhould rather be ſet by another that loues together: becauſe in *Men loving together, fight deſperately againſt their enemies.*
anger, men commonly doe litle regard their countrie men, or ſuch as are of their tribe. But
en that do loue one another, can neuer be broken nor ouercome: for the paſsion of loue
at entertaineth each others affection, for affection ſake, doth keepe them from forſaking
ne another. And thoſe that are beloued, being aſhamed to doo any vile or diſhoneſt thing
efore thoſe that loue them, for very loue will ſticke one by another to the death. And ſure
e reaſon is good, if it bee true that louers do in deed more regarde them they loue,
ough they be abſent: then other that be preſent. As appeareth by the example of him, *Hercules & Iolaus loue.*
at being ſtriken downe to the ground, his enemie lifting vp his ſworde to kill him, he pray-
him he would giue him his deaths wound before, leaſt his friend that loued him, ſeeing
wound on his back, ſhould be aſhamed of him. It is reported alſo, that *Iolaus* being belo-
ed of *Hercules*, did helpe and accompanie him in all his labours and quarrels. Wherupon
riſtotle writeth, that vnto his time, ſuch as loued hartily together, became ſworne brethren
ne to another, vpon *Iolaus* tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this bande was *Platoes ſaying of a louer.*
ſt called the holy bande, by the ſelfe ſame reaſon that *Plato* calleth a louer, a diuine friend
y gods appointment. It is written alſo, that this bande was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowne
fore the battel of CHÆRONEA: After that battell, *Philip* taking view of the ſlaine bodies,
eſtayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that band lay all dead on the ground,
e hatde by another, and all of them ſlaine and thruſt through with pikes on their breſts,
hereat he wondered much: and being tolde him that it was the louers band, he fell a wee-
ng for pitie, ſaying. Wo bee to them that thinke theſe men did, or ſuffered any euill or
ſhoneſt thing. And to be ſhort, the misfortune of *Laius*, that was ſlaine by his owne bro-
er *Oedipus*, was not the firſt originall cauſe of this cuſtome, that the THEBANS begannе to
in loue one with an other as the Poets write: but they were their firſt lawmakers, who per-
uing them to be a ſtoute and fierce nation of nature, they ſought euen from their youth to
ake them gentle and ciuill, and therefore in all their actions both of ſport and earneſt, they
ntinually acquainted them with playing of the flute, being highly eſteemed of them in thoſe
yes. They brought in the vſe alſo to make loue, in the middeſt of all their youthfull ſports *The Goddeſſe Harmonia.*
d exerciſes of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to a ci-
l life. And therefore they had reaſon that gaue the goddeſſe HARMONIA to the THEBANS,
r defender and patroneſſe of their city, who was begotten (as they ſay) betweene *Mars* and
nus. For that giueth vs to vnderſtand, that where force and warlike corage is royned with
ace, to winne and perſwade: all thinges by this vnion and accord are brought to a good
, profitable, and moſt perfect gouernment. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this
ly bande of the THEBANS. *Gorgidas* deuiding it in the former rankes, and placing it an
ngeſt the front of the battell of the footemen, it did not appeare what they were able to
e of them ſelues, for that he brought them not all into one body: ſo as thereby they might

see what seruice the whole companie could doe being together, considering that it was di-
uided and mingled amongest many other, that were a great deale of lesse value then them-
selues. But *Pelopidas* that had made good proofe of their valiantnesse before, when they fought
about him of themselues, without others by them, at TEGYRA: would neuer after deuide nor
separate them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entire bodie that had all
his members, he would alwaies beginne with them to giue a charge in his most daungerous
battels. For, as we see in running of couches at games, that horses being tyed all together in
front, do runne faster and stronger then they doe when they are lose, and put to it alone: so
not for that they being many together doe breake through the aire better, but for that the
contention and enuie betweene them to outrunne one another doth indeede set their hearts
and stomackes on fire. Euen so he thought, that valiant men giuing one another a desire and
enuie to doe well, should haue the more courage, and would be of greater force, when they
fought one in anothers sight. But the LACEDÆMONIANS afterwardes being at peace and
league with all the other GRECIANS, proclaimed open warres against the THEBANS
only: and king *Cleombrotus* went to inuade them with an armie of tenne thousand footemen
and a thousand horsemen. Whereupon the THEBANS were not only in the like danger that
stood in before to loose their libertie, but the LACEDÆMONIANS did openly threaten that they
would vtterly destroy thē for euer: so that all the country of BOEOTIA stood in greater fear
then euer they did before. And one day as *Pelopidas* went out of his house to go to the warres
his wife bringing him out of the doores to take her leaue of him, weeping, she prayed him
hartely to looke well to himselfe. But he aunswered her againe: my good wife, it is for pri-
uate souldiers to be carefull of themselues, but not for captaines; for they must haue an eye
saue others liues. And when he came to the campe, he found the captaines and the Lieu-
nants of the armie, in sundrie opinions: and he was the first that agreed with *Epaminon-*
opinion, who thought it best they should giue battell to the enemies. *Pelopidas* at that
was neither gouernor of BOEOTIA, nor generall of the armie, but onely captaine of the
band: notwithstanding they had great affiance in him, and gaue him great authority in
sell concerning their affaires: such as became a man that had made so good testimonie
naturall loue and affection to his countrie, as he had done. Now, being determined in
sell that they should giue the enemie battell, they all mustred together in the valley of Leu-
TRES, where he had a vision in his dreame, that troubled him very much. In that valley
are the tombes of the daughters of one *Scedasus*, which by reason of the place, they call
LEVCTRIDES, for that they were buried there, after they had bene defiled and rauished
certaine guestes of the SPARTANS that laye in their house, trauailing that way. This
being so horrible and wicked, the poore father of these defiled virgines, could neither
iustice, nor reuenge of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and therefore after he had bande and
sed the LACEDÆMONIANS with most horrible and execrable railings and curses as might
possible, he killed himselfe vpon the graues of his daughters. The LACEDÆMONIANS
many sundry oracles, prophesies and signes of the goddes to warne them, to take heede
wrath of the LEVCTRIDES: howbeit euery man vnderstoode not the signification of
prophecy, but were deceiued by the equiuocation of the name. For there was a little
in the countrey of LACONIA, standing vpon the sea, called LEVCTRVM: and in ARCA
also by the city of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another towne called by the same name.
misfortune chaunced long before the battell of LEVCTRES: but then *Pelopidas* dreaming
his tent, thought he saw in a vision the daughters of *Scedasus* weeping about their graues
cursing the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that hee saw their father also, commaunding him
sacrifice a red mayden to his daughters, if they would obtaine the victory. This com-
dement at the first, seemed very cruell and wicked: whereupon when he rose, hee wen
the Prognosticators and generalles of the army, and tolde them his dreame. So, some
them sayed, this was no matter to be lightly passed ouer, but to be considered of; alle
many examples in the like cases. As of *Menecius* the sonne of *Creon* in olde time, and of
Caria the daughter of *Hercules*. And yet of later memory, the wife *Pheraecydes*, whom
LACEDÆMONIANS slue, and whose skinne their kinges doo keepe at this day, by
maunde

Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas princely answer.

See what plagues follow where iustice is denied.

Pelopidas dream and vision in the fields of Leuctres.

maundement of an oracle. And *Leonidas*, who following a prophecie of the goddes, did as it were sacrifice himselfe, for the safetie of GREECE. And furthermore, the young boyes which *Themistocles* did sacrifice to *Bacchus Omestes* (to say, eating raw flesh) before the battell of *Salamina*. And all these sacrifices were acceptable to the goddes, as the victories following did plainely shew it. In contrarie manner also king *Agesilaus*, comming from those very places, from whence king *Agamemnon* came in the time of the wars of TROIA, and going also against the same enemies: dreamed one night in the citie of AVLIDE, he saw the goddesse *Diana*, asking him his daughter for sacrifice. But he tenderly louing her, would by no meanes performe it: and thereupon was compelled to breake off his iourney before he had executed his enterprise, and departed with small honour. Other to the contrarie stoode to it stoutly, and saide it was not to be done. For, so cruell, abominable, and brutish a sacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the goddes, nor to any god, better or mightier then ours: considering that they be no impressions in the aire, nor giants that rule the world, but the one onely mightie and eternall God, father of gods and men. And to beleeue that either goddes or demy gods doe delight in murder, or sheadding of mans bloud, it is a meere mockerie and folly. But admit it were so, they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that haue no power at all: for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirite, when they haue such damnable and horrible desires in them, and specially if they abide still with them. Now the generals and heades of the army of the THEBANS being of sundry opinions, and *Pelopidas* being more afraide then before, by reason of their disagreement: a young mare colte, or fillie, breaking by chance from other mares running and flinging through the campe, came to stay right against them. Then euery man began to looke vpon her, and to marke what a faire fillie it was, and red coloured euery where, and what a pride she tooke with her selfe to heare her owne neyghing. *Theocritus* then the soothsaier being amongst them, did behold her, and knew straight what the fillie ment, and so cryed out forthwith: O happie *Pelopidas*, loe here is the sacrifice thou lookest for, seeke no other virgine for thy sacrifice, but take this that God himselfe doth send thee. When *Theocritus* had said so, they tooke the fillie, and laide her vpon the tombe of Scedasus daughters, and put garlands of flowers about her, as they handled other sacrifices: and then after their prayers made to the gods, they did sacrifice her with great ioy, and tolde *Pelopidas* vision in his dreame the night before through all the campe, and the sacrifice they had made also according to the signification thereof. Moreouer, when they came to ioyne battell, *Epaminondas* being generall, drew all his armie on the left hand, because he would bring the right wing of the enemies armie (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS) further from the other GRÆCIANS their friends and allyes, that were set in the other wing of their battell: that he comming with his whole power together to giue a charge vppon *Cleombrotus* their king (being in a corner by himselfe) might be distressed or ouerthrowne. The enemies finding *Pelopidas* intent, beganne to chaunge their order, and hauing men enowe, ment to thruste out their right wing at length to compasse in *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* in the meane time sodainely preuented them, and running with great fury with his squadron of three hundred men, hee set vppon *Cleombrotus* before he could disorder his men to put forth the right wing, and ioyne them together againe. And so hee found the LACEDÆMONIANS not yet setled in their rankes, and brake them in this disorder, thrusting one in others place to put them selues againe in order: notwithstanding the LACEDÆMONIANS of all other men were the onely captaines and most expert souldiers in marshall discipline, men so trained and practised, that no sodaine altering, of forme or order in their rankes, could either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turne and or side vpon any sodaine occasion offered, and could fight and order them selues in battell euery way alike. So *Epaminondas* going to giue the onset vpon them alone, with the whole force of his battell together, not tarrying for others: and *Pelopidas* also with an incredible courage and readinesse, presenting himselfe in battell before them, did put them in such a terrible feare, that they cleane forgot their skill in fighting, and their wonted courage failed them. For they cowardly turned their backes, and there were moe LACEDÆMONIANS slaine that daie, then euer were before in any former battell. *Pelopidas* therefore, being

Agesilaus dreame.

Godly sayings concerning God

Gods prouidence and sodaine aide.

The silly flaine & sacrificed.

The battell at Leuctres.

The cause of the ouerthrow of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas victory at the battell of Leuctres.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas iourney into Peloponnesus being both gouernours of Boeotia.

neither gouernour of BOEOTIA, nor generall of all the armie, but onely captaine of the band: did notwithstanding win as much honor & glorie of this victorie, as *Epaminondas* was gouernor of BOEOTIA, and generall of all the armie. Indeede afterwards they were gouernors of BOEOTIA together, when they inuaded the cõtry of PELOPONNESVS: they made most part of the cities & people rebell against the LACEDÆMONIANS, and their part. As the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all ARCADIA, and the best part of LACONIA selfe, notwithstanding it was in the heart of winter, and in the shortest daies of the yeare, towardes the latter end also of the last moneth of their yeares authoritie and rule, hauing many daies to continue in office, being forced to leaue their authoritie, vpon paine of death they did refuse, vnto other officers new chosen, the beginning of the next moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, and gouernors also of the country of BOEOTIA, for feare to incurre the daunger of the law, as also to auoide the trouble to lie in campe in that pest of winter: they did vrge & perswade them to bring the armie backe againe into their countiy. But *Pelopidas* was the first that yeelded to *Epaminondas* opinion, & wanne the THEBANS also to consent vnto it, to be contented to be led by them, to giue assault to the selfe of SPARTA. So, through their perswasion they passed ouer the riuer of EVROTAS, tooke many litle townes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & wasted and destroied all the cou to the sea side, leading vnder their ensignes an armie of threescore and ten thousand fig men, and all GRÆCIANS, the THEBANS not making vp the twelfth part of them. Now honour and great reputation of these two persons, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, brought friends and confederates, that they followed them, without any resolution of counsell blike order, and neuer opened their mouthes against them, but willingly marched vnder conduction. And in my opinion, truely me thinkes it is the first and chiefest point in the of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himselfe, should leane to one that is and able to defend both. Euen much like to fresh water souldiers, and rawe sea men, that at sea in calme weather, and in safe harbor, are as lustie and brag with the maisters and swaines as may be: and let a little storme of weather come vpon them sodainely, and that be in any danger, then they looke on the maisters, hoping for no life but at their hands. euen in like maner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all assemblies of counsell would euer iarre and striue with the THEBANS, for honor and superioritie in the armie when any battell came to be fought, wherein they saw there was danger, then their pe braueric was gone, and they were glad to obey their generals commaundement. I iourney they brought all the cities of the prouince of ARCADIA to bee in league them, and tooke all the countrie of MESSENIA from the LACEDÆMONIANS, which peaceably enioyed: and called home againe all the auncient inhabitants of the same, restored them to their countrie, and replenished the citie of ITHOME: Then returning wards into their country by the city of CENCHREES, they ouerthrew the ATHENIA come to trouble them, in entring into the straight of PELOPONNESVS, supposing to stopped their passage. Thus was the valiantnes of these two worthy men greatly comm and honored of euery body, for so many notable exploites and victories as they had wo their maruellous good successe, greatly wondred at. But as their glory and renowne inc abroad, so did their countrey mens malice and enuy encrease against them at home: w prepared such a welcome home for them, as was too bad and vile for so honorable se they had done. For *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* both at their returne, were accused of m For there was a speciall law at THEBES, that commanded all such as should happen to uernors of BOEOTIA, to resigne their office immediatly to the new officers elect, at the ning of the first moneth of the yeare, which in BOEOTIA they call BOVCATION: & th kept it foure whole moneths aboue their tearme appointed, in which time they had d that we haue spoke of before, as wel in the prouince of MESSENIA & of ARCADIA, a the country of LACONIA. *Pelopidas* was the first of the two that was called in by proc fore he stood in the greater danger: howbeit in the end, they were both discharged again for *Epaminondas*, he tooke his accusatiõ & the attempt of his enemies (whereby they sou haue cast them both away) quietly enough: Iudging, that patience to those that deale in

A penall law at Thebes, for resigning vp of offices at the yeares end.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas wonne ouer the riuer of Eurotas, with 70 thousand men.

The ingratitude of the Thebanes, toward Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

The Law Boucation.

Epaminondas patience.

and gouernment, is a great shewe of force & magnanimitie, But *Pelopidas* being of a hotter nature, and more chollericke, and set on beside by some of his friends, did take this occasion to be reuenged. *Meneclidas* the orator was one of those that came into *Charons* house with *Pelopida*, and *Melon*, but notwithstanding the THEBANS did nothing honour him, as they did the rest. He taking this ill at their hands, being maruellous eloquent of speach, but vitiously giuen otherwayes, and a man of a vile and mischieuous nature: did fondly abuse his eloquence, falsely accusing those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not being contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put *Epaminondas* one yeare from being gouernor of BOEOTIA, which he sued for: and moreouer he was euer against him in all matters of state he tooke in hand. But he could neuer bring *Pelopidas* out of fauour with the people: and therefore he sought to make bate betwixt him and *Charon*. For it is the common tricke of all spightfull persons, when they cannot be thought so honest men as those whom they enuie: to go about to proue that they are not so honest and meete men, as those whom they preferre and commend. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended *Charons* noble actes and victories, and specially that victory aboue other, which the THEBANS won before the iorney of LEVCTRES, in a skirmish of horsmen, that was before the city of PLATEES, he hauing charge of the same: of the which he would leaue this memory. *Androcides* a CYZICENIAN & painter, was at a price with the THEBANS to paynte them some other battell in a table, and he did drawe this worke in the cittie selfe of THEBES but as he was in hand withall, the rebellion of the THEBANS fell out against the LACEDÆMONIANS, and waire followed on the necke of that, whereupon the painter forsooke THEBES, leauing his worke in a manner done and perfect. The THEBANS kept this table by them, and this *Meneclidas* moued the people they would hang it vp in some temple or publicke place with an inscription vpon it, saying thus: This was *Charons* victorie of purpose to deface and obscure the glorie of *Pelopidas* & of *Epaminondas*. Too vaine & fond was his ambition, to set before so many noble battells and victories, one simple ouerthowe of *Charon*, in the which *Gerandas*, one of the meanest gentlemen of all SPARTA was slaine, and forty other with him: & this was all he did. *Pelopidas* misliked *Meneclidas* motiõ, maintaining that it was directly against the lawes of THEBES, which did expresly forbid that no priuate person should be honored with the title of common victorie, but willed the glory thereof should be attributed to al the the people generally. Indeed *Pelopidas* in al his orations did greatly praise & commend *Charon*, notwithstanding he made open proofe, how *Meneclidas* was an enuious and spitefull detractor, & a naughty wicked man, often times asking the THEBANS, if they themselues were worthy of no honor? so as in the end he caused *Meneclidas* to be condemned in a great summe of money. But he finding himselfe vnable to pay it, being so great a summe practised afterwardes to alter the whole state and gouernment. I thought good to dilate this at large because me thinkes it doth somewhat declare *Pelopidas* nature, and mãners, what they were. Now about that time *Alexander*, the tyrant of PHERES, was at open warres with many people of THESSALIE, and did vse all policie he could, to bring them all to his obedience. Whereupõ the free cities sent their Ambassadours vnto THEBES, to pray them to send them a captaine with an army to aide them. Then *Pelopidas* seeing *Epaminondas* occupied about the warres of PELOPONNESVS, did offer himselfe to the THESSALIAN Ambassadors, being loth to drowne his experience and sufficiencie in warres, with vnprofitable and tedious idlenes, knowing that in those parts where *Epaminondas* lay, there needed no other captaine. Now when he came with his army into THESSALIE, the cittie of LARISSA yeelded presently vnto him: where the tirant *Alexander* came to meet with him, and to pray him to treate a peace betwixt him and the THESSALIANS. *Pelopidas* attẽpted to bring it to passe, seeking in stead of tyrant to make him a gentle, iust, & lawfull gouernor of THESSALIE. But when he sawe no perswasions could take place with the tyrant, and that he grew more stubborne & vntractable, and woulde not heare reason: and moreouer that he heard many grieuous complaints of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a maruellous dissolute and vnruly person in all his doinges, and extreamely couetous besides: then he beganne to speake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyrant thereupon stole away secretly from him, and

Pelopidas condemneth Meneclidas, a seditious orator and accuser.

The practise of spightfull men.

Our forefathers did paint and set forth their battells.

Alexander the tyrant of Pheres.

Larissa a cittie.

fled with his gard and ſouldiers about him. So *Pelopidas* leauing the THESSALIANS out of all feare and daunger of the tyrant, and furthermore in good peace and amitie one with the other, he went into MACEDON: where *Ptolomy* made war at that time with *Alexander* king of MACEDON, they both hauing ſent for him to heare and determine the quarrell twixt them, and alſo to helpe him that had the right, againſt him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them both, and reſtored the bamſhed men of either ſide to their landes and goods againe. For aſſurance of the peace, he tooke the kings brother in hoſtage, whoſe name was *Philip*, and thirty other children of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of MACEDON, whom he brought away with him to THEBES, to let the GRECIANS ſee, that the reputation of the THEBANS power ſtretched far, and the renowne alſo of their manner of gouernment and iuſtice. It is the ſame *Philip*, that made warre afterwardes with the GRECIANS, to take their libertie frō them: howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at THEBES in *Pammenes* houſe. And this is the cauſe, why ſome thought *Philip* did follow *Epaminondas* manner: and it might be peraduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres, which indeede was but a peece of *Epaminondas* vertue. But as to the continencie, iuſtice, magnanimitie, and clemencie, which were the ſpeciall points, that made *Epaminondas* of great fame: *Philip* could neither by nature, education, nor ſtudie euer attaine vnto. The THESSALIANS hauing ſent afterwards to THEBES, to complaine of *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, that did againe moleſt and trouble the free citties of THESSALIE: *Pelopidas* was ſent thither Ambaſſador with *Iſmenias*, carying no power with him frō THEBES, litle thinking he ſhould haue needed to haue made warres: wherupon he was compelled to take men of the countrie ſelfe, vpon the inſtant neceſſitie offered. At the very ſame time alſo, all MACEDON was vp in armes. For *Ptolomy* had ſlaine the king, and vſurped the kingdom, and the ſeruants and frends of the dead king called vpon *Pelopidas* for ayde: who deſiring to come euen vpon the fact, and hauing brought no men of war out of his own countrie with him, did preſently leauie certaine men where he was, and ſo marched forward with them againſt *Ptolomy*. But *Ptolomy* when both their powers met, did corrupt the ſouldiers *Pelopidas* had brought with money, to take his part. But notwithſtanding this pollicie he had practiſed, yet he was afraid of the name only, and greatnes of *Pelopidas* reputation: wherefore he went vnto *Pelopidas* as to a better man then himſelfe, and making maruellous much of him, and intreating of him, made promiſe, and bound it by oth, that he would keepe the realme for the brethren of the dead king, and that he would take all thoſe for his friends or enemies, whom the THEBANS did either loue or hate. And for aſſurance of his promiſe, he gaue him his ſonne *Philoxenus* hoſtage, and fifty other of his friends, all the which *Pelopidas* ſent vnto THEBES. But in the meane time, being maruellouſly offended with the treaſon of the ſouldiers againſt him, and vnderſtanding that the moſt part of their goodes, their wiues and children, were in the citie of PHARSALE, he thought if he could winne that, it were a maruellous good way for him to be reuenged of the treachery of the ſouldiers againſt him: wherupon he leauied certaine THESSALIANS, & went to that cittie. *Pilopidas* was no ſooner come thither, but *Alexander* the tyrant arriued alſo with his armie. *Pelopidas* ſuppoſing he had come to iuſtifie himſelfe, clearing the complaints of the THESSALIANS made againſt him: wēt to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delited in murder and ſheading of blood. Neuertheles, he hoped he durſt not haue attempted any thing againſt him, for the authority and ſeignories of THEBES, by whom be was ſent thither, as alſo for his own reputation. But the tyrant kept him ſlenderly accompanied, and without traine of ſouldiers: tooke him priſoner, and was maſter of the cittie of PHARSALE at that preſent time. But this act of his put his ſubiects in a great feare, who ſeeing him commit ſo ſhamefull a deed againſt all equity, did thinke ſtraight he meant to ſpare no man, but would vſe men, and all thinges elſe that came in his handes, like a deſperate man, & one that reckoned himſelfe caſt away. But whē the THEBANS vnderſtood this newes, they were maruellous ſorie, and ſtraight ſent an army thither, appointing other Captaines then *Epaminondas*, becauſe then they had ſome miſliking of him. *Alexander* the tyrant hauing brought *Pelopidas* in the meane time to PHERES, did ſuffer any man that would at the firſt to come and ſee him, and ſpeake with him: ſuppoſing his impriſonment had killed his hart,

Philip of Macedon, deliuered for hoſtage to Pelopidas.

Pelopidas take priſoner by the tyrant Alexander at Pharſale.

had made him very humble. But when he was tolde the contrary, how *Pelopidas* did comfort the cittizens of PHERAS, and willed them to be of good cheere, telling them the hower was now come that the tyrant should smart for all the mischiefes he had done: and that he sent him word to his face, he had no reason to hang and put his poore cittizens daily to death as he did, with sundry kindes of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him, & did let him alone, knowing that if euer he got out of his hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyrant wondering at this great stomacke of his, and at his marueilous constancie fearing nothing: asked what he ment, to long for hasty death? *Pelopidas* bein, tolde what he sayed, answered him againe: Marry, sayed he, because thou shouldest dye the sooner, being more odious to the gods and men, then yet thou art. After this answer, the tyrant would neuer suffer any man to come and speake with him againe. But *Thebe*, that was the daughter of the tyrant *Iason* deceased, and wife at that time of *Alexander* the tyrant, hearing report of *Pelopidas* noble minde and courage by his keepers: she had a marueilous desire to see him, and to speake with him. But when shee came to see him, like a woman she could not at the first discerne the greatnesse of his noble hart, and excellent hidden vertue, finding him in such miserie: yet coniecturing by exterior shewe, noting his simple apparell, his haires and beard growen very long, and how poorely he was serued, and worse enterteined: she thought with her selfe his case was to be pitied, and that he was in no state meete for the glory of his name, wherewith she fell a weeping for compassion. *Pelopidas* that knew not what shee was, beganne to muse at the first: but when it was tolde him she was *Iasons* daughter, then he courteously saluted her for her father *Iasons* sake, who while he liued was his very good friend. So *Thebe* sayed vnto him: my Lord *Pelopidas*, I pitty thy poore Lady and wife. Truly so do I pitty thee, quoth *Pelopidas* againe to her: that thou being no prisoner, canst abide such a wicked *Alexander*. This answer tickled *Thebe* at the hart, who with great impatience did beare the cruelty, violēce, and villany of the tyrant her husband: that besides all other infamous actes of his detestable life, committed Sodomy with her yongest brother. So she oft visiting *Pelopidas*, and boldly making her mone to him, telling him closely all the iniuries her husband offred her: through *Pelopidas* talke with her, by litle and litle she grewe to abhorre him, and to conceiue a hate in hart against him, desiring reuenge on him. But now the captaines of the THEBANS that were sent to deliuer *Pelopidas*, being entred into THESSALIE with their armie: (whether it was through defaulte of ignorance, or their mishap) they returned home with shame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THEBANS at their returne home condemned them euery man in the summe of ten thousand Drachmes, and sent *Epaminondas* thither againe with another armie: at whose comming, all THESSALIE rose incontinently, for the reputation of so great a captaine. And his fortune was so good, that he had in a manner vtterly ouerthrowen all the whole state of the tyrant: his friends and captaines were so much afrayde, and his subiectes on the other side so well disposed to rebell, and marueilous glad for the hope they had, quickely to see the tyrant haue his deserued hyer, for all his former wicked deedes he had committed. Notwithstanding, *Epaminondas* preferring the deliuery and safety of *Pelopidas*, before the consideratiō of his own honour and glory, and fearing least *Alexander* seeing himselfe in danger to be turned out of al he had, falling into despayre like a bedlem beast, would bend all his desperation and furie against *Pelopidas*: he drewe these wartes out in length, compassing him round about, but not directely letting vpon him with colour to prepare his way the better by delaying stil, thereby to soften the cruell mind of this tyrant, going on in this gentle sort, and partly to cut his comb and extreame pride, but specially to preserue *Pelopidas*, from the daunger and crueltie of his beastly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruell man, and one that neither regarded reason, nor iustice in any sorte, considering howe he made some man to be buried aliue, and others to be put in the skins of beares and wilde bores, and then to set hounds vpō them to teare them in peeces, or els himselfe for his pastime would kill them, with shooting or throwing of dartes at them. And in the cities of MELIBEA and of SCOTVSA, both of them being in league and friendshippe with him, he spying a time one day whē the cittizens were assembled to counsell together, sodainly compassed them in with his garde and souldiers, and put them euery one to the sword, euen to the litle children. And he consecrated the dart also wherewith

Pelopidas stoutnesse.

Thebe the wife of Alexander the tyrant.

Epaminondas sent into Thessalie with an armie.

The brutish crueltie of Alexander the tyrant.

he had slaine his owne vncle *Polyphron*, and hauing put garlands vpon it, he did sacrifice to it as to a god, and called it TYCHON, as one would say, happy killer. And another time being in a Theater, where the tragedy of *Troades* of *Euripides* was played, he went out of the Theater, and sent word to the players notwithstanding, that they should goe on with their play as if he had bene still among them: saying that he came not away for any misliking he had of them or of the play, but because he was ashamed his people should see him weepe, to see the miseries of *Hecuba* and *Andromacha* played, and that they neuer saw him pitty the death of one man, of so many of his cittizens as he had caused to be slaine. The gilty conscience therefore of this cruel and heathen tyrant, did make him tremble at the only name and reputation of *Epaminondas*: and as the common prouerbe sayeth:

He let his wings downe fall, not much vnlike the cocke,
which doth refuse the pit preparde, and list not bide the shocke.

So he sent straight vnto *Epaminondas* to excuse himselfe. But *Epaminondas* would in no wise suffer the THEBANS, through his meanes, to make league with such an hellhound: and so he yeelded to abstinence of armes for thirty daies, vpon delinery of *Pelopidas* & *Ismenias* into his hands, with whō he straight returned vnto THEBES. Now the THEBANS being aduertised that the LACEDÆMONIANS & the ATHENIANS, did send Ambassadors to *Artaxerxes* mighty king of PERSIA, to make league with him: they sent to him *Pelopidas* for them also, being wisely considered of them to send a man of such fame and reputation. For *Pelopidas* passing first through countries subiect to the king of PERSIA, his fame was such where he came that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the report of the famous battells he had won of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was not only caried into the next regions and countries of Asia, but since the first newes of the iorney of LEVCTRES was brought thither, *Pelopidas* had after that wonne victorie vpon victorie, his estimation grewe so great, as it was blowen broad through the worlde, euen to the highest and furthest partes of the East countries. And when he came to the king of PERSIA'S court, the princes, great Lordes, and captaines of PERSIA that saw him, had him in great admiration, saying: loe this is he that conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS, and tooke all their seignorie and authority from them, both by sea and by land, and draue the SPARTANS beyond the riuer of EVROTAS, and from mount TAYGETVM, who not long before made warres with the great King of PERSIA, being ledde by their king *Agesilaus*, euen in the middest of ASIA, for the realmes of SVSE, and of ECBATANE. So king *Artaxerxes* selfe was very glad of his comming, and praised him aboue them all, and made his estimation greater then it was before, by his great and honorable entertainment of him, meaning thereby to returne the honour to himselfe againe: because menne should thinke that the most famous men of the worlde came to honour him, and to see his court, esteeming both him, and his greatnesse, the onely happinesse of the world. But when they had seene his face, and heard him speake, and perceiued that his wordes were much grauer than the ATHENIANS, and plainer then the LACEDÆMONIANS: he then was further in loue with him thē before, and without disguising, he did honor and fauor him aboue all the other ambassadors, who found that he made more estimation of him, then of the all. Notwithstanding he seemed to beare greater good will vnto *Antalcidas* LACEDÆMONIAN, thē to any other of the GRECIANS: for that one day being at the table, he tooke a garland of flowers from his owne head, and washed it in perfuming water, and sent it vnto him. Indeed he did honor *Pelopidas* with that open familiaritie, yet did he send him the goodliest and richest presents he could deuise, & granted him besides all his requestes he made vnto him: which were, that the people of GRECE should be free: that the city & countrie of MESSINA, should be restituted againe: & that the citizens of THEBES by their successors should be take, as ancient friends & allyes of the kings of PERSIA. So when he had receiued these answers, he returned home again, & would by no meanes accept any of the great presents the king had offred him: but caused the other ambassadours of the GRECIANS to be so ill welcome home to their cities. For among other, *Timagoras* was accused to the ATHENIANS, & condemned to die, and executed: which if they did in respect of the great presents he had taken of the king, I think they had reason, & it was worthily done of thē. For he tooke not only gold & siluer enough

Epaminondas deliuered Pelopidas out of prison.

Artaxerxes king of Persia.

Pelopidas sent Ambassador to the king of Persia.

Pelopidas greatly honored of the king of Persia.

Pelopidas refused the great gifts of the king Artaxerxes.

Timagoras Ambassadour for the Athenians, put to death for taking great giftes of the king of Persia.

as much as they would giue him: but receiued a very rich bed alſo, & PERSIAN chamberlains to make and dreſſe it vp, as if no GRECIAN ſeruantes of his could haue ſerued that turne. Moreouer he receiued foureſcore milch kine to the paile, and neate heardes to keepe them, hauing neede of cowes milke belike, to heale a diſeaſe that fell vpon him: and would needes be caried in a litter vpon mens armes from the kings court, vnto the MEDITERRANIAN ſea, the king rewarding them for their paines that caried him, with foure talents. Yet it ſeemeth the gifts he tooke did not offend the ATHENIANS ſo much, conſidering that *Epieraties* (a drudge or tanckerd bearer) did not onely confeſſe before the people, howe he had taken gifres of the king of PERSIA: but ſaied furthermore, that he would haue a law made, that as they did yerely choole nine officers to rule the whole city: ſo that they would choose nine of the pooreſt and meaneſt cittizens, and ſend them Ambaſſadors vnto the king of PERSIA, that they might returne home rich men with gifres. The people laughed to heare him, but yet were they very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they had demaunded: not conſidering that *Pelopidas* eſtimation and worthineſſe did more preuaile, and take better effect, then all the orations the other could make, and ſpecially to a Prince that ſought alwaies to entertaine thoſe GRECIANS, which were of greateſt force & power in the warres. This Ambaſſade did greatly increaſe euery mans loue and good will vnto *Pelopidas*, becauſe of the repleniſhing againe of MESSINA with inhabitants, and infranchesing and ſetting at liberty of all the other GRECIANS. But the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, returning again to his old accuſtomed cruelty, and hauing deſtroied many cities of THESSALIE, & placed his garriſons through all the country of the PHTHIOTES, ACHAIANS, & MAGNESIANS: the cities being aduertiſed of *Pelopidas* returne againe to THEBES, they ſent Ambaſſadors immediatly to THEBES, to pray the to ſend the an army, & namely *Pelopidas* for captaine, to deliuer the from the miſerable bondage of the tyrant. The THEBANS willingly granted them, & put all things in readines very ſodainly. But *Pelopidas* being ready to ſet forward in his iorney, there fell a ſadain eclipſe of the ſun, ſo as at noone day it was very dark in THEBES. *Pelopidas* ſeing euery man afraid of this eclipſe aboue, he would not compell the people to depart with this feare, nor with ſo ill hope to hazard the life of ſeuen thouſand THEBANS, being all billed to go this iorney: but notwithſtanding, he put himſelfe alone into the THESSALIANS handes, with three hundreth horſemen of ſtraungers, that were glad to ſerue with him, with whom he toke his iorney againſt the ſoothſayers minds, and againſt the good will of all his cittizens, who thought this eclipſe did threate the death of ſome great perſon like himſelfe. But *Pelopidas* though he needed no ſpurre to be reuenged vpon the tyrant *Alexander*, being by nature hotte, and deſirous of himſelfe to reuenge the ſpite and villany he had offred him: yet he had a further hope to finde the tyrants houſe deuided againſt himſelfe, by the former talke he had with his wife *Thebe*, in time of his impriſonment there. Neuertheles, the fame and reputation of the iorney vndertaken, did wonderfully increaſe his noble corage, and the rather, becauſe he was deſirous (all he could) the GRECIANS ſhould ſee, that at the very ſame time when the LACEDÆMONIANS did ſend gouernors & captains to *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SICILE, to ſerue & aide him, & that the ATHENIANS as ſterlings took pay of the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, in whoſe honor they had ſet vp a ſtatue of braſſe in their city, as vnto their ſauior: the THEBANS only at the ſelfe ſame time tooke armes againſt the, to deliuer thoſe whom the tyrants oppreſſed, & ſought to roote out al tirannical gouernment ouer the GRECIANS. So when he came to the city of PHARSALE, and had aſſembered his army together, he wēt preſently into the field to meet with the tyrant *Alexāder*, perceiuing *Pelopidas* had very few THEBANS about him, and that he had twiſe as many moe THESSALIANS with him, then the other had: he went into the temple of THETIS, to ſacrifice with *Pelopidas*. There one telling *Pelopidas*, that *Alexander* was comming againſt him with a great power, *Pelopidas* anſwered him ſtraight, all the better, we ſhall kill the more. Now, in the middeſt of the valley, there are certaine round hils of a good prety height, which they commonly call the dogs heads: they both ſtriued which of their footemen ſhould firſt get thoſe hils. *Pelopidas* hauing a great number of horſemen, and good men at armes in the field, ſent them before to giue charge vpon the enemies, that preated to winne the vantage of the place: and hauing ouerthrowne them, they followed the chaſe all the valley ouer.

Pelopidas ſecond iorney againſt the tyrāt Alexander of Pheres.

The eclypſe of the ſun made the Thebans afraide.

Battell giuen by the temple of Thetis, vnto the tyrant Alexander.

But in the meane time, *Alexander* hauing his footemen by, marched forwardes and got hilles, because the THESSALIANS that were further off came too late: notwithstanding when they came to the hilles, they sought forcibly to clime them vp, being very high steepe. But *Alexander* comming down the hill, gaue charge vpon them to their disaduan and slewe the first that gaue the attempt to get vp against the hill: and the residue being hurt, retyred againe without their purpose. *Pelopidas* seeing that, sounded the retrea the horsemen that followed the chase, to repayre to the standards, and commanded them should set vpon the footemen of the enemies that were in battell raye: and he himselfe to helpe those that fought to winne the hilles. So he tooke his target on his arme, and sing through the rereward, he got to the formost rankes: to whom, the sight of his pe did so redouble their force and courage, that the enemies themselues thought it had be fresh supply of newe mens hartes and other bodies, then theirs with whom they had fo before, that came thus lustely to set againe vpon them. And yet they did abide two or onsettes. Howbeit in the end, perceiuing those men did still more fiercely force to vp the hill, and moreouer how their horsemen were come in from the chase: they gaue and left them the place, retyring backe by litle and litle. Then *Pelopidas* hauing wonne hilles, stayed on the toppe of them, viewing the armie of his enemies, which were no returned from their flying, but waued vp and down in great disorder. And there he look about, to see if he could spye out *Alexander*: and at the length he found him out amo others, in the right wing of his battell, setting his men againe in order and incourag them. After he had set eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his hart forose against vpon sight of him, that giuing place to wrath, he neither regarded his person, nor the im his iorney, but running farre before his men, he cried with a loud voice to the tyrant, and lenged the combat of him. The tyrant would not abide him, nor come out to fight wit but fled, and hid himselfe amongst his souldiers. But for his souldiers, the first that thou set vpon *Pelopidas*, were slaine by him, and many lefte dead in the field. The residue sto stoutly to it, and close together, did passe his curaces through with their long pykes, and him into the brest. The THESSALIANS seeing him thus sore handled and distressed, fo ties sake came running from the top of those hilles, to the place where *Pelopidas* was, to him. But euen as they came, he fell down dead before the. Then did they together with horsmen so fiercely set vpon them, that they made the whole battell of the enemies to and following them in chase a great way from that place, they couered the vallye with bodies, for they slue aboue three thousand men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that wer *Pelopidas* death, tooke it very heauily, and lamented bitterly: calling him their father, saiuiour, and maister, as one that had taught them the worthiest things that might be le of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other friendes and confederates also of the cittie of T BES, besides their exceeding in setting out their common proclamations and edicts in pr of his memorie, & doing him all the honour that could be due to the most rare and excel person that euer was: they did yet more shew their loue and affection towards him by passing great sorrow and mourning they made for him. For it is sayed, that they that wer the battell, did not put off their armour, nor vnbridle their horses, nor woulde dresse wounds, hearing tell of his death: before they went first and saw his body not yet colde fighting, laying great heapes of the enemies spoyles about it, as if he could haue told they had done, nor before they had clipped off their own haires, and the haire of their bo in token of sorrowe. And many of them also, when they were come into their tentes pauilions, would neither haue fire, eate, nor drinke: and all in the campe were full of rowe and mourning, as if they had not wonne a notable victorie, but had beene ouer wen and made subiect by the tyraunt. Afterwardes when the newes of his death was sp through all the countrie, the Magistrates of euery cittie through which *Pelopidas* bodie conueyed, went to receiue it very honorablie, accompanied with all the young menne, Priestes and children, carying tokenes, and crownes of triumphe, and other ornament gold, and when his funerall day was come, and that his bodie should be caried to be bu the oldest and the noblest personnes of the THESSALIANS went vnto the THEBANS, pra

Pelopidas slaine.

The great lamentation and mourning for Pelopidas death.

prayed them that they might haue the burying of him: and one among them being the
eth of the rest, spake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lords of THEBES, our good
ed friendes and confederates, we onely craue this good turne at your handes, wherein
shall much honour vs, and in our great calamitie somewhat also comfort vs. For we shall
more accompanie *Pelopidas* aliue, nor requite his honorable deserts to vs; that he shall
know them. But if it please you to let vs handle his bodie with our handes, and that we
burie him, and set foorth his obsequies: we will imagine then at the least that you doe
like that, which we our selues doe certainely beleeue: that we THESSALIANS, not you
BANS, haue receiued the greatest losse of both. For you haue lost in deede a worthie
ie, and we haue not onely receiued that like losse with you, but the hope also of reco-
ing of our libertie. For how dare we againe send to you for an other Captaine, when we
not redeliuer you *Pelopidas*? The THEBANS hearing their petition, granted their desire:
In mine opinion, no funerals could be done with greater pompe and honour, then the
SALIANS performed his: being men that reckon not dignitie, magnificence & pompe,
consist in ornaments of luorie, nor of purple. As *Philistus* doth set it out, who praiseth
the inone the burying of *Dionysius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA, which was the end of his
e, as a sumptuous conclusion of a stately tragedie. And *Alexander* the great, at the
h of *Ephestion*, did not onely clippe his horse haires and mules, but pluckt downe also
battelments of the walles of the citie: because it should appeare, that the verie walles them
did mourne for his death, shewing that deformitie in steede of their former beautie.
such things are done onely by force and compulsion, vpon the Lordes commaundi-
which doe but raise vp enuie against their memorie for whom they are done, and ha-
of them that are against their willes constrained to doe the thing they misliked: and are
proofes of honour not good will, but rather vaine shewes of barbarous pompe, and
him that disposeth his authoritie and plentie of goods, in trifling toyes not to be de-
Where contrariwise it plainely appeareth, that a priuate man dying in a forraine coun-
by reason should be accounted most happie of all other creatures, that hauing neither his
e, kinne, nor his children by him, he should be conueyed to his funerales, accompanied
with such multitudes of crowned people and number of cities, enuying one another, who
ould most honour the funerals, as being vnrequested, and least of all compelled. For saieth
e, the death of a happie man is not grieuous, but most blessed, seeing it bringeth all good
ens doings to happinesse, and leaueth fortune to her fickle chaunge, and sporting pleasure.
in my iudgement a LACEDÆMONIAN spake better, when he said to *Diagoras* an old man,
had himselfe in old time gotten victorie in the games Olympicall, and had seene besides,
owne children, and his childrens children (both sonnes and daughters) crowned with
tories also in the selfe same games: O *Diagoras*, die presently, else thou shalt neuer come to
uen. But these victories of the Olympicall and Pythian games, whosoeuer should put them
gether, are not to be compared with one of the battels onely, that *Pelopidas* hath fought
wonne: hauing spent the most part of his time in great calling and dignitie, and lastly en-
the same, being gouernour of BOEOTIA the third time (which was the highest office of
e in all his countrie) when he had destroied the tyrantes that kept the THEBANS in bon-
e, and was also slaine himselfe, valiantly fighting for the recouerie of the THESSALIANS
rtie. But as *Pelopidas* death was grieuous to the THEBANS friends and confederates: so fell
t very profitable for them. For the THEBANS hearing of *Pelopidas* death, did not delay
enge, but sent an armie forthwith of seuen thousand footemen, and seuen hundred horse-
n, vnder the conduct of *Malcitas* and of *Diogiton*. They finding *Alexanders* armie ouer-
owen, and that he had lost the most part of his strength, did compell him to giue vp the
SALIANS townes hee kept by force against them, and to set the MAGNESIANS, the
RIOTES, and the ACHAIANS at libertie, withdrawing his garrisons hee had placed in
strong holdes: and therewithall to sweare, that from thence forth he would march vn-
the THEBANS, against any enemie they should leade him, or commaund him to goe a-
inst. So, the THEBANS were pacified vpon these conditions. Now will I tell you how the
dles plagued him soone after for *Pelopidas* death, who (as we haue tolde you before) had

The oration of the Thessalians to the Thebans.

The strange manner of sorow, of Alexander the great for the death of Ephestion.

Pelopidas happinesse.

Epaminondas of the happinesse of the dead.

Death a blessed thing.

The Thebans reuenged Pelopidas death.

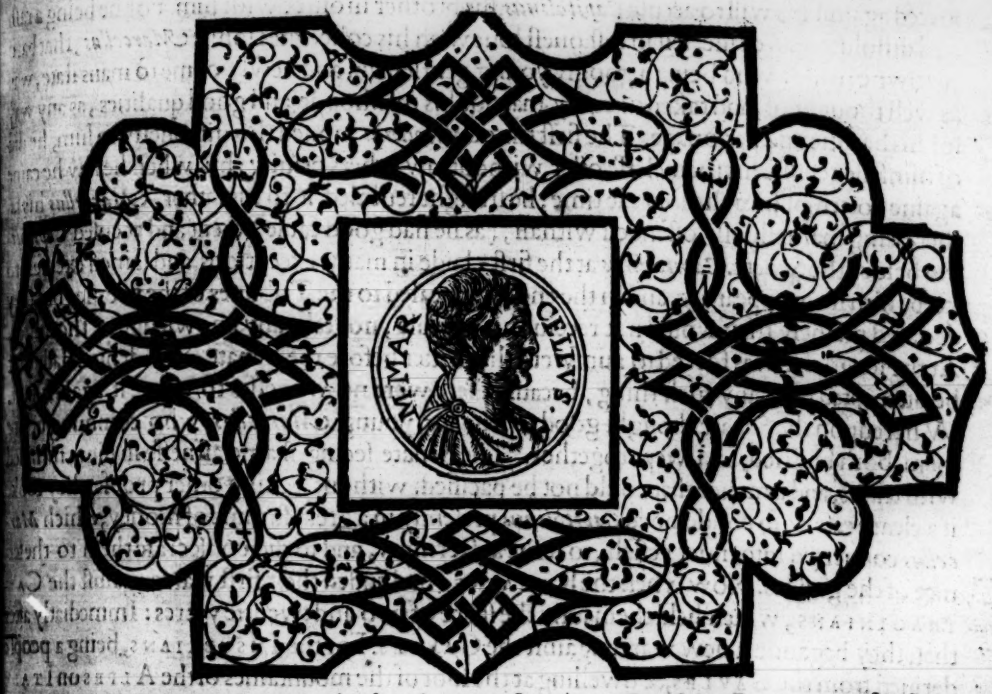
Alexander the tyrant of Pheres slaine by his wife.

pretily instructed *Thebe* his wife, that she should not feare the outward appearance nor po
of his tyrannie, although she were enuironed with souldiers of banished men, whom the
rant entertained to guard his person. Her selfe on the other side, fearing his falshood, a
hating his cruelties, conspired her husbands death with her three brethren, *Tisiphonus*, *P*
laus, and *Lycophron*, and executed her conspiracie after this sort. The tyrants palace wher
lay, was straightly guarded euery where with souldiers, who nightly watched his pe
but their bed chamber which they commonly vsed to lie in, was in the toppe of all his p
where they kept a dogge tyed at the chamber doore to giue warning, which was a fier
dogge, and knew none but the tyrant and his wife, and his keeper that gaue him meate. M
when *Thebe* purposed to worke her feate, she locked vp her three brethren a whole day
vnto their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, she went her self
according to her manner, into *Alexanders* chamber: and finding him a sleepe, she
straight againe, and bad the keeper of the dogge to carie the dogge away, for her husband
disposed to take rest, and would haue no noyse. There was no way to get vp to this
but by a ladder, which she let downe: and fearing least her brethren should make a
had couered the ladder staues with wolle before she let it fall downe. When she ha
them vp with their swords, and had set them before the doore, she went first her self
chamber, and tooke away the tyrants sword that hung at his beds head, and she went
as a token giuen them that he was a sleepe. When it came to the pinch to doe the deed
young men were afraide, and their hearts began to faile them. But she tooke on wi
and called them cowardly boyes, that would not stande to it when it came to the p
withall, sware in her rage, that she would go wake the tyrant, and open all the treason
So partly for shame, and partly for feare, she compelled them to come in, and to step
bed, her selfe holding a lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the
boundthem hard: another caught him by the haire of his beard, and pulled him ba
wardes, and the third thrust him through with his sword. So, by chaunce, he di
sooner then he should haue done, and otherwise then his wicked life deser
for the manner of his death. So *Alexander* was the first tyrant that was
euer slaine by the treason of his wife, whose bodie was most ville-
nously and despightfully vsed after his death. For when the
townes men of PHERES had drawen him through
the citie in myte and durt, they cast him
out at length to the dogges
to deuour.

Alexander the tyrant of Pheres was the first tyrant that was slaine by his wife.

The end of Pelopidas life.

THE LIFE OF *Marcellus.*



Marcellus lineal.

Marcellus conditions.

Marcus Claudius that was fiue times Consul at ROME, was the sonne (as they say) of another *Marcus*: and as *Posidonius* writeth, he was the first of his house surnamed *Marcellus*, as who would say, a marshall and warlike man by nature. For he was cunning at weapons, skilful in wars, strong & lustie of bodie, hardy, and naturally giuen to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor shewed his great corage, but in warres against the enemie: otherwise he was euer gentle, and faire conditioned. He loued learning, and delighted in the Greeke tongue, and much esteemed them that could speake it. For, he himselfe was so troubled in matters of state, that he could not studie and follow it, as he desired to haue done. For if God (as *Homer* saith) did euer make men

To vse their youth in warres, and battels fierce and fell,
till crooked age came creeping on, such feates for to expell:

The Romaines troubled with warres.

They were the noblest and chiefest men of ROME at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the CARTHAGINIANS in SICILE: in their middle age, against the GAVLES, to keepe thē from the winning of all ITALIE: & againe in their old age, against *Hannibal* & the CARTHAGINIANS. For their age was no priuiledge for them to be dispenced with, in the seruice of their warres, as it was els for common citizens: but they were both for their nobilitie, as also for their valiantnes and experience in warres, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them by the Senate & people. Now for *Marcellus*, there was no battell could make him giue grounde, being practised in all fightes: but yet he was more valiant in priuate combate man for man, then in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refused enemie that did chalenge him, but slew all those in the field that called him to the combat. In SICILE he saued his brother *Octacilius* life, being ouerthrowen in a skirmish: for with his shield he couered his brothers bodie, & slew them that came to kill him. These valiant parts of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the generals vnder whom he serued, with many crownes, and warlike honors, vsually bestowed vpon valiant souldiers. *Marcellus* increasing still his valiantnes and good seruice, was by the people chosen Ædilis, as of the number of those that were the

Marcellus saued his brother Octacilius.

Marcellus chosen Ædilis and Augure.

worthiest men, and most honorable: and the Priests did create him Augure, which is a kinde of Priesthood at ROME, hauing authoritie by law, to consider and obserue the flying of birdes, to diuine and prognosticate things thereupon. But in the yeare of his office of Ædile, he was forced against his will to accuse *Capitolinus*, his brother in office with him. For he being a rash and dissolute man of life, fell in dishoneste loue with his colleagues sonne *Marcellus*, that bare his owne name: who being a goodly young gentleman, and newly come to mans state, was as well thought of, and taken of euery man for his manhoode and good qualities, as any way for his beautie and personage. The first time *Capitolinus* moued this dishonestie to him, he did of himselfe repulse his shameleste offer, without any other's priuitie: but when he saw he came againe to tempt him the seconde time, he straight reuealed it to his father. *Marcellus* his father being maruellously offended withall, (as he had good cause) went and accused *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* at the first, laide in many exceptions and fained excuses to keepe him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: but they declared plainely they would not receiue his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to aunswere the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attempted euer any such thing, because there were no witnesses to proue it against him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to send for young *Marcellus*, who comming before them, both blushed, and wept together. The Senate seeing shamefastnesse in him, mixed with teares, and a malice that could not be pacified: without seeking other proofe, they tooke it a cleare case, & so condemned *Capitolinus* presently in a great summe of money, which *Marcellus* conuerted into siluer vessell, to serue at sacrifices, and so did consecrate them to the seruice of the goddes. Now when the ROMAINES had ended their first warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, which held them fully the space of two and twentie yeares: Immediatly after that, they beganne a new warre against the GAVLES. For the INSVBRIANS, being a people deriued from the GAVLES, & dwelling at the foot of the mountaines of the ALPES on Italy side, being able to make a good power of themselues, did notwithstanding pray aide of their other GAVLES inhabiting on the other side of the mountaines: & they caused the GESSATES, a mercenarie people and hirelings to them that would giue pay, to bring great numbers to them. Truely me thinkes it was a maruellous matter, and wonderfull good happe for the ROMAINES, that this war of the GAVLES came not vpon them, while they were at wars with CARTHAGINIANS: & that the GAVLES also had then quiet all that while (as if they had purposely sworne to set vpon the conquerors) expecting still an end betweene the, & then to set on the conquerors, when they had nothing to say to any other. Yet the situation of their country did trouble the ROMAINES much, because they were so neere neighbours vnto them, as had warres as it were at their owne dores. And so did the auncient reputation of the GAVLES somewhat appaule the ROMAINES, who as it should seeme they did feare more then any other nation whatsoeuer: because ROME had bene taken before by the GAVLES. Since which time a law was made, that Priestes and ecclesiasticall persons should be dispenced with for going to the warres, vnlesse the GAVLES did rise against them. The preparation they made in this warre at that time, did plainly shew the feare they had the of the GAVLES. For there thinkes, that neuer before nor since, there were so many naturall ROMAINES assembled together in field, as were then at that present. Moreouer, the new come cruelties they vsed in their sacrifices, doth record this to be true. For before they neuer vsed any straunge maner in their sacrifice, or barbarous fashion, but were fauourable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion, and agreeable to the GRECIANS touching the seruice of the goddes. But then, as they were compelled to obey certaine oracles, and auncient prophecies they found written in the *Sybyles* bookes: and they buried two GRECIANS aliue in the oxe market, a man and a woman, and likewise two GAVLES, a man and a woman. Vnto them they do yet continue certaine secret anniuersaries in Noueber, that are not to be seene of euery body. The ROMAINES in the first battels of this warre, were often ouercome, and did ouercome: but these battels were to little purpose, for ending of the warres. In the yeare that *C. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo* were Consuls, and sent with great armies to make warres vpon the INSVBRIANS, people subiect to the state of MILANE: newes were brought to ROME, that there was a riuer

Marcellus accuseth Capitolinus.

The Romaines had wars with the Carthaginians 22. yeares together.

The warre of the Gaules. Gessates mercenary Gaules.

A law to exempt ecclesiasticall persons from the wars.

The Romaines did feare the warres of the Gaules.

Men and women buried aliue.

Flaminius and P. Furius Consuls.

in the countrie of ROMANIA, red as bloud, & 3. moones also at the very same time in the citie of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priests and soothsaiers that had obserued and considered the tokens, and significations of birdes on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls: they told plainly there was error in their election, & that they were directly chosen against all signes & tokens of the birdes. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediatly to the campe to them, and willed them to come home to depose themselues of their Consulship, before they did attempt any thing as Consuls against the enemies. The Consull *Flaminius* receiued the letters in time: but because he was readie to giue battell, he would not open thē, before he had first ouerthrowen his enemies, & spoiled their countrie, as in dede he did. But when he was come back to ROME againe, and had brought maruellous great spoiles with him, the people for all that would not goe out to meete him, because he did not presently obey the letters they wrote vnto him, nor returned vpon it as they commaunded him, but contemptuously, without any regard of their displeasure, followed his owne phantasie: whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honour of triumph. For his triumph was no sooner ended, but they compelled him to giue ouer his Consulship, and made him a priuate man with his cōpanion. The ROMAINES ther- in were so religiously bent, as they would all thinges should be referred vnto the gods good grace & pleasure, and would suffer none to contemne the obseruations & prognosticating of the soothsaiers, nor their auncient vses and customes, for any prosperity and felicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessarie and profitable for benefit of the common weale, that the Senate and magistrates should reuerence the ceremonies and seruice of the gods: then that they should ouercome their enemies in battell. As for example *Tiberius Sempronius*, a man as much honoured and esteemed of the ROMAINES for his iustice and valiantnesse, as any other of his time: being one yeare Consull, did nominate and elect two other for Consuls the yeare following, *Scipio Nasica*, and *Caius Martius*. These two being entred into their Consulship, and sent from ROME also to their seuerall prouinces appointed them by lot: *Sempronius* by chance tooke certaine litle bookes in his hand, where were briefly written the rules apperteining to the ceremonies of publique sacrifice, and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinance he neuer heard before. And this it was. That if a magistrate were set in any tent or hired house without the citie, to behold and obserue the prognostications of birdes, and that vpon any sodaine occasion he were driuen to come againe into the citie, before the birds had giuen any certaine signes: the second time when he returned againe to ende his obseruations, there was no remedie, but he must leaue his tent or first hired house, and take another, and beginne new obseruations againe. *Tiberius* vtterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his obseruations twise in one selfe house, and had chosen there, *Nasica* and *Martius*, Consuls to succeede him. But when he knew he had offended, he tolde the Senate of it: who would not let slip so litle a fault, but wrote to the new Consuls, and they straight left their prouinces, and returned againe to ROME, willingly resigning vp their offices. That was a prety while after. Againe also, about the very present time we write of now, there were two Priestes of noble houses (and noble persons also) the one called *Cornelius*, and the other *Cethegus*, both which were disgraded of their Priesthood, because they had not giuen the intrailes of the sacrificed beast in order as they should haue done. *Quintus Sulpitius* in like maner, was disgraded of his Bishopricke, because his miter which the FLAMINES do weare, fell off his head in his sacrificing. *Minutius* being Dictator also, and hauing chosen *Caius Flaminius* generall of the horsemen because they heard the noyse of a ratte at the electiō of *Flaminius*, they were both put out of their authority, & other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise euen in trifles, it was not by reason of any superstition mingled with their religion: but because they would not breake any iotte of the auncient institutions and ceremonies of their countrie. But to our storie againe. *Flaminius* being depriued of his Consulshippe, *Marcellus* was created Consull in his place, by the regents at that time called *Interreges*. *Marcellus* being inuested in his office, chose *Cneus Cornelius* for his companion: and they say, that the GAVLES being inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME also willing to harken to peace, *Marcellus* did stirre vp the people, and made them rather desire warre. Notwithstanding, they concluded peace at that time: but the GAVLES GESSATES immediatly after renued the warres againe. For

Newes brought to Rome, of strange things seene in Romania.

Flaminius ouercame the Gaules in battell.

The great religion of the Romaines.

An ordinance for publique sacrifice.

Marcellus and Cneus Cornelius Consuls.

The Gaules Geſſates make warres with Rome, & come ouer the Alpes.

there came ouer the mountains of the ALPES, a thirty thouſand of them, & they ioyned with the INSVBRIANS, which were many moe in number then themſelues. Now, they being in marueilous iolity, went incontinently to lay ſiege to the citie of ACERRES, that ſtandeth vpon the riuer of PO: and during the ſiege, king *Britomarus* taking ten thouſand GESSATES with him, went & deſtroied al the country about the PO. *Marcellus* hearing that, left with his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, all the armed footmen, & the third part of the horſemen, in his campe by ACERRES: & he himſelfe with the reſidue of the horſemen, & ſix hundred footmen light armed, marched towards the enemie, trauelling night & day, vntill he met with the ten thouſand GESSATES, neere vnto a village of GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines, called CLASTIDIVM, which was ſubiect not long before to the ROMAINES. So he had no leiſure to take reſt nor to refreſh his men a litle: for the barbarous people knew ſtraight he was come, and tooke him for no better then by & by ouercome, becauſe he had ſo few footmen. And for his horſemen, the GAVLES made no reckoning of them: for beſides themſelues are very good men of armes, & excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of horſemen farre aboue *Marcellus*. Therfore they ſtraight marched towards him in a maruellous furie, & with thundring ſhoutes, as if they would haue deuoured them at their comming. *Britomarus* their king, aduanced himſelfe before all his companie. *Marcellus* fearing to be compaſſed in behind, being ſo ſmal a number: he put out the wings of his horſemen as much as he could, to haue the country at large, ſo that his two wings were very ſlender, vntill he came neere his enemies. And being readie to gallop towards the enemie, it fortuned his horſe being affraid with the noiſe of his enemies, turned about, & caried *Marcellus* back againe in ſpight of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMAINES ſuperſtition, in taking this for an euill token, and that they would take a conceit vpon the ſame: plucking the bridle with his left hand, turned his horſe head againe vpon the enemie, and then he worſhipped the ſunne, as though he had not turned his horſe by chance but purpoſely for that cauſe. For it is the ROMAINES maner to turne about ſo, when they honour their gods. So when they began to ioyne battell, he made a vow to *Iupiter Feretrius* to offer him vppe the goodlieſt ſpoiles of his enemies, if he did ouercome. The King of the GAVLES ſeeing him at that inſtant, imagined by the markes and tokens he ſaw, that he was the generall of his enemies: So he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and gallopped towardes him from all his companie giuing him defiance, and chalenged him, ſhaking his ſtaffe in his hande. He was the goodlieſt perſon and ſtrongeſt man of all the GAVLES, and his armour was all gilded and ſiluered, and ſo ſet forth with ſundry workes and colours, that it ſhined as the ſunne. *Marcellus* on the other ſide hauing viewed all the armie of his enemies through out, and perceiuing none ſo richly armed as the king: thought ſtraight it was againſt him, that he had made his prayer and vow to *Iupiter*. Then hee put his horſe in full cariere againſt him and met him with ſuch a force & furie to him, that he pierced his armour with his ſtaffe, and ouerthrew him: but yet he killed him not dead: whereupon he ſodainely redoubled two or three ſtrokes on his ſides vpon him, and ſo ſlew him right out. Then he lighted from his horſe, & taking the ſpoiles of the kings armour in his hand, he lift vp his eyes to heauen, and ſaid. O *Iupiter Feretrius*, thou that doeſt from heauen behold and direct, all marſhall feates and Captaines deedes: thy ſelfe I take to witneſſe, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that being generall of the armie, haue ſlaine with my owne hands, the king and generall of the enemies: and I promiſe here vnto thee to offer thee vp the richeſt ſpoiles of mine enemies, ſo thy godhead will vouchſafe to grant vs the like good fortune in all this warre beſides. His praier ended, the men of armes of the ROMAINES ranne in among the horſemen and footmen of the GAVLES, one being vpon another from another: and fortune did ſo fauour them, that they wanne a paſſing victorie, in ſo ſtrange and wonderfull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer ſeene before nor ſince, that ſo few horſemen did ouerthrow ſo great a number of men of armes and footemen rangled together. Now when *Marcellus* had ſlaine the greater number of them, and had gotten the ſpoiles and all their baggage: he returned againe to his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, whom he founde making warres vnfortunately with the GAVLES, before the greateſt and moſt populous citie they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAVLES on this ſide the mountaines haue for their chiefe citie, and from whence all other had their firſt originall. Whereupon they

Claſtidium, a village on this ſide the mountaines.

The maner of the Romaines when they worſhippe.

The combat a horſebacke betwixt Britomarus king of the Gaules, and Marcellus.

Marcellus ſlew king Britomarus at Claſtidium.

Marcellus praier vnto Iupiter Feretrius.

The Gaules ouercome by Marcellus.

all their posible endeuour to defend it, and did as straightly besiege the Consull *Cornelius*, as he did them. Now, when *Marcellus* was come to the camp againe, the GESSATES vnderstanding that their king *Bartomarus* was slaine in battell, returned backe againe into their countrey, & the citie of MILLAINE was take. After that, all the other cities there about yelded of themselues, without force of siege, and the GAVLES wholly submitted themselues and all that they had, to the mercy of the ROMAINES, who graunted them peace vpon easie conditions. For these famous victories, the Senate of ROME gaue all the honour of triumph vnto *Marcellus* onely, and that was as wonderfull & worthy a sight, as any that euer past before him: what for the infinite spoyles, and the numbers of great men taken prisoners, and also for the exceeding sumptuousnesse & stately shew therof. But the goodliest sight of all for the rarenes, was to behold *Marcellus* selfe, carying on his shoulders the whole spoyle of the barbarous king, to offer vp to *Iupiter Feretrian*. For he had cut downe a goodly young oke of the mountaine, straight, and shut vp verie long, which he had trimmed vp in forme of triumph, hanging all the armed peeces he had wonne of the king, verie orderly round about it. Then, when all the shew of his triumphe was past, he himselfe tooke the oke vpon his shoulders, and got vp vpon his triumphing charet, and so marched through the city, carying these signes thereupon: which was the noblest sight, and honorablest shew, of the whole triumphe. His army followed after the charet, singing verses and songes of victorie, in prayse of the gods and their Captaine: and when he had passed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of *Iupiter* called *Feretrian*, there he set vp this young oke, and token of triumphe. This *Marcellus* is the third and last ROMAINE Captaine, to who happened this honour in our age. For the first man that euer offred vp to *Iupiter* the spoiles of the general of their enemies, was king *Romulus*, who wanne the like spoyles of *Acran*, king of the CÆNINIANS. The second was *Cornelius Cossus*, who slue *Tolumnius*, generall of the THVSCANS. And the third was *Marcellus*, who slue with his own hands *Britomarus*, king of the GAVLES: and after him, no man euer since could obtaine the like good fortune. The god to whom these manner of spoyles are consecrated thus, is called *Iupiter Feretrian*, so termed as some write, because they do cary this token of triumphe to him, following the derivation of this Greeke word, *Ferin*, which signifieth to cary: for in those former times, many Greeke wordes were mingled with the Latin. Other affirme it is one of the surnames of *Iupiter*, signifying as much as lightening: for *Ferire* in the Latin toung, signifieth to strike. And some say also, in warres it is properly to hurt or kill with his owne handes: for the ROMAINES vse at this day when they giue a charge vpon their enemies in battell, or that they haue them in chase flying, to crie, incouraging one an other, *Feri, Feri*: which is as much as kill, kill. And the spoyles taken frō the enemies also, are generally called *Spolia*: but those which Lieutenants generall, or generals, do take from the generals of their enemies, when they haue slaine them, they are called particularly *Spolia opima*. Yet some hold opinion, that king *Numa Pompilius* mentioning the rich spoiles, or *Spolia opima* in his cōmentaries, speaketh of the first, the second, and the third: and commaundeth that the first spoyles which are wonne, should be consecrated to *Iupiter Feretrian*: the second vnto *Mars*: and the third vnto *Quirinus*. And that they should giue to him that had wonne the first spoyles, three hundred Asses, the second, two hundred: & the third a hundred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion & vsuall taking of *Spolia opima*, referreth them to be the first spoiles wonne in a foughten field, & those which the Lieutenant of an armie, or a generall, doth take frō the generall of the enemies, after he hath slaine him with his own hands. And thus much for declaration of this matter. Furthermore, the ROMAINES were so ioyfull of this victorie, and of their good successe in this warre, that they caused a massie cup of gold to be made of the spoyle they had gotten, weighing a hundred pound weight, which they sent to offer vp in the temple of *Apollo Pythias* in the city of DELPHES, in token of thankes: and they made liberall diuision besides of the spoyles vnto their friendes and confederates, and sent a great part of it vnto *Hieron* king of SYRACVSA, who was their confederate. Not long after, *Hannibal* being entred ITALIE, *Marcellus* was sent with an army by sea, into SICILE. And after the great ouerthrow was giue at the battel of CANNES, wherin there died so many thousand ROMAINES, and that verie few of them saued themselues by flying, into the citty of CANNVTIVM: they looked that *Hannibal* hauing ouercome the flower of all

Marcellus wanne the citie of Millaine.

Marcellus triumph.

Marcellus offering vp of his rich spoiles.

The three persons that offered vp Spolia opima in Rome:
Romulus.
Cossus.
Marcellus.

Iupiter Feretrian why so called.

Spolia opima what they be.

Marcellus sent into Sicile with an armie.

the ROMAINES youth, and their greateſt force, would not fayle to come ſtraight to Ro
Wherefore *Marcellus* firſt ſent fifteene hundred of his men by ſea, to helpe to defend Ro
and hauing afterwardes receaued commaundement from the Senate, he came to CA
SIVM, where he tooke ſuch as were fled thither for ſuccour after the battell, and ſo brou
them out to the field, to defend the country. Now the ROMAINES hauing loſt the moſt pa
all their beſt Captaines, in diuerſe ſundry battels before: of all thoſe that remained, *Fabi*
ximus was the onely able and reputed man for commendation of his honeſty & wiſedom
they miſliked of him notwithſtanding, for a timerous man, & of no courage, as a mā too
doubts and conſideration, and loth to put any thing in hazard: ſaying, he was a good Cap
to defend, but not to offend the enemy. Whereupon they thought good to ioyne *Marc*
liuely youth and courage, with *Fabius* feminine feare and wiſedom: and therefore ſome
they choſe them both Conſuls together, or elſe they ſent one of them as Conſull, and
ther as Proconſull, ech in his turne, to the country where they had warres. And for
hereof, *Poſidonius* writeth, that the ROMAINES at that time called *Fabius Maximus* ther
get, and *Marcellus* their ſword. Therefore *Hannibal* himſelfe ſaid, he feared *Fabius Ma*
as his gouernour, & *Marcellus* as his enemy: bicauſe the one kept him from hurting o
and the other did hurt to himſelfe. Immediatly after this great victory at CANNES, *Ha*
ſouldiers became ſo bold, ſo careleſſe, and diſordered, that they kept the field without
of any thing, and diſperſed themſelues farre from their camp: wherefore *Marcellus* ſeeing
on thoſe ſtragglers, he ſlue them euerie man, and ſo by litle and litle did ſtill leſſen the po
and ſtrength of his enemie. Afterwardes he aided the cities of BIZANTIVM and of NO
ſtabliſhed the true deuotion and loue of the BIZANTINES towardes the ROMAINES:
thence he went to NOLA, & found great ſedition there betwixt the Senate & people, bec
the Senate could not keepe the people in obedience, but they would needes take *Ha*
part. The cauſe of the peoples ſtubburnneſſe grew, by occaſion of a gentleman of the c
called *Bandius*, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valiant man of his hands. This
hauing fought valiantly at the battell of CANNES, after he had ſlaine many a CAR
NIAN, was himſelfe in the end ſtriken downe, and found lying among dead bodies
wounded and mangled: whereupon *Hannibal* greatly commending his valiantneſſe,
onely let him go without ranſome, but furthermore preſented him, & made him his ho
friend. Hereupon *Bandius* at his comming home, to requite *Hannibals* honour & curte
came one of thoſe that moſt fauored *Hannibal*, and moſt perſwaded the people of No
take his part. Notwithſtāding this, *Marcellus* thinking it too great a ſinne againſt the go
put a man to death that had made ſo great proofe of his valiantneſſe, and had ſerued wi
ROMAINES in their greateſt warres and extremeſt daunger, and who beſides the goo
of his nature, had a maruellous gift alſo, to winne mens good wills by his great curteſie
this *Bandius* came one day to do his duetie to him, *Marcellus* of purpoſe asked him wh
was, though he had knowen him long before, onely to take occaſion to talke with him
ther aunſwered him, his name was *Lucius Bandius*. Then *Marcellus* ſeeming to be mar
glad, and to wonder at him, ſayd: and art thou that *Bandius* they ſpeake ſo much a
whom they ſay did ſo notable ſeruice in perſon at the battell of CANNES, and neuer for
Paulus AEmilius the Conſull, but receaued ſo many woundes vpon thy bodie in defe
him? *Bandius* aunſwered, that he was the man, and therewith ſhewed him many wound
had vpon his body. *Marcellus* then replyed: alas, thou that carieſt ſuch norable marke
vnfained loue towards vs, what diddeſt thou meane, that thou cameſt not ſtraight again
vs? art thou perſwaded we are ſo miſerable & vnthankefull, that we will not worthily re
the vertue and valiantneſſe of our friendes, whom our enemies ſelues do honour? After
cellus had vſed this curteous ſpeech vnto him, and had imbraced him, he gaue him a go
horſe for ſeruice in the warres, and fiue hundred Drachmes of ſiluer beſides. So after that
Bandius did euer take *Marcellus* part, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to
and ſhewed himſelfe verie ſeuere and earneſt to accuſe them, that tooke *Hannibals* part
cittie: which were many in number, and had conſpired among themſelues, that the firſt
the ROMAINES ſhould go into the field to skirmiſh with the enemies, they would ſtr

Poſidonius wordes of Fabius & Marcellus.

Lucius Bandius, of Nola: a valiant man.

Marcellus gentleneſſe.

Reward made Bandius a true ſubiect.

gates after them, & take the spoile of all their cariages. *Marcellus* being informed of this treason, did set his men in battell ray within the city, hard by the gates, and behind them he placed all the sumpters & cariage in good order: besides that, he made proclamation by trumpet, that no citizen vpon paine of death should approch the walles. This occasion drew *Hannibal* to come hard to the citie seeing no watch vpon the walles, and made him the bolder to come in disorder, imagining there had bene some mutinie or sedition within, betweene the noble men and the people. But in the meane time, *Marcellus* set open the gates being hard by, and issuing out vpon the sodaine with the best men of armes he had, he gaue a charge vpon *Hannibal* in the vaward. Immediatly after came out his footemen at an other gate, running straight vpon *Hannibal*, with a wonderfull crie and shout: so as *Hannibal* to withstand them, was driuen to deuide his men in two companies. But as he was deuiding them, sodainely a third gate opened vpon them, from whence all the residue of the ROMAINES issued out, & fell vpon the CARTHAGINIANS on euery side, they being maruellously amazed to be so sodainely set on, which they looked not for: so hauing their hands full with those that came first vpon them, being scant able to defend themselues against them, and seeing this new and last charge also, they were forced to yeeld. This was the first time, that euer *Hannibals* souldiers began to giue place to the ROMAINES, who draue them backe vnto their campe, and slue a great number of them, and did hurt diuerse of them besides. For some write there were slaine of the CARTHAGINIANS at that conflict, aboue fiue thousand: and of the ROMAINES there died not past fiue hundred men. But *Titus Liuius* doth not set out the matter so great, and yet confesseth that *Marcellus* wanne great honour by it, and that it made the ROMAINES maruellous valiant againe, after so many and sundry battels as they had lost one after an other: for then they were perswaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether vnuincible, but that he might sometime also, as well as themselues, receiue both losse and hurt. Therefore, one of the Consuls dying about that time, the people caused *Marcellus* to be sent for, and placed him in his roome: and in spite of the Senate they deferred all deputation till his returne from the camp. *Marcellus* came no sooner to ROME, but he was chosen Consull in the dead mans roome, by all the voyces of the people. Notwithstanding, when they went to choose him, it thundred maruellously: which the Priests and Augures tooke for an ill token, but yet they durst not openly speake against his election, because they feared the people. Howbeit *Marcellus* of himselfe did willingly giue vp his Consullship, and yet was there no exception to him for his seruice in the warres: for they created him Proconsull, and sent him againe to the camp at NOLA, where he did seuerely punish such as tooke *Hannibals* part. Who being aduertised thereof, came thither with all possible speed to helpe them: and when at his first comming, he offered *Marcellus* battell, which refused it at that time. Neuertheless he tooke his time, when *Hannibal* had sent the best part of his armie to forage, as meaning to fight no more battels: and then he set vpon him, hauing giuen his footemen long pikes, such as they vse in fight vpon the sea, and taught them also, how to hurt the enemy a farre off, keeping them still in their hands. But the CARTHAGINIANS hauing no skill of their pikes, and fighting with short iauelings in their hands, did strike downe right blowes: which was the cause, that they being set vpon by the ROMAINES, were driuen to turne their backes, and flee before them. So there were slaine fiue thousand of the CARTHAGINIANS left dead in the field, foure elephants slaine, and two taken aliue: and furthermore, three dayes after the battell, there came a three hundred horsemen, some of them SPANIARDS, and other NVMIDIANS, that submitted themselues to the ROMAINES. Neuer came there such a misfortune before to *Hannibal*: who had of long time kept together in great loue & amity, an army assembled of sundry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit these three hundred continued euer after faithfull to the end, both to *Marcellus*, and to all other Lieutenants & generals of the ROMAINES. Shortly after, *Marcellus* being againe chosen Consull the third time, went into SICILE. For *Hannibals* prosperous successe & victories had so incouraged the CARTHAGINIANS, as they sought againe to conquer this Iland: and specially because that after the death of *Hieronimus* the tyrant, there rose some tumult at SYRACVSA. Vpon which occasion, the ROMAINES had sent an armie thither before, & a Prætor called *Appius*: at whose hands *Marcellus*

Marcellus victorie of Hannibal at Nola.

Marcellus proconsull.

Certaine Spanyards and Numidians reuolted from Hannibal.

Marcellus the third time Consull, sent into Sicile.

hauing receiued the army, a great number of the ROMAINES became humble suters to him to pray him to aide them in their calamity, which was this. Of those that scaped from the ... tell of CANNES, some saued themselues by flying, other were taken prisoners, of which ... were such a number, as it appeared that ROME had not people enough left onely to keepe ... walles. Neuertheless, those few that remained, their harts were so great, that they would ... uer redeeme the prisoners, which *Hannibal* was contented to deliuer them vpon small ... some, but made a decree they should not be redeemed: and so suffered some of them to be ... led, others to be sold for slaues out of ITALIE. And moreouer, those that saued themselues by flying, they sent straight into SICILE: commaunding they should not once set foote ... in ITALIE, whilest they had warres with *Hannibal*. These were the mē that came altogether and fell downe at *Marcellus* feete, so soone as he arriued in SICILE, & humbly besought him to appoint them to serue vnder some ensigne, that they might fight to do their coūtry honour and seruice: promising him with teares running downe their cheekes, that their faithfull service then should witnesse for them, that the ouerthrow they had at CANNES, fell vpon them rather by misfortune, then through lacke of courage. Whereupon *Marcellus* hauing compassion on them, wrote to the Senate in their fauour, & prayed them that they would graunt him licence to supply the bands of his army, as they diminished, with those poore ROMAINES countreymen. Many reasons passed to, & fro, against this sute: neuertheless, it was concluded in the end by the Senate, that the common wealth made no reckening of the seruice of ... harted men like women: wherefore if *Marcellus* thought good of their seruice, yet it should not be lawfull for him to giue thē any crownes or rewards of honour, for any notable seruice soeuer they did, as all generals are wont to giue to honest men that serue valiantly. The order of the Senate misliked *Marcellus* verie much, who at his returne home out of SICILE made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifest wrong, to deny him that fauour, that hauing done his cōmon wealth such faithfull seruice diuerse times, as he had done, he might not restore so many poore ROMAINES to their honour againe. Now, when *Marcellus* was in SICILE, he receiued great hurts and iniuries by *Hippocrates*, generall of the SYRACVSANS: who, to pleasure the CARTHAGINIANS, and by their meanes to make himselfe chiefe Lord of SYRACVSA, did put many ROMAINE citizēs to death. Whereupon *Marcellus* went and layed siege to the city of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by ... he hurt neuer a townes man, nor naturall citizen of the same: but such traytors as he found there, and had fled from his camp, and yeelded to the enemies, them he caused to be whipped and then hanged. But notwithstanding, *Hippocrates* had before caused it to be bruted at SYRACVSA, that *Marcellus* had put all the LEONTINES to the sword, not sparing litle children: afterwards *Hippocrates* comming thither on the sodaine, in the feare and garboyle of this brute, he easily tooke the city. *Marcellus* hearing *Hippocrates* had taken SYRACVSA, left with the LEONTINES, & went with his whole army, & camped hard by SYRACVSA. his Ambassadours to tell the SYRACVSANS truely, what he had done in the city of the LEONTINES, and quite contrarie to that they were informed of. Howbeit that preuailed not, they beleeued not *Marcellus*, because *Hippocrates* being the stronger, had wonne the ... Whereupon he began then to approch the walls, and to assault in euery quarter, as well by sea as by land. *Appius* tooke charge of them that gaue assault by land. *Marcellus* himselfe, ... three score gallies of fiue owers at euery bancke, well armed, and full of all sortes of ... and fire workes, did assault by sea, and rowed hard to the wall, hauing made a great engine ... deuise of batterie, vpon eight gallies chained together, to batter the wall: trusting ... great multitude of his engines of batterie, and to all such other necessarie prouision as ... for warres, as also in his owne reputation. But *Archimedes* made light accompt of all ... uises, as indeede they were nothing comparable to the engines himselfe had inuented: yet were not his owne such, as himselfe did recken of, to shew singularitie of worke and ... For those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometrie, and things done to ... time with, at the request of king *Hieron*: who had prayed him to call to minde a litle, his ... metricall speculation, and to applie it to things corporall and sencible, and to make the ... son of it demonstratiue, and plaine, to the vnderstanding of the common people by ...

The seueritie of the Romaines to cowardly souldiers.

Cowardes detested of the Romaines.

Hippocrates generall of the Syracusans. Marcellus wanne the citie of the Leontines.

Marcellus besiegeth Syracusa.

Archimedes a notable Mathematician.

ments, and to the benefit and commoditie of vse. For this inuentiue art to frame instruments and engines, (which are called mechanicall, or organicall, so highly commended and esteemed of all sortes of people) were first set forth by *Architas*, and by *Eudoxus*: partly to bewtifie a litle the science of Geometry by this fineneſſe, and partly to proue and confirme by materiall examples and sencible instruments, certaine Geometricall conclusions, wherof a man can not finde out the conceiuable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and prooſes. As that conclusion which instructeth one to search out two lynes meane proportionall, which can not be proued by reason demonstratiue; and yet notwithstanding is a principall and an accepted ground, for many things which are conteined in the art of portraiture. Both of them haue fashioned it to the workemanship of certaine instruments, called Mesolabes or Mesographes, which serue to finde these meane lines proportionall, by drawing certaine curue lines, and ouerthwart and oblike sextions. But after that, *Plato* was offended with them, and mainteined against them, that they did vtterly corrupt and disgrace the worthinesse & excellency of Geometrie, making it to descend from things not comprehensible, and without body, vnto things sensible and materiall, and to bring it to a palpable substance, where the vile and base handie works of man is to be employed: since that time I say, handie craft, or the art of engines, came to be separated from Geometry, and being long time despised by the Philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike artes. But *Archimedes* hauing told king *Hieron*, his kinseman and verie friend, that it was possible to remoue as great a weight as he would, with as litle strength as he listed to put to it: and boasting himselfe thus (as they report of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proued this conclusion, that if there were an other globe of earth, he was able to remoue this of ours, and passe it ouer to the other: king *Hieron* wondering to heare him, required him to put this deuise in execution, and to make him see by experience, some great or heauy weight remoued by litle force. So *Archimedes* caught hold with a hooke of one of the greatest carects, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, required a maruellous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done so) and put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinarie burden: and he himselfe sitting alone at his ease farre off, without any straining at all, drawing the end of an engine with many wheeles and pullyes, fayre and softly with his hand, made it come as gently and smoothly to him as it had floted in the sea. The king wondring to see the sight, and knowing by proofe the greatnesse of his art: he prayed him to make him some engines, both to assault and defend, in all manner of sieges and assaults. So *Archimedes* made him many engines, but king *Hieron* neuer occupied any of them, because he raigned the most part of his time in peace, without any warre. But this prouision and munition of engines, serued the SYRACVSANS turne marueilously at that time: & not onely the prouision of the engines ready made, but also the engineer & worke maister himselfe, that had inuented them. Now, the SYRACVSANS seeing themselues assaulted by the ROMAINES, both by sea and by land, were maruellously perplexed, and could not tell what to say they were so afrayed: imagining it was impossible for them to withstand so great an army. But when *Archimedes* fell to handle his engines, and to set them at worke: there flue in the ayre infinite kindes of shot, and maruellous great stones, with an vncredible noyse and force on the sodaine, vpon the footemen that came to assault the citie by land, comming downe, and tearing in peeces all those, which came against them, or in what place soeuer they lighted, no earthly bodie being able to resist the violence of so heauie a weight: so that all their rankes were maruellously disordered. And as for the gallies that gaue assault by sea, some were striken with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of ships, whereto they vse to hang their sayles, which were sodainly blowen ouer the walles with force of their engines into their gallies, and so striken them by their ouer great weight. Other being hoysed vp by the prowes with hands of Iron, and hookes made like cranes billes, plunged their poupes into the sea. Other being taken vp with certaine engines fastened within one contrary to an other, made them turne in the ayre like a whirlegigge, & so cast them vpon the rockes by the towne walles, and splitted them all to sitters, to the great spoyle and murther of the persons that were within them. And sometimes the ships and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a fearefull thing to see them hang and turne in the ayre as they did: vntill that casting their

Architas and Eudoxus, famous Mathematicians.

Why Plato reproued Eudoxus and Architas.

Archimedes with an engine drew one of the greatest hulkes Hieron the king had a shore.

The wonderfull force of Archimedes engines at Marcellus siege of Syracusa.

men within them ouer the hatches, some here, some there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be emptie, and to breake against the walls, or else to fall into the sea againe, where their engines left their hold. Now for *Marcellus* engine, which he brought against the wall vpon a bridge made of gallies ioyned together: that was called Sambuca, by reason of the fashion it had like to an instrument of musicke of the same name, which is a harpe. The same being yet a good pretie way off from the walls, there fell a great stone vpon it sent frō the wall weighing ten talents. Then, a second after that, and a third one after that, the which falling into this engine with such a thunder and terrible tempest, brake the foundation of the engine and tare all the bridge of the gallies ioyned together in peeces, that sustained it. So that *Marcellus* being amazed with all, not knowing well what it meant: was glad to retire quickly, and sent to make his trompet sound the retreat to those that gaue assault by land. Hereupon they sate in counsell to determine what was to be done, and they resolued, that the next morning before day they should approch the walles if it were possible: because that *Archimedes* engines, which were verie strong and hard wound vp, should by this meanes send all their force and furie of their stones and shot ouer their heades, and that neare hand also he could do no good with them, for that they had not the scope of their leauell and cariage they should haue. But *Archimedes* had preuented this deuise by long preparation before, hauing made prouision of engines for farre and neare, the leauell and cariage whereof was proportioned for all distances: their shot short, the arrowes not verie long, many holes & arches in the walles hard by an other, where there were store of crosbowes to kill neare hand, set in such places, as the enemies could not see them without. Wherefore, when the Romanes thought to approch, thinking they had bene safe and close, that no man saw them: it amazed them when they were receiued againe with infinite shot, and striken to the ground with stones that fell vpon their heades like lead: (for there was no part of all the walles, from whence they had not the like shot.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retire from the walles: yet when they were further of from them, the arrowes, stones, and other kinde of shot flue in euery place among them, killed a great nombor of them, scattered farre from them, so that many of them were slaine and sore wounded, and diuerse of their ships soiled: they not once able to be reuenged, nor to hurt their enemies, because *Archimedes* had placed his engines verie closely behind the walles, and not vpon the walles in sight of the enemie, that it appeared the gods fought against the Romanes, they were so slaine and wounded, and yet they could not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithstading, *Marcellus* escaped with safe from hurt, and mocking his workemaisters and engineers he had in his camp, he spake to them. What, shall we not leaue to make warres with this Briarian engineer and Geometrician here? who sitting still vpon the wharfe, in sporting manner hath with shame ouerwen our nauie, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred handes of the Gyants, discharging one instant so many shot among vs? For indeede, all the residue of the Syracusans are as the body and members of *Archimedes* preparation: and he himselfe was the onely mouer that moued and did all, all weapons else being quiet, and his engines onely occupied, to offend and defend. At the length, *Marcellus* seeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but see the shadow of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the wall, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* was letting loose some of his engines vpon them: he would no more approch the walles, nor giue assault, determining to see if he could winne it by long siege. Notwithstanding *Archimedes* had such a great minde, and was so profoundly learned, hauing hidden in his breast the onely treasure and secrets of Geometricall inuentions: as he would neuer set forth any booke how to make all these warlicke engines, which wanne him at that time the fame & glorie not of mans knowledge, but rather of diuine wisedom. But he esteeming all kind of handy craft and inuention to make engines, & generally all maner of sciences bringing common commodity by the vse of them, to be but vile, beggerly, and mercenarie drosse, employed his wit & studie onely to write things, the beawtie and subtilitie whereof, were not mingled any thing at all with necessitie. For all that he hath written, are geometricall propositions, which are in comparison of any other writings whatsoeuer: because the subiect whereof they treat, doth appeare by demonstration, the matter giuing them the grace & the greatnesse, and the

Marcellus Sambuca.

Marcellus wondred at Archimedes engines.

Archymedes profoundly learned.

ſtration prouing it ſo exquiſitely, with wonderfull reaſon and facilitie, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be found more profound and difficult matters written, in more plaine and ſimple tearmes, and by more eaſie principles, then thoſe which he hath inuented. Now ſome do impute this, to the ſharpeneſſe of his wit and vnderſtanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre it to the extreame paines he tooke, which made theſe things come ſo eaſily from him, that they ſeemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no mans liuing of himſelfe can deuiſe the demonſtration of his propoſitions, what paine ſoeuer he take to ſeeke it: & yet ſtraight ſo ſoone as he commeth to declare & open it, euery man then imagineth with himſelf he could haue found it out well enough, he can then ſo plainly make demonſtration of the thing he meaneth to ſhew. And therfore that me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was ſo rauiſhed and drunke with the ſweet intiſements of this Syren, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgat his meat & drink, & was careleſſe otherwiſe of himſelfe, that oftentimes his ſeruants got him againſt his will to the bathes, to waſh and annoint him: & yet being there, he would euer be drawing out of the Geometricall figures, euen in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annoinring of him with oiles and ſweet ſauors, with his finger he did draw lines vpon his naked body: ſo far was he taken from himſelfe, & brought into an extaſie or traunce, with the delight he had in the ſtudy of Geometry, & truly rauiſhed with the loue of the Muſes. But amongſt many notable things he deuiſed, it appeareth, that he moſt eſteemed the demonſtration of the proportion betweene the Cylinder (to wit, the round colomne) & the ſphære or globe contained in the ſame: for he praied his kinſmen and friends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder vpon his tombe, containing a maſſie ſphære, with an inſcription of the proportion, wherof the continent exceedeth the thing conteined. So *Archimedes* being as you haue heard, did ſo much as lay in him, both ſaue himſelfe and SYRACVSA, from taking. But now againe to *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* during the ſiege at SYRACVSA, wanne the citie of MEGARES in Sicilia, one of the ancienteſt cities in all the Iland: & he tooke beſides, the campe of *Hippocrates*, lying by ACILES, where he ſlue aboue 8000 men, ſurpriſing them vpon the ſodaine, euen as they were preparing to lodge, & to fortifie their campe. Then he ouercame a great part of the champion countrie of SICILE, & made the cities to rebell that tooke the CARTHAGINIANS part: & in all the battels he fought, he euer ouercame them that durſt bid him battell. It chanced afterwards, that he tooke a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine priſoner, called *Danippus*: euen as he came out of SYRACVSA by ſea. The SYRACVSANS deſirous to redeeme him, ſent to him to pray he might be ranſomed. They made many parlees about his ranſome, and drew out this practiſe to diuerſe meetings: vntill *Marcellus* had taken good markes of a certaine tower, that had no great watch kept vpon it, & into the which he might ſecretly conney a certaine number of men, the wall of the city in that place being no very hard thing to skale. Therfore when he had giuen a good geſſe by eſtimation at the height of that tower, by often approching to it, hauing parled many a time hard by it: he prouided skaling ladders, & toke the oportunitie of the feaſt which the SYRACVSANS ſolemnized in the honor of *Diana*, on which day they gaue themſelues to all feaſting, ſporting and plaies. So he tooke not only the tower, but filled all the walls round about with armed men before day, & brake open the maine gate and entrie of the citie called Hexapile. And as the SYRACVSANS began to ſtir, perceiuing the ROMAINES on the wals: *Marcellus* made his men ſound their trumpets on euery ſide. Wherupon the SYRACVSANS were ſo afraid & amazed, that they began to flie, thinking all the city beſides had bin taken, where in deed the greateſt and ſtrongeſt quarter of the city called ACRADINA, was not touched: becauſe it is walled in round about, and ſeparated from the reſt of the city, which is deuided into two other parts, the one called the new citie, and the other fortune. The two parts whereof being wonne, *Marcellus* by the breake of the day forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapile. And when his captaines told him he was happy, to winne ſo goodly a citie, ſo eaſily: they ſay, that he looking about him, and conſidering the greatneſſe & ſtatelineſſe of the citie, he wept for very pitie, foreſeeing whereto it ſhould come, thinking with himſelfe what a change it ſhould haue, when his armie came to ſpoile and ſack the ſame. For there was not a captaine that durſt denie the ſouldiers when they demanded the ſpoile, & yet were there

Archimedes Syren.

Archimedes demonſtration of the Cylinder.

Marcellus victories in Sicile.

Dianippus a Lacedæmonian captaine taken priſoner.

Marcellus winneth Syracuſa.

Acradina.

many that would needs haue it burnt and rased to the ground. But *Marcellus* would not agree to that in any case, and besides, it was sore against his minde to graunt them the spoile of goods and slaues: straightly commanding them notwithstanding, not to lay hands of any man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any SYRACVSAN slaue. Wherein, though he shewed great fauor & mercy, yet it greeued him to see so famous a city, brought to that miserable state: and in the midst of all the ioy he had for his victorie, he could not refraine from weeping for pitty to see so riche and wealthy a city, in the turning of a hand, spoiled, & brought to nought. For it is said, that the riches & goods taken away at the sack of SYRACVSA, were nothing inferior to the spoiles of CARTHAGE, which was also sacked not long after that: for the other part of the city of SYRACVSA called ACRADINA, was soone after also taken by treason, and spoiled against the captaines wils, sauing the kings treasure, which was reserued to be carried to the common treasure of ROME. SYRACVSA being taken, nothing greeued *Marcellus* more then the losse of *Archimedes*. Who being in his studie when the city was taken, busily searching out by himselfe the demonstration of some Geometricall proposition which he had drawen in figure, and so earnestly occupied therein, as he neither saw nor heard any noise of enemies that ran vp and downe the city, and much lesse knew it was taken: he wondered when he saw a souldier by him, that bad him go with him to *Marcellus*. Notwithstanding, he spake to the souldier, and bad him tary vntill he had done his conclusion, & brought it to demonstration: but the souldier being angry with his answer, drew out his sword, and killed him. Other say that the ROMAINE souldier when he came, offered the sword point to him, to kil him: & that *Archimedes* when he saw him, praied him to hold his hand a litle, that he might not leaue his matter he looked for vnperfect, without demonstration. But the soldier making no reckoning of his speculation, killed him presently. It is reported a third way also, saying, that certaine soldiers met him in the streets going to *Marcellus*, carying certaine Mathematicall instruments in a litle prety coffer, as dials for the sunne, sphæres and angles, wherewith they measured the greatnesse of the body of the sunne by view: and they supposing he had caried some golde or siluer, or other pretious iewels in that litle coffer, slue him for it. But it is most true, that *Marcellus* was maruellous sory for his death, and euer after hated the villaine that slue him, as a wicked and execrable person: and how he made also maruellous much afterwards of *Archimedes* kinsemen for his sake. The ROMAINES were esteemed of at that time by all nations, for maruellous expert souldiers, and taken for very valiant and dangerous men to be dealt with: but they neuer shewed any example of their clemencie and curtesie, and least of all of any curtesie ner to any strangers, vntill *Marcellus* taught the way, whose actes did shew the Greeks then, that the ROMAINES were more gratious and mercifull, then they. For he did so courteously intreate those that had to do with him, and shewed such fauour to priuate persons, as also to whole cities: that if there were any crueltie shewed in the cities of ENNA, or at MESSERES, or against the SYRACVSANS, it was rather through their owne fault and folly that were hurt, then theirs that did them the hurt. And for proofe hereof, I will recite you one example onely amongst many. There is a citie in SICILE called ENGYIVM, it is no great thing but a very ancient citie of name, by reason of the trafficke thither, for that there are certaine goddesses to be seene, whom they worship, called the mothers. Some say the CRETANS were the first builders and founders of the temple there, where you shall see speares and helmets of copper, and vpon them are grauen the name of *Meriones*: and vpon others, *Vlysses* name, which are consecrated to these goddesses. This citie stood altogether at the deuotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and *Nicias* being the chiefest man of the same, was all he might against it, and perswaded them openly in all their counsels to take part with the ROMAINES, prouing it by many reasons, that his enemies counselling the contrarie, were vnprofitable members of the common wealth. Whereuppon *Nicias* enemies fearing his great power and authoritie, they did conspire among themselues to apprehend him, and to deliuer him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But *Nicias* hearing of such a matter, and finding that they lay in waite to take him: vsed this pollicie to preuent their treason. He gaue out openly very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honour: and said the sight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but a deuise, and that there

Marcellus gentlenesse.

Riche spoiles at Syracusa.

Archimedes mathematicall saine in his studie.

Diuers opinions of Archimedes death.

Marcellus clemencie.

Engyium a city in Sicile.

Nicias craft.

no credit to be giuen to them. These words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mischeife they pretended against him, to himselfe, as the onely causer of his owne hurt. So they hauing appointed a day to apprehend him, by chaunce a common counsell was kept that day they had determined of: where *Nicias* speaking to the people about matter of counsell, in the middest of his oration fell to the ground, to the great wonder of the whole assembly, as euery man may coniecture. Howbeit neuer a man sturred, & a prety while after he began to lift vp his head a litle, and to looke gastly about him, with a faint trembling voice, which he still gathered higher and lowder by litle and litle, vntil he saw all the people wonderously afraid & amazed, that not one of them durst speake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and ran towards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddesses mothers did torment him: and not a man durst once come neere him, nor offer to stop him, they were so superstitious and foolishly afraide of the goddesses, imagining it was some diuine punishment. But by this meanes he easily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was neuer seene after that time, to do, or speake, like a mad man in any thing. His wife that was made priuie to his deuise, and furthered his intent, went first and fell downe on her knees before the goddesses mothers in their temple, as she had hartily praied vnto them: and faining afterwards she would go seeke her husband, that ran vp and downe the fields like a mad man, she went out of the city with her litle children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they escape without danger, & went vnto *Marcellus* to SYRACVSA. The ENGIENIANS afterwards plaied such insolent parts, that *Marcellus* in the end went thither, and caused them all to be taken and bound, as though he would haue put them to execution. But *Nicias* came to him with the teares in his eyes, & embracing his knees, and kissing his hands, besought him to take pitty of his poore citizens, beginning first with those that were his greatest enemies. This good nature of *Nicias* so pacified *Marcellus* wrath, that he pardoned them all, & did no hurt to the city, and gaue *Nicias* certaine land besides many other rich gifts he bestowed vpon him. Thus it is reported in the historie of *Posidonius* the Philosopher. Now *Marcellus* being sent for home by the ROMAINES, because they had wars in their owne countrie, and euen at ROME gates: he departed out of SICILE returning towards ROME, and caried the goodliest tables, pictures, and statues, and other such ornaments as were in SYRACVSA, meaning first to beautifie his triumph with them, and to cause them afterwards for an ornament to ROME, which before that time neuer knew what such curious works ment. For, this finenesse, and curious tables and imagery, neuer came into ROME before, but was throughly set out with armour and weapons of barbarous people, & with bloudy spoiles, and was also crowned with monuments of victories and triumphes of diuerse enemies, which were no pleasant, but rather fearefull sights to looke vpon, farre vnfit for feminine eyes. But euen as *Epaminondas* did call the plaine of BOEOTIA, *Mars* scoffold, where he kept his games: & *Xenophon* also called the city of EPHESVS, the armorers shop: euen so me thinkes (as *Pindarus* said) they might rightly haue tearmed ROME, the temple of *Mars* fighting. And this wan the peoples good wils much more to *Marcellus*, because he did so pasingly set forth ROME with such excellent fine toyes of GREECE. But *Fabius Maximus* on the other side, was better beloued of the old men: because he brought no such toies with him fro the city of TARENTVM, when he wan it. Indeed he brought away gold and ready coine, and much other goods that were profitable: but for images & tables, he left them standing in their places, speaking a thing of great note. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their gods offended with them. And furthermore the noble men were angry with *Marcellus*, saying that by this acte he had purchased ROME great malice & hate. First, because he did not onely lead men prisoners in his triumphe, but the gods also: & secondly, because he had filled the people full of pride prase, & idle curiosity, spending all the whole day in gasing, & wondering at the excellency of the workmē, & of their works, where before they would fall to their labor, or else they wer to the wars, not being acquainted with curiosity, nor idle life as *Euripides* said, speaking of *Hercules*:

In wicked practises, he simple was to see,
but he exceld in vertuous deeds, and feates that worthy be.

Notwithstanding, *Marcellus* did glory amongst the GRECIANS themselues, saying: that

Marcellus the first that brought in sumptuous & curious tables and pictures into Rome, of the spoyle of Syracuse.

he had taught the ROMAINES to esteeme the wonderfull workes of GREECE, which knew not before. But at his returne out of SICILE, his enemies procured, that his honor triumphe was denied him. So *Marcellus* knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in CILE, and that the warre was not altogether ended, and fearing besides least a third triu would make him too much enuied: he was contented with good will to haue the honor the great triumphe, in the mountaine of ALBA onely: and of the litle triumphe, in the ci ROME. This maner of litle triumphe is called in Greeke *Euan*, and the ROMAINES call it *tio*. And this difference there is between them: that in the *Ouation* triumph, the party to w it is granted, doth not enter into the city vpon triumphing chariot drawne with foure h nor doth cary any lawrell vpon his head in token of triumphe, nor hath any trumpe hornes blowne before him, but doth marche on foote with a paire of slippers on his fee uing flutes and howboyes playing before him, and wearing a garland of firre tree vpo head: so as this maner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasant then feareful And that reason doth flatly drawe me to beleeue, that these two kinds of entries they gr to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were deuided in the olde rather for the maner, then for the greatnesse of the doings. For such as had ouercome enemies by great slaughter and bloudy battels, they did make their entry with pompe umphe, that was altogether marshall and terrible, followed with their souldiers armed, crowned with lawrell garlands, as their custome was in mustering their campe in the wa But they on the contrary side, that without any exploit of armes returned home with vi either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law granted them the ho of Ouation triumphe, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an in ment of pleasure belonging to peace; and the firre tree is a tree consecrated to *Venus*, w goddesse, aboue all gods and goddesses doth most detest warres. This second kinde of was called *Ouatio*, not as many GRÆCIANS haue taken it, comming of this word *Euan*, w is a voice and song of ioy, although they did vse also to accompanie the Captaines m their entry in this sort, crying and singing *Euan*: but there were certaine GRÆCIAN would haue fetched the deriuation of this word, from an old common custome they ha were of opinion besides, that part of this honor did appertaine to god *Bacchus*, whose sur we call *Euius*, and somtimes *Thriambus*. Howbeit this is not the true deriuation of the but after this sort. At the great triumphe and entry made, the captaine or generall that m pheth as a conqueror, did offer and sacrifice (by the old orders & ancient customes of R one, or diuerse oxen: where at the second triumphe called the Ouation, he onely sacrifi mutton, which the ROMAINES call in their tongue *Ouem*, and thereof was it called Ou And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the law maker of the Roma lawes & customes, and the law maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS: how both of them w contrary to the other, in appointing their sacrifices for victorie. For at SPARTA, the cap or generall that had done his feate by policie or friendship, the sacrifice he did offer vp gods, was an oxe: and he that by force, and bloudy battell had obtained victory, only o vp a cocke for sacrifice. For though they were very good soldiers, yet they thought bet his seruice, that by his wisedom and wise perswasions obteined victorie: then of his, tha it by valiantnesse, and force of armes. Thus may you see which of these two lawemake best reason in his ordinances. But now to *Marcellus* againe. He being chosen Consu fourth time, his enemies and euill willers did stirre vp the SYRACVSANS against him, perswaded them to complaine to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly, and vncourte vsed them, contrarie to the ancient league and alliances made long time before with the MALNES. *Marcellus* being sacrificing one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were counsell, the SYRACVSANS deputies came before them, and kneeling downe, besought to giue them audience, and that they would do them iustice. The other Consull that was sent rebuked them, being angry they had so maliciously spyed the occasion of *Marcel* sence. But when *Marcellus* heard of it, he straight left of all, and came to the Senate, and sate him downe in his Consuls chaire, where he gaue audience as Consull and dispatch uerse causes: when he had done so, he rose out of his chaire, and came downe among

Marcellus entreth into Rome with Ouation triumphe.

What the Ouation triumphe is.

Ouation whereof it is called.

The sacrifices of the quiet triumphe.

The sacrifices of the litle triumph Ouation.

The difference betwixt the Spartans and Romaines in their sacrifices for victorie.

The Syracusans accuse Marcellus.

ſtanding as a priuate perſon to aunſwer at the barre, as other offenders and men accuſed, ſuffering the SYRACVSANS to alleadge and ſay againſt him what they would. Then were the SYRACVSANS blanck, when they ſaw the maieſty of *Marcellus*, and his ſtaied countenance in all things: ſo that hauing found him before a very valiant man in warres, and vnconquerable, they found him then a man no leſſe dreadfull in his Conſuls robe: that they hung downe their eyes, and durſt not looke him in the face. Notwithſtanding, they being ſuborned by his enemies, began at the length boldly to accuſe him, and yet with ſorow and lamentation, the effect whereof was this. That they being the ROMAINES friends & confederates, had abidden ſuch iniuries at *Marcellus* hands, as all other generals neuer offered their very enemies. Whereto *Marcellus* ſtraight anſwered againe to the contrary. That for many iniuries the ROMAINES had receiued of them, they ſuffred nothing but that, which was vnpoſſible they ſhould not ſuffer, that reſiſted vntill they were taken by force: and yet they might thanke themſelues for any thing they ſuffered, becauſe they would not obey nor conſent, to reaſonable capitulations and articles of peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alledge for their excuſe, that the tyrants had compelled them to make warres: when they to the contrary, becauſe they would enter into warres, were contented to bee ſubiect to a tyrant. So, when both parties had ſpokē their minds, the SYRACVSANS (as the maner is) went out of the Senate houſe, and *Marcellus* alſo, leauing his fellow Conſul in his place in the Senate, & taried without the doore, attending the ſentence of the Senate, neuer altering his countenance nor wonted looke, neither for feare of ſentēce, nor for malice or anger againſt the SYRACVSANS, quietly looking for his iudgement. Afterwards when the Senators voices were gathered together, & that *Marcellus* was cleared by the moſt voices: then the SYRACVSANS fell downe at his feet weeping, and beſought him not to wreake his anger vpon them that were preſent, and moreouer that he would haue compaſſion of the reſidue of the citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confeſſed themſelues bound to him for euer. *Marcellus* moued with pitty by their intreaty, he pardoned them, & euer after did all the SYRACVSANS what pleaſure he could poſsible. For through his entreaty and requeſt, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his grant vnto them, which was: that they might vſe the liberty and benefit of their owne lawes, and quietly enioy their goods alſo which were left them. To requite this ſpecial grace procured them by *Marcellus*, the SYRACVSANS gaue him many honors, & among others they made a law, that euer after, as oft as any of *Marcellus* name or houſe came into SICILE, the SYRACVSANS ſhould keepe a ſolemne feaſt, with garlands on their heads, & ſhould alſo ſacrifice vnto the gods. After this, *Marcellus* went againſt *Hannibal*: and whereall the other Conſuls almoſt, & generals, after the ouerthrow at CANNES, had vſed this only policy with him, not to come to battell: he tooke a contrary courſe to them all, thinking that tract of time, (whereby they thought to eate out *Hannibals* force (was rather a direct conſuming and deſtroying of all ITALIE: & that *Fabius Maximus* ſtanding too much vpon ſafetie, tooke not the way to cure the diſeaſe & weakneſſe of the commōweale of ROME, looking to end this war, conſuming by litle and litle the ſtrength and power of ROME, committing a fearefull phiſitions fault and errour, being afraide to heale their pacient ſodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth leſſen the diſeaſe. So, firſt of all he went to beſiege certaine great cities of the SAMNITES, which were reuolted from obedience of the ROMAINES: & thoſe he wan againe with a great prouiſion of corne and money he found in them, beſides 3000 ſouldiers *Hannibal* left in garriſon there, whom he tooke priſoners. *Hannibal* after that, hauing ſlain the viceconſull *Cneus Fuluius* in APVLIA, with eleuen *Tribuni militum* (to wit, colonels, euery one hauing charge of 1000 footemen) and ouerthrowne the greateſt part of his armie: *Marcellus* wrote letters to ROME, hoping to comfort the Senate and people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he would driue *Hannibal* out of APVLIA. When the ROMAINS had red his letters, they were nothing the more cōforted, but rather (as *Liuie* writeth) more afraide and diſcouraged: becauſe they doubted the danger to come would be greater, then the loſſe paſt, taking *Marcellus* to be a farre greater and better generall, then euer was *Fuluius*. Neuertheleſſe, *Marcellus* performing the contents of his letters written to ROME, draue *Hannibal* out of APVLIA, and made him retire into LVCANIA. And *Marcellus* finding

Marcellus being Conſull, anſwered the Syracuſans accuſations as a priuate man.

Marcellus conſtancie.

Marcellus curteſie to the Syracuſans.

Marcellus actes againſt Hannibal in his fourth Conſulſhip.

Cneus Fuluius viceconſull ſlaine in Apulia by Hannibal.

him in that country, by a city called NVMISTRON, lodged vpon hils, and in places of strength and aduantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morning he was the first that presented his enemy battell. *Hanniball* on the other side, came downe into the valley, and they ioyned battell: which was so cruelly fought, and so long time, as it could not be discerned who had the better. For the battell being begun at nine of the clocke in the morning, it was darke night ere they gaue ouer. The next morning by peepe of day, *Marcellus* set his men againe in battell raye, in the middest of all the dead bodies that lay slaine in the field, and challenged *Hanniball*, to proue who should haue the field. But *Hanniball* refused, and marched his way thence: so as *Marcellus* thereby had good leasure left him to strip his slaine enemies, and also to burie his owne souldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his enemie by the foote, who laied many ambushes for him, but he could neuer trap him in any: and in euery encounter or skirmish they had together, *Marcellus* had euer the better, which wan him great fame and credit. Now time being come about to choose new Consuls, the Senate thought good to send rather for the other Consul that was in SICILE, then to remoue *Marcellus* thence, who had fought with *Hanniball*. So when the other Consull was come to ROME, the Senate commaunded him to name *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, because the Dictator was neither chosen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Consuls or Praetors in open assembly of the people, nameth such a one Dictator, as he liketh of. Wherefore it is meth, that this word Dictator, came vpon that worde naming: for, *Dicere* in the ROMAINE tongue, signifieth to name. Howbeit other hold opinion, that he was called Dictator, because he commandeth of himselfe what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, & the voices of the people: and this seemeth to be true, because the commandements of the Senate of Rome are called *Edicta*, which we GRECIANS call *Diatagmata*. Now the other Consull and companion of *Marcellus* being come out of SICILE, he would needs name another Dictator, but him whom the Senate offred him: and because he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do, he stale away one night, & returned againe into SICILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, and the Senate wrote their letters to *Marcellus*, to confirme him: which *Marcellus* did, and authorized the peoples election. So he himselfe was chosen againe Proconsull, for the next yeare following: in the which he hauing conferred with *Fabius Maximus* about the warres, they were agreed, that *Fabius* should procure he could win the city of TARENTVM againe: and that *Marcellus* in the meane time should keepe *Hanniball* occupied, that he might not come to aide it. This resolution being taken twixt them, *Marcellus* went to meet *Hanniball* by the city of CANNVSIVM: who as he changed and shifted lodging, because he would not come to the battell against his will, had *Marcellus* euer in his eye before him. Insomuch as *Hanniball* remouing thus his campe, *Marcellus* plied him so one day with continuall alarums and skirmishes, that he brought him to battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them both to leaue off till the next morning: where *Marcellus* shewed againe in field by breake of the day, in battell raye. When at *Hanniball* being in a maruellous rage, he called his souldiers together, and made an oration to them, earnestly mouing them once againe to fight with *Marcellus*, if euer they had before fought for his sake. You see, said he, that hauing fought so many battels, & gotten such victories as we haue done, we cannot yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much euer we win, if we driue not away yonder fellow *Marcellus*. When *Hanniball* had ended his oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, he led them on to the battell: where *Marcellus*, to no purpose, & out of time, would needs shew *Hanniball* a stratagem of war, that turned himself to worst. For *Marcellus* perceiuing the right wing of his armie distressed, made one of his legions that was set in ray in the rereward of his hoast, to marche to the front of his battell, to succour those that needed aide. But this remouing of the legion, troubled them that fought, and gaue the enemies the victorie: who slue that day two thousand seuen hundred of the ROMAINES. So, when *Marcellus* was come againe into his campe, he straight called his souldiers before him, to whome he spake in this maner: that he saw a great deale of armor, and bodies of men, but he could see no ROMAINES. The ROMAINES hearing him say so, besought him to pardon the faulte they had committed. *Marcellus* aunswered, he would neuer pardon them

Marcellus fought a battell with Hannibal at Numistron in Apulia.

The Dictator chosen by the Consul or Praetor, not by the people nor Senate, wherof Dictator commeth.

Quintus Fuluius chosen Dictator by the people. Marcellus Proconsull.

Hannibals oration to his souldiers.

Marcellus stratagem.

Marcellus ouercome in battell by Hanniball. Marcellus hard wordes vnto his souldiers.

so long as they were ouercome: but when they ouercame againe, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bring thē againe to fight with the enemy, that such as were at Rome should rather heare newes of their victory, then of their running away. When he had said, he appointed they should giue those bands that first turned their backes to *Hannibal*, barely for wheate. So, as there were many of them in great daunger of their liues, for the sore wounds they had giuen them in the battell: yet was there not a man of them, but *Marcellus* words did more grieue them then the grieuous wounds they had. The next morning betimes was set out of the generals tent, the coate armour died in skarlet, which is the ordinary signe of battell: and the bands that had receiued dishonor the day before, were placed at their owne request in the front of the battell. The other Captaines besides, that were not ouerthrowen, did leade their bands also to the field, and did set them in battell ray. *Hannibal* hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that can not be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the onely odde man, that neuer giueth rest to his enemy, when he hath ouercome him: nor taketh any for him selfe when he is ouercome. We shall neuer haue done with him, for any thing that I see, sith shame, whether he win or lose, doth still prouoke him to be bolder and valianter. After orations made of both sides, both armies marched forwards to ioyne battell. The Romaines being as strong as the Carthaginians, *Hannibal* put his Elephants in the voward and front of his battell, and commanded his men to driue them vppon the Romaines: and so they did. Which in deed did somewhat trouble and disorder the first rankes of the Romaines: vntill such time as *Flauius*, Tribune of the souldiers, tooke an ensigne in his hands, and marched before the beasts, and gaue the first of them such a thrust with the point of his ensigne, that he made her turne backe. The first beast being turned backe thus, ran vpon the second that followed her, and the second made the third goe backe also, and so from one to an other, vntill they all turned. *Marcellus* perceiuing that, commaunded his horsemen to set vpon the enemies with all the fury they could, in that place where he saw thē, somewhat troubled with these beasts, that turned bake againe vpon them: and that they should driue them further in amongest them. Which they did, and gaue so hotte a charge vppon the Carthaginians, that they made them turne their backes and run away, and they pursued them still, killing them downe right, euen to their campe side: where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their Elephantes that were wounded, fell downe starke dead within the gate of their campe. And they say of the Carthaginians there were slaine at this battell, aboue eight thousand, and of the Romaines onely three thousand: howbeit all the rest of them for the most part were very sore hurt. Which fell out very well for *Hannibal*, that hee might march away at his pleasure, as he did that night, and got him away far off from *Marcellus*, as knowing he was not in state to follow him ouer sodainely, because of his great number of hurt men in his campe: and so by smal iournies he went into Campania, where he lay in garrison all the sommer, in the city of Sinvesse, to heale the wounds of his sore mangled souldiers. *Hannibal* hauing now gotten him selfe at the length out of *Marcellus* hands, and hauing his army free to serue him as he thought good: he burned and destroied al Italy where he went and stood no more in feare of any thing. This made *Marcellus* ill spoken off at Rome, and caused his enemies to take hold of such a matter against him: for they straight raised *Publius Bibulus* Tribune, to accuse him, who was a hot harebrained man, but very eloquent, and could deliuer his mind very wel. So his *Bibulus* called the people oft to counsaile, & told them there, that they must needs call home *Marcellus*, and appoint some other to take charge of the army: for as for him, sayd he, because he hath fought a litle with *Hannibal* (and as a man might say, wrestled a litle with him) he is now gotten to the bathes to solace him selfe. But *Marcellus* hearing this, left his Lieutenants in the campe, and went him selfe to Rome, to aunswer to the vntrue accusations layed against him, and there he perceiued at his comming, how they intended to prosecute the matter, against him vppon these informations. So a day of hearing was appointed for his matter, and the parties came before the people assembled in counsaile, in the great lists or shew place, called *Circus Flaminius*, to giue iudgement. There *Publius Bibulus* the Tribune, sitting in his chaire, layed open his accusation with great circumstance: and *Marcellus*, when *Bibulus* had told his tale, aunswered him in few wordes, and very discretely, only

Hannibals wordes of Marcellus.

Battell betwixt Hannibal and Marcellus. The worthy acts of Flauius Tribunus militum.

Marcellus victorie of Hannibal.

Hannibal lay in garrison in the city of Sinuesse in Campania.

P. Bibulus Tribune of the people accuseth Marcellus.

Circus Flaminius.

touching his purgation. But the noble and chiefeſt men of the city, roſe vp and ſpake on *Marcellus* behalfe, telling the people plainely, that they did *Marcellus* wrong, to reckon worſe his valiantnes, then their enemy did: and to iudge of him as a coward, conſidering *Hannibal* only fled from him, of all other Captaines, and would by no meanes fight with him, neuer refuſing to fight with any other whatſoeuer. Theſe perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, as wher *Marcellus* accuſer looked for his condēnation: *Marcellus* to the cōtrary, was not only cleared of accuſation, but furthermore they choſe him Conſull againe the fift time. So being entred his office he went firſt into THVSCAN: where viſiting the good cities one after an other, quieting them, he pacified a great ſedition in the country, when they were all ready to riſe rebel. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to conſecrat the temple of honor & vertue, which he had built with the ſpoiles he got in the warres of SICILE. But the Prieſtes were againſt ſaying, two goddes might not be in one church. Thereupon he built another temple, and ioined it to the firſt, being very angry the Prieſts denied ſo his conſecration: and he did take it an euill token, beſides diuers other ſigns in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were many temples ſet on fire with lightning at one time: and there and miſe did gnaw the gold, that was in the chappell of *Iupiter Capitoline*. And it is reported alſo, that an oxe did ſpeake: and a child came out of the head of an Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Prieſts and Soothſayers ſacrificing to the gods, to withdraw the euill from them, theſe ſiniſter tokens did threaten: they could neuer finde any fauourable ſigne in their ſacrifices. Whereuppon they ſought to keepe *Marcellus* ſtill at ROME, who had maruellous earneſt deſire to be gone with ſpeede to the warres: for neuer man longed for a thing ſo much, as *Marcellus* did, to fight with *Hannibal*. Inſomuch he neuer dreamed of other thing in the night, nor ſpake of any matter elſe in the day to his friends and companions, praied to the gods for any other thing, but that he might fight with *Hannibal* in the field. I thinke he would willingliеſt haue fought a priuate combat with him, in ſome walled city or incloſed liſtes for the combat. And had it not bene that he had already won him ſelfe a great fame, and ſhewed him ſelfe to the world, (by ſundry great proofs and experience of his doings) a graue, skilfull, and a valiant Captaine as any man of his time: I would haue ſaid it had been pang of youth, & a more ambitious deſire, then became a man of his age, who was three ſcore yeare old at that time, when they made him Conſull againe the fift time. Neuertheles, after he had ended all his propitiatory ſacrifices and purifications, ſuch as the Soothſayers had appointed: he departed from ROME with his fellow Conſull *Quintus Criſpinus* to the wars. He found *Hannibal* lying betweene the cities of BANCIA, and VENOVSA, and ſought all the meanes he could to procure him to fight, but he could neuer get him to it. Howbeit *Hannibal* being aduertiſed by ſpials, that the Cōſuls ſent an army to beſiege the city of the LOCRIANS, ſurnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS: (as ye would ſay) the occidentals, becauſe the GRECIANS, in reſpect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals:) he laid an ambuſh for them that went, vnder the hil of PETILIVM, which was directly in their way, where he ſlew about two thouſand fiue hundred ROMAINES. That ouerthrow did ſet *Marcellus* on fire, and made him more deſirous of battell: wherupon he remoued his campe from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemie. Betweene their two campes there was a prety litle hill, ſtrong of ſituation, a wilde thing not growen with wod, and there were high hillocks. From whence they might diſcerne the way, both the one and the others campe, and at the foote of the ſame ran prety ſprings: ſo much as the ROMAINS wondered, that *Hannibal* cōming thither firſt, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. Howbeit *Hannibal* was crafty enough, leauing it of purpoſe: for it was commodious to lodge his campe in, ſo it ſerued his turne better for an ambuſh. So he had led the wod, the hollow places, and the vallies there about, with ſtore of ſhot and ſpeares, aſſuring him ſelfe that the place would intiſe the ROMAINS thither: & in deed he geſſed right: for ſo fell it out. Straight there flue a rumor abroad in the ROMAINES campe, that there was a paſſing place to lodge in, & euery man tooke vpō him like a skilfull ſouldier, to tell what aduantage they ſhould haue vpon their enemies by taking that place, and ſpecially if they did lodge there, or otherwiſe built a fort vpon it. Whereupon *Marcellus* determined to go ſee the place himſelf, taking a few horſemē with him. Notwithſtāding, before he would take horſe, he

Marcellus choſen Conſull the fift time.

The temples of honor and vertue built by Marcellus.

Wonderfull ſignes were ſeene in Rome, vnfortunate to Marcellus.

Marcellus three ſcore yeare old, being choſen Conſull the fift time. Q. Criſpinus Conſull. Hannibal laie betwixt the cities of Bancia and Venouſa. Mons Petelium.

An ambuſh laid by Hannibal.

led for his Soothsaier to sacrifice to the gods. The first beast that was sacrificed, the Soothsaier shewed *Marcellus* the liuer of it without a head. The second beast sacrificed, had a faire great head of a liuer, and all the other parts were also sound, and very new: that by them it appeared al the feare of the first signs and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothsaiers on the other side sayd, it did make them worse afraid then before: for these so fauorable and lucky tokens of the sacrifice, following immediatly after the first foule & naughty signes, made them doubt them much by reason of so strange and sodaine an alteration. But as the Poet *Pindarus* saieth. *Ill signes to Marcellus.*

(Nor force of burning fire, nor wall of steele nor stone,
nor whatsoeuer other thing, is here this earth vpon:
Can keepe abacke the course of fatall destiny,
nor yet resist the due decrees, which come from heauen on high.)

So *Marcellus* tooke his horse, with *Quintus Crispinus* his fellow Consull, and his son one of the Tribunes of the souldiers, hauing onely two hundred and twenty horsemen with him, of the which there was not one ROMAINE among them, but al were THVSCANS, sauing forty FREGELLANIANS, who from the beginning of these warres had alwaies shewed themselues very faithfull and louing to *Marcellus*. The hill we spake of before, being thicke couered with wodde and bushes, the enemies had set a skout to watch on the top of it, to giue warning if they saw any comming towards it. The ROMAINES could not see him, and he on the other side might see euen into their campe, and perceiue what was done, as he did aduertise those at that time that lay in ambush for *Marcellus* comming: and they suffered him to passe on, vntill he came directly against them. Then they shewed vpon the sodaine, and compassing in *Marcellus*, they both shot and strake at him, some following them that fledde, and other fighting with the forty FREGELLANIANS which onely stucke to it: who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the THVSCANS were fled) vpon the first crie they heard, to defend the two Consuls, vntill such time as the Consull *Crispinus* hauing two woundes on his body with a dart, did turne his horse to flie. And with that, one of the enemies gaue *Marcellus* such a sore blow with a speare hauing a broade iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left aliue, being but a few in number, seeing *Marcellus* slaine, left him lying on the ground, and tooke his sonne away with them that was very sore hurt, and by the swiftnesse of their horses recouered their campe, and saued them selues. At this ouerthrow, there were not slaine aboue forty men, and fiue and twenty taken prisoners, of which, fiue of them were the Consuls sergeants, and their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horsemen. Within few daies after, the other Consull *Crispinus* died also of his burts, which was such a misfortune, as neuer came before to the ROMAINES, that both their Consuls were slaine at one battell. Now *Hannibal* made no great reckonning of all that were slaine, or taken at this field: but when he heard that *Marcellus* selfe was slaine at this ouerthrow, he went him selfe straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and countenance, hauing taken full view of all the parts of him, he spake no proud word against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would haue done, that had slaine so valiaunt and dangerous an enemy: but wondering how he came to be slaine so strangely there, he tooke of his ring from one of his fingers that sealed his letters, and giuing his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honorably burnt; and then put all his bones and ashes into a siluer pot, in which he him selfe put a crown of gold, and sent it vnto *Marcellus* sonne. It fortuned so, that certaine light horsemen of the NVMIDIANS met with them that caried this siluer potte, and would haue taken it from them by force: but they stoode to it, and would not part with it, and so fighting and striuing together for it, the bones & ashes were scattered all about. *Hannibal* hearing this, said to them that were about him: see, how nothing can be, which the gods will not. So he punished the NVMIDIANS, and cared no more to get *Marcellus* bones together, but perswaded him selfe it was the will of the gods he should die so strangely, and that his body should haue no burial. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus* write it thus: but *Liuie*, & *Augustus Cæsar* say, that the pot was caried vnto his son, & honorably buried: *Marcellus* did cō- crat many monuments in diuers places, besides those at ROME. As at CATANA in SICILE: a

Quintus Crispinus fellow Consull with Marcellus.

Marcellus slaine in an ambush at the hill of Petelia

The Consull Crispinus slain

Marcellus funerall honored by Hannibal.

Marcellus monuments.

place for young men to exercise them selues in. In the ile of SAMOTHRACIA, in the temple of the gods called Cabires: many images and tables he brought from SYRACVSE. And in the Ile of LINDOS, in the temple of *Minerua*, where among other, there is a statue of him, this epigramme grauen vnder it, as *Posidonius* the Philosopher writeth.

O thou my friend (I say) which passeth forth by me,
of Claudius Marcellus here, the image maiest thou see:
whose family at Rome, was of the noblest name.
Seuen times he Consull chosen was, in which he ouercame,
great numbers infinite, (in open field and fight)
of such as sought his countrtries spoile, and put them all to flight.

Marcellus posterity. The author of this epigramme reckoneth, the two times of his being viceconsull, for the whole Consulshippes: but his posterity continued alwaies in great honour, vnto *Marcellus* the sonne of *Octauia*, (*Augustus Cæsars* sister) and of *Caius Marcellus*. He died a young man, being Ædilis of ROME, and maried vnto *Iulia*, *Augustus* daughter, with whom hee liued a long time. But to honor the memory of him, *Octauia* his mother built the library, and *Augustus Cæsar* the Theater, which are called to this day, *Marcellus* Theater and library.

THE COMPARISON OF *Marcellus with Pelopidas.*

Pelopidas and Marcellus acts in warres. THese are the greatest things and best worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* doings: and for their manners naturall conditions otherwise, they were all one, because they were both valiant, painefull, and noble minded: sauing that this difference only was betweene them. That *Marcellus* in many cities he won by assault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much blood: where *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* contrarily did neuer put any to the sword they ouercame, neither did they take away the liberty from any they tooke: and it is thought the THEBANS would not haue

Marcellus acts preferred before Pelopidas. led the ORCHOMENIANS so cruelly as they did, if one, or both of thē had bene present. Now for their acts, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of seruice that *Marcellus* did, with so few company of horsemen as he tooke with him, to ouerthrow so great company of horsemen footemen both, of the GAVLES: a thing that neuer Generall but himselfe did, and specially that slew with his owne handes in the field, the Generall of his enemies. Which *Pelopidas* could neuer attaine vnto, for he seeking to kill *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, was slaine himselfe, and suffered that, which he desired to haue done to an other. And yet for that seruice may be obiected, the battels of LEVCTRES, and of TEGYRA, which were both fam-

and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambush or secret practise done by *Marcellus*, that was any thing like comparable to that *Pelopidas* did at his returne from exile, when he slew the tyrants that kept THEBES in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and sodain an enterprise stolen vpō, as none was euer greater, or more famous. It is true *Marcellus* was yoked with *Hannibal*, who was a dreadfull and a violent enemy. so were the THEBANS also at that very time with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who notwithstanding were ouercome of *Pelopidas*, at the battels of TEGYRA, and of LEVCTRES. Whereas *Marcellus* did neuer so much as once ouercome *Hannibal*, as *Polybius* writeth, but remained vnconquered alwaies, vntil that *Scipio* ouercame him in battel. Notwithstanding, we do giue best credit to the reports of *Cæsar*, *Liuie*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and of king *Iuba* among the GREGIANS; who write, that *Marcellus* otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of *Hannibals* cōpanies, howbeit they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to speake of, and it seemeth rather, it was through some mockery & deceit of that AFRICAN then otherwise. Yet sure it was a great matter, and worthy much commendation, that the ROMAINS were brought to that courage, as they durst abide to fight with the CARTHAGINIANS, hauing lost so many great ouerthrows, and hauing so many generals of their armies slaine in battell, and hauing the whole Empire of ROME in so great danger of vtter destruction. For it was *Marcellus* only of al other generals, that put the ROMAINS in hart againe, after so great and long a feare throughly rooted in them: & incoraged the souldiers also too long to fight with their enemy, and not only to hope, but to assure them selues of victory. For, wher by reason of their continuall losses and fearefull ouerthrowes they had, they thought them selues happy men to escape *Hannibals* hands by running away: he taught them to be ashamed to flie like cowards, to confesse they were in distresse, to retire, & leaue the field, before they had ouercome their enemies. And where *Pelopidas* was neuer ouercome in battell being generall, and *Marcellus* did ouercome more then any general in his time: it might seeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, should compare with the good hap of the other that was neuer ouercome. It is true that *Marcellus* tooke the city of SYRACVSA, and *Pelopidas* failed of taking the city of SPARTA: but yet do I thinke, that it was more valiant-ly done of *Pelopidas* to come so neare SPARTA as he did, and that hee was the first that passed the riuer of EVROTAS with an army, which neuer enemy did before him, then it was of *Marcellus* to win all SICILE. Vnlesse some peraduenture will say againe, this was *Epaminondas*, not *Pelopidas* act, as also in the victory of LEVCTRES: where no man liuing can pretend any part of glory to the doings of *Marcellus*. For he tooke SYRACVSA, being only generall alone, and did ouerthrow the GAVLES without his fellow Consull, and fought with *Hannibal*, without any mans helpe or incouragement: (for all other were against it, and perswaded the contrarie) and he was the first that altered the maner of wars the ROMAINES vsed then, and that trayned his souldiers, that they durst fight with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the strangenes of either of their deaths doth grieue me maruellously: as I do greatly wonder also, how *Hannibal* in so many battels as he fought (which are innumerable) could alwaies scape vnhurt. I can not but greatly commend also the valiantnes of one *Chrysantas*, whom *Xenephon* speaketh of in his booke of the institution of *Cyrus*, saying: that he hauing lift vp his sword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trumpet sound the retreate, he softly retired, and would not strike him. Howbeit it seemeth *Pelopidas* is more to be excused: for beside he was very hot and desirous of battell, yet his anger was honorable and iust, and moued him to seeke reuenge. For as the Poet *Euripides* saieth:

The best that may betide, is when a captaine liues,
and doth suruiue the victories, which he with force atchieues,
But if he needs must fall, then let him valiauntly
euen thrust amid the thickest throng, and there with honor die.

For so becōmeth his death famous, & not dishonorable. But now, besides *Pelopidas* iust cause of anger, yet was there another respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he saw his victory ended, in the death of the tyraunt. Otherwise he should hardly haue found so noble an occasion to haue shewed his valiantnes, as in that. And *Marcellus* contrarily, without any instant necessity, and hauing no cause of heate or choller, (which putteth al men valiant in

The manner of Marcellus and Pelopidas deedes.

Marcellus made the Romains courageous.

Rashnes in a captaine deserueth blame.

The valiantnes and obedience of Chrysantas a souldier.

fight beſides them ſelues, that they know not what they do) did raſhly and vnaduiſedly [th]
himſelf into the middeſt of the danger, where he died not as a general, but as a light horſ[e]
and skout, (forſaking his three triumphes, his fiue Conſullſhips, and his ſpoiles and tok[en]
triumph, which he had gotten of kings with his owne handes) among venturous S[pa]
ARDS and NVMIDIANS, that ſold their bloud and liues for pay vnto the CARTHAGIN[IANS]
ſo that I imagine they were angry with them ſelues (as a man would ſay) for ſo great and [ſo]
py a victory, to haue ſlaine amongeſt FREGELLANIANS skouts, and light horſemen, [the]
bleſt and worthieſt perſon of the ROMAINES. I would no man ſhould thinke I ſpeake [this]
reproch of the memory of theſe two famous men, but as a griefe only of them and their [ad]
antnes: which they emploied ſo, as they blemiſhed all their other vertues, by the vndiſcre[et]
zarding of their perſons and liues without cauſe, as if they would and ſhould haue [ſpent]
them ſelues, and not rather for their countrey and friends. And alſo when they were [ſlaine]
Pelopidas was buried by the allies and confederates of the city of THEBES, for whoſe [ſake]
he was ſlaine: and *Marcellus* in like manner, by the enemies ſelues that had ſlaine him.
ſure the one is a happy thing, and to be wiſhed for in ſuch a caſe: but the other is farre [off]
it, and more to be wondered at. That the enemy him ſelfe ſhould honour his valiantneſ[ſe]
worthines that hurt him, more then the office of friendſhip performed by a thankfull [man]
For nothing moueth the enemy more to honor his dead enemy, then the admiration [of]
worthines: and the friend ſheweth friendſhip many times, rather for reſpect of the bene[fit]
hath receiued, then for the loue he beareth to his vertue.

Plutarch excuſeth his free ſpeach and iudgement of theſe famous men.

Pelopidas and Marcellus funeralls vnlike.

The end of Marcellus life.

THE LIFE OF *Ariſtides.*

Ariſtides wealth.

Riſtides the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, was certainly of the tribe of *An[tio]*
des, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goods and w[ea]
they diuerſly write of him. For ſome ſay, he liued poorly all the
of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reaſon o[f]
pouerty, liued vnmaried many yeares after their fathers death.
many of the oldeſt writers do confirme that for troth. Yet *Dem[etrius]*
Phalerius, in his booke intituled *Socrates*, writeth the contrary
he knew certaine lands *Ariſtides* had in the village of PHA[LERUM]

hich did yet beare the name of *Aristides* landes, in the which his bodie is buried. And rthermore, to shewe that hee was well to liue, and that his house was rich and wealthie, bringeth foorth these proofes. First, that he was one yeare Maior or prouost of ATHENS, hom they called, *Archon Eponymos*, because the yeare tooke the name of him that had it arely. And they say he came to it, by drawing of the beane, according to the auncient vse the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of making their election of the said office: In hich election none were admitted to drawe the beane, but such as were highest set in their sidie bookes, according to the value & rate of their goods, whom they called at ATHENS, *ntatosomedimnes*, as you would say, those that might despend fiue hundred bushels of wheat the yeare, and vpwards. Secondly, he alleageth he was banished by the Ostracism, which nisheth the nobilitie and great rich men onely, whom the common people enuie, because heir greatnesse, and neuer dealeth with poore men. The third and last reason he makes is, he left of his gift, threefooted stooles in the temple of *Bacchus*, which those do common- offer vp, as haue won the victorie in comedies, tragedies, or other such like pastimes, wher- they themselues had borne the charge. And those threefooted stooles remaine there yet, hich they say were giuen by *Aristides*, and haue this inscription vpon them: The tribe of *ntiochides* wanne the victorie, *Aristides* defraied the charges of the games, and *Archestratus* Poet taught them to play his comedies. This last reason, though it seeme likeliest of m all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For *Epaminondas* (whom euery man knoweth was ore euen from his birth, and alwaies liued in great pouertie) and *Plato* the Philosopher, ke vpon him to defray the charges of games that were of no small expence, the one ha- g borne the charges of flute plaiers at THEBES, and the other the daunce of the children ich daunced in a round at ATHENS: towardes the furnishing of which charges *Dion* the RACVSAN gaue *Plato* money, & *Pelopidas* also gaue *Epaminondas* money. Now, this is not ken that vertuous men should alwaies refuse the gifts of their friends, and that they might in some sort accept their friends courtesie offered them: but because they should thinke it omely and dishonorable for them, to take any thing to enrich themselues, or to spare and de vp. Howbeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike shew to be le, not tending to their priuate benefite: in such a case they should not refuse their friendes ing offer, and goodwill towards them. And where *Demetrius* saith the threefooted stoole offered vp in the temple of *Bacchus*, *Panatius* declareth plainely, that *Demetrius* was de- ed by the semblance of the name. For since the time of the warres of the MEDES, vnto beginning of the warre of PELOPONNESVS, in all the registers and recordes kept of the iers of the charges of common playes, there were founde but two men bearing name *ristides* that obtained victory: & neither of them both was sonne vnto *Lysimachus*, whom write of at this present. For the one is expressely named the sonne of *Xenophilus*, and the r was long after the same *Aristides* we now speake of: as appeareth easily by the writing orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we haue vsed in GREECE euer *Euclides* time. Moreouer it is easie to be knowen, by the name of the Poet *Archestratus* is adioyned to it. For there is no man that maketh mention of a Poet of this name, in all warres of the MEDES: but in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, many doe put in for an author and maker of rimes and songes that were sung in common daunces. Yet ll *Panatius* obiections, the matter is to be better looked into, and considered of. But for Ostracism banishment, it is true, that such as were great men in estimation aboue the mon people, either in fame, nobilitie, or eloquence, they onely were subiect vnto this ba- ment. For *Damon* himselfe, being *Pericles* schoolemaster, was banished: onely because ommon people thought him too wise. Moreouer, *Idomeneus* writeth, that *Aristides* was prouost for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by voices of the ATHENIANS that chose And if he were prouost since the iorney of PLATEES, as *Demetrius* writeth: it is likely gh that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable seruice, which other e wont to obtaine for their riches. But this *Demetrius* doth not only defend *Aristides*, but *Socrates* pouertie, as if it were a foule vice and reproch to be poore. For he writeth, that ad not only a house of his owne, but also threescore and ten Minas at vsurie, which *Criton*

Good men may take giftes, but after a sort.

Damon banished because he was too wise.

Socrates was not poore.

gaue him interest for. But now to our story again. *Aristides* was *Clisthenes* very friend, [illegible] restored the gouernment at ATHENS after the expulsion of the thirty tyrantes, and did [illegible] rence *Lycurgus* the Lawmaker of the LACEDÆMONIANS for his lawes, aboue all the [illegible] his time: and therefore he euer fauored the state of Aristocratia, that is, where the nobles rule, and haue the soueraignty. Howbeit he euer had *Themistocles* (*Neocles* sonne) his [illegible] all aduersarie, as taking part with the contrarie, and defending the popular state of [illegible] ment. Some say, that being schollers, and brought vp together, they were euer contrary to another in all their actions and doings, were it in sport, or in matters of earnest: and after, men beganne to see the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrary affections. For *Themistocles* was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and subtill, and would venter on any vpon light occasion. *Aristides* contrariwise was very quiet, temperate, constant and [illegible] lous well staied, who would for no respect be drawen away from equitie and iustice, [illegible] would lie, flatter, nor abuse any bodie, though it were but in sport. Notwithstanding [illegible] of CHIO writeth, that their malice beganne first of light loue, and that it grew to [illegible] by processe of time betwene them: for (saith he) both the one and the other of them [illegible] loue with *Stesilaus*, borne in the Ile of CEOS. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not easily them, nor the enuie they conceiued one against another, but continued against each [illegible] matters of state: such was their malice towardes one another. In which calling, *Themistocles* sought the way to winne friendes, by whose meanes he came to great preferment [illegible] time, and had made himselfe very strong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told one day, he was worthy to gouerne the citie of ATHENS, and were very fit for it, if he indifferent, and not partiall. The goddes forbid (quoth he) I should euer occupie the place gouernour, where my friends should not finde more fauour then straungers, that doe pleasure. But *Aristides* taking another course by himselfe, would not stand vpon his [illegible] in gouernment. First, because he would do no man wrong, with pleasuring his friends yet would anger them, by denying their requestes. Secondly, because he saw many rude men of authoritie bold to doe iniustice, and manifest wrong, bearing themselues vp friendes: but he caried this opinion, that no honest man, or good citizen, should trust bolstring of friends, but to his owne iust and vpright doings. Notwithstanding, *Aristides* ceiuing that *Themistocles* did rashly alter many things, and euer encountered all his [illegible] hindered his doings: he was enforced sometime to crosse *Themistocles* againe, and [illegible] against that he preferred, partly to be euen with him, but most to hinder his credite [illegible] thoritie, which increased still through the peoples fauour and goodwils towards him king it better by contrarying him a litle to disappoint somtime a thing that might [illegible] out well for the common wealth, rather then by giuing him the head, to suffer him [illegible] too great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that *Themistocles* hauing preferred a matter profitable for the common wealth, *Aristides* was so much against it, as *Themistocles* tooke no place. Moreouer *Aristides* was so earnest against him, that when the counsell vp after *Themistocles* motion was reiected, he spake it openly before them all: that the mon wealth of ATHENS would neuer prosper, vntill they both were laide in Barathrum, which was a prison or hole, wherein they put all theeues and condemned men. At time, *Aristides* moued a matter to the people, which diuerse were against, but yet it was him. And when the iudge or president of the counsell did put it to the people, to know allowance of it: *Aristides* perceiuing by the arguments made against it, that the matter preferred was hurtfull to the common wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not haue it. Manie times also *Aristides* spake by other men, when he would haue a thing goe for feare least *Themistocles* spight towardes him, would hinder the benefite of the [illegible] wealth. They found him very constant and resolute in matters of state, whatsoeuer [illegible] which wanne him great commendation. For he was neuer the prouder for any honor gaue him, nor thought himselfe disgraced for any ouerthrow he receiued: being alwaies this minde, that it was the dutie of an honest citizen, to be euer readie to offer his bodie life to do his countrie seruice, without respect and hope of reward of money, or for honor glory. Therefore when certaine verses were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies

Aristocratia what it signifieth.

Aristides and Themistocles enemies in the cõmon wealth.

Themistocles disposition.

Aristides nature.

Themistocles saying for partialitie.

Aristides maner of dealing in the common wealth.

Barathrum a prison or dungeon.

Aristides constancie.

Æschilus made in commendation of the auncient Soothsayer *Amphiaraus*, to this effect.

He will not only seeme a iust man by his face,
but iust indeede he will be found, and vertue still embrace:
With all his thought and soule, from whence there may proceede,
graue counsels for to beautifie, his countries crowne indeede.

All the people straight cast their eyes vpon *Aristides*, as vpon him, that in truth aboue all ther most deserued the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so stout and resolute, not only inst fauour and friendship: but to reiect hate and anger also. For in case of iustice, neither ld friendshippe make him go away for his friends sake: nor enuie could moue him to doe ustice, to his very enemie. For proofe hereof it is written, that he had an enemie of his in e of law, and did prosecute it to iudgement: insomuch as after the plaintiff was read, the iudges re so angrie with the offender, that without any more hearing of him, they would haue n sentence against him. But *Aristides* rising from his place, went and kneeled at the iudges e with the offendor his enemie, and besought them to giue him leaue to speake, to iustifie d defende his cause, according to the course of the law. An other time he being iudge be- ene two priuate men that pleaded before him, one of them said vnto him: *Aristides*, this ow mine aduersarie here, hath done you great iniurie. My friend (quoth *Aristides* againe) I thee tell me onely the iniurie he hath done thee, for I am iudge here to do thee right, and my selfe. Moreouer, he being chosen high treasurer of all the reuenues of Athens, did late that all the officers before him, and other his late predecessors, had greatly robbed spoiled the common treasure, but specially *Themistocles*: who was a wise man, & of great gement, but yet somewhat light fingered. Therefore when *Aristides* was to giue vppe his ount, *Themistocles*, and many other suborned by him, were against him, and accused him abusing his office, and followed him so hard, that through their practise they condemned , as *Idomeneus* writeth. Yet the noblest citizens seeing what iniurie they offered *Aristides*, e his cause in hande, and found meanes to procure the people not onely to release the imposed vpon him, but to restore him againe to his office of high treasurer for the yeare owing: in the which he seemed to repent his former straightnesse and gouernement the re before, and so deale more fauourably with those he had to doe, and would not examine y thing so straightly as he did before. Whereupon such as were theeues and stealers of the sure of the common wealth, did maruellously praise and like him, and became suters for to continue in the office. But whē the day of election came, that the Athenians would ose him againe, *Aristides* selfe reproued them, and said. When I faithfully discharged the ie of mine office committed to me by you, I then receiued shame and reproch at your des: and now that I haue dissembled, not seeming to see the thestes and robberies done n your treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good citizen. But I would knew it, and I tell you plainely, I am more ashamed of the honour you do me now, then I s of the fine you did set vpon me, when you condemned me the last yeare: and I am sorie peake it, that you should thinke it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, then to serue the common wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the com- thefts the officers of the citie did commit: he stopped the theeues mouthes that so high- raised and commended him for so honest a man, but yet of the noble and honest citizens was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when *Dathis* Lieutenant to *Darius* king of rsia, was come with all his nauie to go a land about Marathon, in the country of At- a, vpon pretence (as he said) to be reuenged only of the Athenians that had burnt the e of Sardis, but indeede of mind to conquer all Greece, and to destroy the whole coun- before him: the Athenians chose tenne Captaines to go to the warres, among whom *iltiades* was the chiefest man of authoritie. But *Aristides* drew very neere him in reputation credite, because he did very good seruice in obtaining the victorie, specially when he a- d with *Miltiades* in counsell, to giue battell vpon the barbarous people: and also when willingly gaue *Miltiades* the whole rule and order of the armie. For euery one of the ten ptaines did by turnes leade the whole armie for one whole day: and when *Aristides* turne e about, he gaue his preferment thereof vnto *Miltiades*, teaching his other companions,

Aristides iustice.

Aristides wise saying.

Aristides chosen treasurer.

Themistocles couetously giuen.

Aristides accused & condemned, for abusing his office.

Aristides fine releiued, and he made treasurer againe.

Aristides openly reprooueth those theeues in the common wealth, and detesteth their praise.

Miltiades chiefe of the ten Captaines that went against Dathis the king of Persias Lieutenant.

Miltiades victorie of the Persians.

that it was no shame, but honour for them to be ruled by the wisest. Thus by his example appeased all strife that might haue growen among them, and perswaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counsell, that had best experience in warre. And so much aduance *Miltiades* honor. For after that *Aristides* had once yeelded his authoritie him, euery one of the rest did the like when it came to their turne: and so they all submitted themselues vnto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battell, the place where the ATHENIANS were most combred, was in the middest of the battell, where they had set the tribe of the *Leontides*, and of *Antiochides*: for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, made their greatest fight in that place. By which occasion, *Themistocles* and *Aristides* fought one hard by an other, for that the one was of the tribe *Leontides*, and the other of *Antiochides*: they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one another: so as the barbarous people at the last being ouerthrowen, they made them flie, and draue them to their shippes: when they were imbarked & gone, the Captaines of the ATHENIANS perceiuing they were not towardes the Iles which was their direct course to returne into ASIA, but that they were driuen backe by storme of winde and pyrries of the sea, towardes the coast of Attica and the citie of ATHENS, fearing least they might find ATHENS vnfurnished for defence, might set vpon it: they thereuppon sent away presently nine tribes that marched thither with such speede, as they came to ATHENS the very same day, and left *Aristides* in the city of MARATHON, with his tribe and countrie men, to looke to the prisoners and spoyle wonne of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceiued the opinion they had of him. For notwithstanding there was great store of gold and siluer, much apparell, money, and other infinite goods and riches in all their tentes and pauillions, and in the shippes: he had taken of theirs: he was not so couetous as once to touch them, nor to suffer any to meddle with them, vnlesse by stealth some prouided for themselues. As amongest others was one *Callias*, one of *Ceres* Priestes, called *Dadouchos*, as you would say the torch bearer (for in the secret sacrifices of *Ceres*, his office was to holde the torch) whom when the barbarous people saw, and how he wate a band about his head, and long haire, he tooke for some king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kissed his hand, and shewed him great store of golde he hadhidden and buried in a ditch. But *Callias*, like a most cruell, and couetous wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore soule that shewed him the place, becausse hee should not tell it to others. Hereof it commeth, that the comicall Poets do call those that came of him in mockerie, Laccoplutes, as made rich by them: because of the golde that *Callias* found in it. Immediatly after this battell, *Aristides* was chosen prouost of ATHENS for the yeare: albeit *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that it was a little before his death, after the iorney of PLATEES. For in their Chronicles, where they set downe their prouosts of ATHENS for the yere, since *Xanthippides* time, there appeareth no mention of *Aristides* in that yeare, that *Mardonius* the king of PERSIANS Lieutenant was ouerthrowen by PLATEES, which was many yeares after. But contrariwise they find *Aristides* enrolled among the prouostes immediatly after *Phanippus*, in the yeare the battell was fought at MARATHON. Now the people did most commende *Aristides* iustice, as of all other vertues and qualities: becausse that vertue is most common & in vse in our life, and doth most benefite to men. Hereof it came, that he being a meane man, obteined the name that one could haue, to be called by the whole citie, a iust man. This surname euer desired of kings, princes, nor of tyrantes, but they alwaies delighted to be surnamed *Poliorcetes*, to say, conquerors of cities: other *Cerauni*, to say, lightning or terrible, *Tanores*, to say, subduers: and some other, *Aeti* and *Hieraces*, to say Eagles or Faulcons, like birdes that prey: desiring rather (as it should appeare by those surnames) the reputation growing by force and power, then the commendation that riseth by goodnesse. And notwithstanding, God whom men desire most to be likened to, excell all humaine nature in three speciall things: in immortalitie, in power, and in reason: which three, vertue is the most honorable and pretious thing. For as the natural Philosophers reason, all the foure elements and *Vacuum*, are immortall and vncorruptible, and for power, earthquakes, lightning, terrible stormes, running riuers, and inunda-

The wicked part of Callias the torch bearer

Aristides chosen prouost of Athens.

Aristides called the Iust.

waters: but as for iuſtice and equitie, no man is partaker of them, ſaue only God, by meanes of reaſon and vnderſtanding. Therefore, becauſe men commonly haue three ſundry honors to the gods: the firſt, that they thinke them bleſſed: the ſecond, that they feare them: the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleſſed, for the eternitie and immortalitie of their godhead: that they feare them, becauſe of their omnipotencie and power: and that they loue and worſhip them, for their iuſtice and equitie. And yet notwithſtanding, of thoſe three, men doe couet immortalitie, which no fleſh can attaine vnto: and alſo power, which dependeth moſt vpon fortune: and in the meane time they leaue vertue alone, whereof the goddes of their goodneſſe haue made vs capable. But here they ſhew themſelues fooles. For iuſtice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authoritie, ſeeme diuine and celeſtiall: where without iuſtice and dealing vniuſtly, his life is moſt beaſtly, and odious to the world. But now againe to *Ariſtides*. This ſurname of a iuſt man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwardes it turned him to great ill will, and eſpecially by *Themiſtocles* practiſe. Who gaue it out euery where, that *Ariſtides* had ouerthrowen all iuſtice, becauſe by conſent of the parties he was euer choſen Arbitrator to end all controuerſies: and how by this meanes he ſecretly had procured the abſolute power of a king, exceeding any guard or ſouldiers about him. The people moreouer being growen very diſſolute and licentious, by reaſon of the victorie of MARATHON, who ſought that all thinges ſhould paſſe by them, and their authoritie: beganne now to miſlike, and to be greatly offended, that any priuate man ſhould go before the reſt in good fame and reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all ſhires of ATTICA into the citie of ATHENS, and ſo baniſhed *Ariſtides* with the Oſtraciſmon: diſguiſing the enuie they bare to his glory with the name of feare of tyrannie. For this manner of baniſhment called Oſtraciſmon, or Exoſtraciſmon, was no ordinarie puniſhment for any fault or offence committed: but to giue it an honeſt cloke, they ſaide it was onely a pulling downe and tying ſhort, of too much greatneſſe and authoritie, exceeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular ſtate. But to tell you truely, it was none otherwiſe, then a gentle mean to qualifie the peoples enuy againſt ſome priuate perſon: which enuy bred no malice to him whoſe greatneſſe did offend them, but onely tended to the baniſhing of him for tenne yeares. But afterwardes that by practiſe, this Oſtraciſmon baniſhment was laide vpon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon *Hyperbolus* that was the laſt man ſo baniſhed: they neuer after vſed it any more at ATHENS. And by the way, it ſhall not be amiſſe to tell you here, why and wherfore this *Hyperbolus* was baniſhed. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were the chiefeſt men of ATHENS at that time, and they both were euer at ſquare together, a common thing amongeſt great men. They perceiuing now by the peoples aſſembling, that they were about to execute the Oſtraciſmon, were maruellouſly affraid it was ment to baniſh one of them: wherfore they ſpake together, and made both their followers friends with ech other, and ioyned them in one tribe together, inſomuch, when the moſt voyces of the people were ready thered to condemne him that ſhould be baniſhed, they found it was *Hyperbolus*. The people therewith were much offended, to ſee the Oſtraciſmon ſo embaſed and ſcorned, that they neuer after would vſe it againe, and ſo left it off for euer. But briefely to let you vnderſtande what the Oſtraciſmon was, and after what ſort they vſed it, ye are to know: that at a certaine day appointed, euery citizen caried a great ſhell in his hande, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would haue baniſhed, and brought it into a certaine place railed about with wodden barres in the market place. Then, when euery man had brought in his ſhell: the magiſtrates and officers of the citie, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were leſſe then ſixe thouſand citizens, that had thus brought theſe ſhels together: the Oſtraciſmon was not full and perfect. That done, they laid a part euery mans name written in theſe ſhels: and whoſe name they found written by moſt citizens, they proclaimed him by ſound of trumpet, a baniſhed man for tenne yeares, during which time notwithſtanding, the partie did enioy all his goods. Now euery man writing thus his name in a ſhell, whom they would haue baniſhed: it is reported there was a plaine man of the country (very ſimple) that could neither write nor read, who came to *Ariſtides* (being the firſt man he met with) & gaue him his ſhell, praying him to write *Ariſtides* name vpon it. He being abaſhed withall, did aske the country

The praiſe of iuſtice.

Authoritie would be without corruption.

Themiſtocles enuieth Ariſtides iuſtice.

Ariſtides baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.

The nature of the Oſtraciſmon.

Hyperbolus the laſt man baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.

The cauſe of Hyperbolus baniſhment.

A deſcription of the Oſtraciſmon.

A tale of a plaineman that came to Ariſtides with his ſhell, to pray him to write Ariſtides name in it.

man, if *Aristides* had euer done him any displeasure. No, said the country man, he neuer did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it greeues me to heare euery man call him a iust man. *Aristides* hearing him say so, gaue him no answere, but wrote his owne name vpon the shell, and deliuered it againe to the country man. But as he went his way out of the citie, he lift vppe his handes to heauen, and made a prayer contrarie to that of *Achilles* in *Homer*, beseeching the goddes that the ATHENIANS might neuer haue such troubles in hande, as they should be compelled to call for *Aristides* againe. Notwithstanding, within three yeares after, when *Xerxes* king of PERSIA came with his armie through the countries of THESSALY & BOEOTIA, and entred into the heart of the country of ATTICA: the ATHENIANS reuoking the law of their Ostracismon, called home againe all those they had banished, and specially, because they were afraid *Aristides* would take part with the barbarous people, and that his example should moue many other to doe the like, wherein they were greatly deceiued in the nature of the man. For before that he was called home, he continually trauelled vp and downe, persuading and incouraging the GRECIANS to maintaine and defend their libertie. After that law was repealed, and published, and that *Themistocles* was chosen the onely Lieutenant generall of ATHENS, he did alwaies faithfully aide and assist him in all things, as well with his counsell as also with his counsell: and thereby wanne his enemie great honour, because it stood vpon the safetie and preseruation of his countrie. For when *Eurybiades*, generall of the armie of the GRÆCIANS, had determined to forsake the Ile of SALAMINA, and that the gallies of the barbarous people were come into the middest of the seas, and had enuironed the Iles all about & the mouth of the arme of the straight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were inclosed in: *Aristides* departing out of the Ile of *AEgina* with a maruellous boldnesse, went through the middest of all the barbarous shippes and fleete, and by good happe gotte into night into *Themistocles* tent, and calling him out, spake with him there in this sort: *Themistocles*, if we be both wise, it is high time we should now leaue off this vaine enuy and spight we haue long time borne each other, and that wee should enter into another sort of contention honorable and profitable for vs both. I meane, which of vs two should doe his best indeuour to saue GREECE: you, by ruling and commanding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counselling you for the best, and executing your commaundement: considering you are the man alone that will roundliest come vnto the point that is best: which is in my opinion, that we should hazard battell by sea within the straight of SALAMINA, and that assoone as might be possible. But if our friendes and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you your enemies do helpe it forwarde. For it is said, that the sea both before and behinde vs, and round about vs, is couered all ouer with their shippes, so as they that would not before, shall be now compelled of force, and in spight of their hearts, to fight and bestirre them like men, because they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them to escape nor to flie. Whereunto *Themistocles* answered: I am sorie, *Aristides*, that herein your hastie appeareth greater then mine: but since it is so, that you haue deserued the honor in beginning, and procuring such an honorable and commendable strife betwene vs, I will hereafter indeuour my selfe to exceede you in continuing this your desire. After which answere, he told *Aristides*, how he purposed to mocke the barbarous king, and praied him to intreate *Eurybiades* to yeeld to his deuise, & to perswade him that there was no other way to saue Greece but to fight by sea: for *Eurybiades* gaue more credite to *Aristides* perswasions, then he did to *Themistocles* wordes. For when all the Captaines were called to counsell, to determine whether they should giue battell or not: one *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN said to *Themistocles*, that his counsell did not like *Aristides* at all as it seemed, because he spake neuer a worde to the purpose. *Aristides* answered him straight, that he vtterly mistooke him. For, quoth he, if I did not thinke his counsell good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute for any good will I beare him, but because I find his counsell wise & sound. While the Captaines of the GRECIANS were reasoning in this sort, *Aristides* seeing PSYTTALEA (a little Iland before SALAMINA within the straight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valiantest and lustiest souldiers he had of all his countrie men, into the foystes or pinnasies he had among all his gallies: and went with them, and landed in that

Aristides called from exile.

Aristides actes and counsels against king Xerxes.

Aristides words of Themistocles.

Aristides victorie at Psyttalea.

and ouerthrew all the barbarous people he found there, and put them to the sword euerie man, taking the chiefest of them onely prisoners, amõg which, were three sonnes of *Sandauce*, the kings sister, whom he sent vnto *Themistocles*. These three Lordes were all slaine by the commaundement of *Euphrantidas* the soothsayer, and sacrificed to *Bacchus Omestes*, as to say, the cruell *Bacchus*, and eater of raw flesh, and all vpon an oracle they had receiued. That done, *Aristides* dispersed his souldiers about the Ile, to receaue all such as were by fortune of warre, or of the sea, cast into the Iland: to the end that no enemy of theirs should scape their hands, nor any of his friends should perish. For the greatest fleete of all their ships, and the sharpest encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Iland: and therefore the tokens of triumph were set there. After the battell was wonne, *Themistocles* to feele *Aristides* opinion, said vnto him: we haue done a good peece of seruice, but yet there is an other behind of greater importance, and that is this. We must bring all ASIA into EVROPE, which we may easily do, if we sayle with all speed to the straight of HELLESPONT, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then *Aristides* cried out, Stay there, neuer speake of that: but I pray you let vs rather seeke all the wayes we can, how to driue this barbarous king out of GREECE. For if we keepe him in still with so great an army (& he shall see no way before him to escape) how we driue him then to fight like a desperate man, and perill our selues, we can not tell to what. When *Themistocles* had heard his opinion, he secretly sent the eunuke *Arnaces*, his seruant, vnto king *Xerxes*, to aduertise him from him, that he had altered the GRECIANS purpose, which was fully bent to haue broken vp the bridge he had made at the straight of HELLESPONT, to passe ouer his armie: and that he was the willinger to let him vnderstand that he might the better prouide for the safety of his person. King *Xerxes* being nettled with this aduertisement, tooke straight his iourney, and with all speed went to recouer the straight of HELLESPONT, & left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant generall in GREECE, with three hundred thousand of the best souldiers of his armie. This *Mardonius* was maruellously dreaded of all the GRECIANS, for the wonderfull great armie he had by land, and he did threaten them so by his letters he wrote vnto them. You haue, (sayd he) with your ships by sea, ouercome men acquainted to fight by land, and that neuer handled ower: but now, the plaines of THESSALIE, or the fieldes of BOEOTIA, are very fayre and large for horsemen and foote, to make proofe of their valiantnesse, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote offers to the ATHENIANS, by the king his maisters commaundement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build vp their citie againe, to giue them a great pension, and furthermore to make them Lordes of all GREECE, so they would giue ouer, and leaue off these warres. The LACEDÆMONIANS being forthwith aduertised of his letters written to the ATHENIANS, and fearing least they would haue bene perswaded by them: sent their Ambassadours with all speed to ATHENS, to pray them to send their wiues & children vnto SPARTA, and also to offer them victuals, to relieue their poore old people, because of the great scarcitie that was at ATHENS, for that their city was burnt & rased, and all their country besides destroyed by the barbarous people. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the offers of the Ambassadours of LACEDÆMON, made them a maruellous aunswere through *Aristides* counsell, & this was: That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all things were to be sold for gold & siluer, because they esteemed nothing more pretious, nor better in this world, nor to be rich & wealthy: but on the other side, they were greatly offended with the LACEDÆMONIANS, that they onely regarded the present pouerty & necessity of the ATHENIANS, and did forget their vertue & noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the preseruation of GREECE, by offering them victuals to liue withall. The people approuing this aunswere, *Aristides* then caused the Ambassadours of SPARTA to come to the assembly, and commaunded them to tell the LACEDÆMONIANS by word of mouth, that all the gold vnder, or vnder the ground, could not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any summe of money or reward, to leaue the defence of the liberty of GREECE: and to the herauld that came from *Mardonius*, he shewed him the sunne, and sayd vnto him: so long as yonder sunne keepeth his course about the world, so long will the ATHENIANS be mortall enemies to the PERSIANS, because they haue spoiled and destroyed all their country, and haue desti-

Aristides wise counsell for Xerxes flying out of Greece.

A stratageme of Themistocles.

Xerxes left Mardonius his Lieutenant in Greece with 300000. men.

The noble minde of the Athenians.

led and burnt the temples of their gods. Besides, he willed that the Priests, by commandement of the people, should excommunicate and curse him that would procure them to send vnto the PERSIANS to make peace with them, and to breake their league and alliance with the other GRECIANS. Hereupon, when *Mardonius* came againe the second time ouerrunne the country of ATTICA: the ATHENIANS got them againe into the Ile of SALAMINA, and then they sent *Aristides* Ambassadour vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. He sharply tooke them vp, and reproued their sloth and negligence, because they had againe forsaken ATHENS, & left it to the spoile of the barbarous people: & prayed them yet they would looke to saue the rest of GREECE. The Ephori (which were certaine officers that ruled all things in the citie of SPARTA) when they had heard *Aristides* perswasions: straight tooke order aide, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheare, keeping that day one of their solemne feastes they called Hyacinthia. Howbeit the next night following, they sent out fiue thousand citizens borne in SPARTA, into the field, all proper and valiant souldiers, euery one of them carying with him seuen Ilotes (which are the common men & slaues in the countrey of LACEDÆMONIA) not making the Ambassadours of Athens priuie to it at all. Wherefore *Aristides* came againe an other time into their counsell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and sayd he dreamed, or else he mocked them: for their armie which they had sent against the straungers (for so they called the PERSIANS) was already at the citie of ORESTION in ARCADIA. *Aristides* hearing their answere, replyed, that they were to blame to mocke them in that sort, to send away their armie so secretly, that they might not know of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceiue their friends, but their enemies rather. *Idomeneus* in his story reporteth the matter thus in euery point. Notwithstanding, in the decree that was made to send Ambassadours to SPARTA, *Aristides* is not named for Ambassadour, but there are other appointed: as *Xanthippus*, and *Myronides*. Afterwardes *Aristides* was chosen by voyces of the people, lieutenant generall of the army of ATHENS, in this warre against the PERSIANS, and went to the camp of the GRECIANS by the citie of PLATÆES, with eight thousand footemen armed & appointed. There he found king *Pausanias* the onely generall of all the whole power and army of the GRECIANS, who brought with him the force of SPARTA: and there came daily into his camp one after an other, a maruellous great multitude of other GRECIANS. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incãped all along est the riuer of ASOPVS: but because their camp stretched out a maruellous way in length, they were not intrenched at all, but had onely fortified a peece of ground foure square with a wall about, which was ten furlongs on euery side, to place all their cariage and chiefest things in. And as for the GRECIANS againe, the soothsayer *Tisamenus*, borne in the city of ELIDE, had told *Pausanias*, and all the GRECIANS together, that they should haue the victory, so they did not assaile at all, but onely defend. And *Aristides*, that had sent to the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHOS in the name of the ATHENIANS, had answer: they should ouercome their enemies, so they did sacrifice and make speciall prayers, vnto *Iupiter* and *Iuno* of mount CITHÆRON, vnto Pan vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, & also vnto the demy gods, *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Demnocrates*, *Hypsion*, *Actæon*, & *Polyidus*: and so that they did hazard battell also within their own territories, and in the plaine of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and of *Proserpina*. This oracle troubled *Aristides* maruellously, because the demy gods whom they had commaundement to doe sacrifice vnto, were the founders and auncesters of the PLATÆIANS: and the cause of the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, is one of the tops of mount CITHÆRON, looking towardes the west, which the sunne letteth in sommer. They say there was an oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many inhabitants there abouts, and bestraught them of their wits: whereupon, they called those so possessed, *Nympholepty*, as who would say, taken with the *Nymphes*. And againe that the ATHENIANS they should haue the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plaine of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and within their owne territorie: it was euen to send them backe againe into the country of ATTICA. *Aristides* being thus perplexed, *Arimnestus* Captaine of the PLATÆIANS, had such a vision in the night in his sleepe. Him thought that *Iupiter* the sauiour appeare vnto him, and asked him what the GRECIANS intended to do? and that he answe-

Aristides Lieutenant generall of the Athenians against Mardonius.

Pausanias king of Lacedæmon, generall of all Greece.

Asopus flu.

Oracles of the victorie of Platæes.

The Nymphes Sphragitides.

Arymnestus dreame.

my Lord, we must to morrow remoue our camp into the territories of ELEVSIN, and there we will fight with the barbarous people, according to the commaundement the oracle *Apollo* hath giuen vs. Then that *Iupiter* replyed, that they were greatly deceaued: for all that *Apollo* had declared by his oracle was ment within the territorie of the PLATÆIANS, and that they should finde it true, if they considered it well. *Arimneſtus* hauing plainly ſeene this viſion in his ſleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he ſtraight ſent for the oldeſt citizens, and conſidering with them where this place ſhould be, he found at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, by the citie of NYSIA, there was an old temple they called the temple of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and of her daughter *Proſerpina*. When he heard them ſay ſo, he went ſtraight and told *Ariſtides* of it, and found that it was an excellent place to ſet an army in battell ray, that had but few horſemen: for that the foote of mount CITHARON did let the horſemen, they could not go to the place where the temple ſtoode, and where the plaine and valley did end: beſides alſo, that the chappell of *Androcrates* was euen in that place, which was all hidden with thicke wood round about it. And becauſe they ſhould lacke nothing to hinder the expreſſe commaundement of the oracle for hope of victorie: the PLATÆIANS (through *Arimneſtus* counſell and aduiſe) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLATÆES ſhould be taken away towards ATHENS ſide, and that the land thereof ſhould be giuen clearely vnto the ATHENIANS, becauſe they ſhould fight with the barbarous people in their owne land, for the defence and preſeruation of GREECE, according to the commaundement of the oracle. This noble gift and preſent of the PLATÆIANS was ſo famous, as many yeares after, king *Alexander* the great hauing conquered the Empire of ASIA, built vp the walles againe of the citie PLATÆES, and when he had done, made a herauld openly proclaime it at the games Olympicall, that *Alexander* had done the PLATÆIANS that honour & dignitie, for a memoriall & honour of their magnanimity. Becauſe in the warre againſt the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally giuen away their land vnto the ATHENIANS, for the ſafetie of the GRECIANS: and had ſhewed themſelues of a noble courage alſo, and verie willing to defend the ſtate of GREECE. Now when the armie of the GRECIANS came to be ſet in order of battell, there fell a ſtrife betweene the ATHENIANS & the TEGEATES, becauſe the ATHENIANS would needes (according to their old cuſtome) haue the left wing of the battell, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had the right wing: and the TEGEATES on the contrary part, would haue the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alledging the famous actes and notable ſeruice of their auncеſtors in former warres, whereupon the ATHENIANS did mutine. But *Ariſtides* ſtept betweene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contend with the TEGEATES about their nobilitie and valiantneſſe: and as for you, my Lordes of SPARTA, ſayd he, and you alſo my maiſters of GREECE: we tell you, that the place neither giueth nor taketh vertue away, and we do aſſure you that whereſoeuer you place vs, we will ſo defend & keepe it, as we will not impaire nor blemiſh the honour we haue wonne in former foughten battels, and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarrell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to bragge of our auncеſters doings, but to ſhew our ſelues valiant in defence of all GREECE. For this battell will make good proofe to all the GRECIANS, how much eſtimation euery citie, euery Captaine, & particular perſon will deſerue for his part. When *Ariſtides* had ſpoken, the Captaines & all other of the counſell concluded in fauour of the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould haue one of the wings of the battell. But by this meanes, all GREECE ſtood in maruellous ieopardy at that time, & the ſtate of the ATHENIANS ſpecially in great daunger. For a nũber of the nobleſt citizens of ATHENS, and that brought great ſubſtance with them to the warres, being now at low ſtate, & in pouertie, their goods being ſpent and gone, and ſeeing themſelues diſcountenanced, not bearing that rule & authoritie in the commõ wealth they were wont to do, becauſe other were called to authoritie, and preferred to the offices of the citie: they gathered together, and met at a houſe in the city of PLATÆES, & there conſpired to ouerthrow the authoritie of the people at ATHENS: and if they could not obtaine their purpoſe, then that they would rather looſe all, and betray their countrey vnto the barbarous people. While theſe thinges were practiſed in the camp, many being of the conſpiracie, *Ariſtides* came to an inckling of it, and

The magnanimitie of the Plataians.

Alexander the great doth honour the Plataians for their noble mindes.

Strife betweene the Athenians, and Tegeates.

Ariſtides wiſely pacified the mutinie.

The conſpiracie of the rich noble men of Athens.

was maruellously afrayed, becauſe of the time: wherefore he began to be carefull of the matter, being of ſuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vnderſtand the whole conſpiracy, litle knowing what a number might be drawē into this treaſon, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather reſpected that which was iuſt, then what was profitable for the time. So he cauſed eight perſons onely of the great number to be apprehended, and of theſe eight the two firſt whom they would haue indited as principals, and were moſt to be burdened for the conſpiracy, *Æſchines* of the towne of LAMPRA, and *Egeſias* of the towne of ACHARA, they found meanes to ſlie out of the camp, and to ſaue themſelues. And for the other *Ariſtides* let them at libertie, and gaue them occaſion that were not diſcouered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: ſaying, that the battell ſhould be their iudge, where they ſhould purge themſelues of all accuſations layd againſt them, and ſhew the world alſo, that they neuer had any other intention but honeſt, & good, towards their countrey. *Mardonius*, to proue the courage of the GRECIANS, had ſent all his horſemen, (wherein he was farre ſtronger then the GRECIANS) to skirmiſh with the. Who were lodged at the foote of mount CITHERON in ſtrong places and full of ſtones, ſauing the three thouſand MEGARIANS, that camped in the plaine: by reaſon whereof, they were ſore troubled and hurt, by the horſemen of the barbarous people that ſet vpon them on euerie ſide, for they might charge them where they would. In ſomuch, in the end, perceiuing they alone could no longer reſiſt the force of ſo great a multitude of the barbarous people: they ſent with all ſpeed poſsible to *Pauſanias* to pray him to ſend them preſent aide. *Pauſanias* hearing this newes, and ſeeing in his owne ſight the camp of the MEGARIANS almoſt all couered with ſhot and dartes which the barbarous people threw at them, & that they were compelled to ſtand cloſe together in a litle corner, wiſt not what to do. For, to go thither in perſō with the LACEDÆMONIANS that were footmen heauy armed, he thought that was no way to helpe them: So he proued to put ſome enuious deſire and enuie of honour, among the priuate Captaines and generals of the armie of the other GRECIANS, which were then about him: to ſee if he could moue any man to courage and deſire, to offer himſelfe willingly to go aide the MEGARIANS. Howbeit they had all deafe eares, but *Ariſtides*: who promiſed to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought *Olympiodorus* into the field, (one of the valianteſt Captaines that ſerued vnder him) with his company of three hundred choſen men, and certaine ſhot mingled amongeſt them. Theſe ſouldiers were ready in a moment, and marched ſtraight in battell ray, a great pace towards the barbarous people. *Maſiſtius*, that was generall of the horſemen of the PERSIANS, a goodly tall man, perceiuing their comming towards him: turned his horſe, and galloped againſt them. The ATHENIANS taried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very hot, becauſe both the one and the other ſide did the beſt they could at this firſt onſet to put the reſt of the battell in ieopardy: and they fought ſo long, that *Maſiſtius* horſe was ſhot through the body with an arrow, that put him to ſuch paine, as he neuer lin flinging, till he caſt his maiſter on the ground, armed as he was at all peeces. So being on the ground, he could not riſe againe, as well for the waight of his armour, as for that the ATHENIANS came ſo ſodainly vpon him. And notwithſtanding there were many about him to hew him in peeces, yet they could find no way how to kill him, he was ſo throughly armed & loden with gold, copper, and iron, not onely vpon his body and his head, but alſo on his legs and armes: vntill at the length there came one that thruſt the head of his dart through his beuer, and ſo killed him. The PERSIANS perceiuing that, fled immediatly, & forſooke the body of their generall. Shortly after it appeared to the GRECIANS that they had ſped well at this skirmiſh, not becauſe they had ſlaine many of their enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous people made for the loſſe of *Maſiſtius*. For his death did ſo greeue them, that they powled themſelues, they clipped off their horſes and moyles haires, & filled beſides all the field there abouts with pityfull cries & ſhreekes, as they that had loſt the valianteſt and chiefeſt man of authoritie of all their camp, next vnto *Mardonius* the kings Lieutenant. After this firſt skirmiſh, both the one and the other ſide kept their camp, and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the Soothſayers did promiſe both ſides the victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GRECIANS, ſo they did but onely defend: and contrarywiſe, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowen, that did aſſault. But

Mount Cithe-ron.

Maſiſtius generall of the horſemen of the Perſians.

Maſiſtius ſlaine by the Athenians.

donius finding victuals waxed scant, & that they were stored but for few dayes, and moreouer how the GRECIANS daily grew stronger by continuall repayre to their camp, the longer he delayed in the end he resolued to tary no lõger, but to passe the riuer of ASOPVS the next morning by breake of the day, and sodainly to set vpon the GRECIANS. So he gaue the Captaines warning the night before what they should do, because euery man should be ready: but about midnight there came a horseman without any noyse at all, so neare to the GRECIANS camp, that he spake to the watch, and told them he would speake with *Aristides*, generall of the ATHENIANS. *Aristides* was called for straight, & when he came to him, the horseman sayd vnto *Aristides*, I am *Alexander* king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great good will I beare you, haue put my selfe in the greatest daunger that may be, to come at this present time to aduertise you, that to morrow morning *Mardonius* will giue you battell: because your enemies sodaine cõming vpõ you, should not make you afrayed, being sodainly charged, & should not hinder also your valiant fighting. For it is no new hope that is come to *Mardonius*, that makes him to fight: but onely scarcitie of victuals that forceth him to do it, considering that the Prognosticatours are all against it that he should giue you battell, both by reason of the ill tokens of their sacrifices, as also by the aunswers of their oracles, which hath put all the armie in a maruellous feare, and stand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at aduenture, or else if he will needes lye still, to be starued to death for verie famine. After king *Alexander* had imparted this secret to *Aristides*, he prayed him to keepe it to himselfe, and so remember it in time to come. *Aristides* aunswered him then, that it was no reason he should keepe a matter of so great importance as that, from *Pausanias*, who was their Lieutenant generall of the whole armie: notwithstanding, he promised him he would tell it no man else before the battell, and that if the gods gaue the GRECIANS the victorie, he did assure him, they should all acknowledge his great fauour and good will shewed vnto them. After they had talked thus together, king *Alexander* left him, and returned backe againe, and *Aristides* also went immediatly to *Pausanias* tent, and told him the talke king *Alexander* and he had together. Thereupon the priuate Captaines were sent for straight to counsell, and there order was giuen, that euery man should haue his bandes ready, for they should fight in the morning. So *Pausanias* at that time (as *Herodotus* writeth) sayd vnto *Aristides*, that he would remoue the ATHENIANS from the left to the right wing, because they should haue the PERSIANS themselues right before them, and that they should fight so much the lustier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also because they had ouercomme them before in the first encounter: and that himselfe would take the left wing of the battell, where he should encounter with the GRECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS side. But when all the other priuate Captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderstood it, they were maruellous angry with *Pausanias*, and sayd he did them wrong, and had no reason to let all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, and onely to remoue them, as if they were slaues, to be appointed at his pleasure, now of the one side, then of the other, and to set them to fight with the valiantest souldiers they had of all their enemies. Then sayd *Aristides* to them, that they knew not what they sayd, and now before they misliked, and did striue with the TEGEATES, onely for hauing the left wing of the battell; and when it was graunted, they thought themselues greatly honored that they were preferred before them, by order of the Captaines: and now where the LACEDÆMONIANS were willing of themselues to giue them the place of the right wing, and did in maner offer them the preheminence of the whole armye: they do not thankefully take the honour offered them, nor yet do recken of the vantage and benefite giuen them to fight against the PERSIANS selues, their auncient enemies, & not against their naturall coũtry men aunciently descended of them. When *Aristides* had vsed all these perswasions vnto them, they were very well contented to chaunge place with the LACEDÆMONIANS: and then all the talke among them was to encourage one an other, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came against them, had no better harts nor weapons, then those whom they before had ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For sayd they, they haue the same bowes, the same rich imbroidred gownes, the same golden chaines and carcanettes of womanish persons, hanging on

Alexander king of Macedone, reuealeth the Persians secret counsell vnto Aristides.

their cowardly bodies and faint harts: where we haue alſo the ſame weapons and bodies had, & our harts more liuely & couragious thē before, through the ſundry victories we haue ſince gotten of them. Further, we haue this aduantage more. That we do not fight as other confederates the GRECIANS do, for our citie and country onely, but alſo to continue fame and renowme of our former noble ſeruice, which we wanne at the iourneys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA: to the ende, the world ſhould not thinke that the glory of our triumphes and victories was due vnto *Miltiades* onely, or vnto fortune, but vnto the courage and worthineſſe of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GRECIANS throughly occupied.

The treaſon of the Thebans.

chaūge the order of their battell in haſt. The THEBANS on the other ſide that tooke part with *Mardonius*, receiuing intelligence of the altering of their battell, by traytors that ranne betweene both campes: they ſtraight told *Mardonius* of it. He thereupon did ſodainly chaunge the order of his battell, and placed the PERSIANS from the right wing to the left wing of his enemies: either becauſe he was afrayed of the ATHENIANS, or elſe for the glory that he had a deſire to fight with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded the THEBANS that tooke his part, that they ſhould fight againſt the ATHENIANS. This alteration was ſo openly done, that euery man might ſee it: whereupon *Pauſanias* remoued the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, and ſet them in the right wing. *Mardonius* ſeeing that, remoued the PERSIANS againe from the left wing, and brought them to the right wing (where they were before) againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS: and thus they conſumed all that day in chaunging their men to and fro. So the Captaines of the GRECIANS ſat in counſell at night, and they agreed, that they muſt needes remoue their camp, and lodge in ſome other place where they might haue water at commaundement: becauſe their enemies did continually trouble and ſpoyle that water they had about them, with their horſes. Now when night came the Captaines would haue marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed: but the people went very ill willing to it, and they had much a do to keepe them vp. For they were no ſooner out of the trenches and fortification of their camp, but the most of them ranne to the citie of PLATÆES, and were maruellouſly out of order, diſperſing themſelues here and there, and ſet vp their tents where they thought good, before the place appointed for them: and there were none that tarried behind, but the LACEDÆMONIANS onely, and that was againſt their willes. For one of their Captaines called *Amompharetus*

The ſtubbornneſſe of Amompharetus Captaine of the Lacedæmonians.

maruellous hardie man, that feared no daunger, and longed ſore for battell: he was in a rage with theſe trifling delayes, that he cried it out in the camp, that this remouing was a goodly running away, & ſware he would not frō thence, but would there tary *Mardonius* coming with his company. *Pauſanias* went to him, and told him he muſt do that the other CAPTAINS had conſented to in counſell, by moſt voyces. But *Amompharetus* tooke a great ſtone in his handes, and threw it downe at *Pauſanias* feete, and told him there is the ſigne I will giue to conclude battell, and I paſſe not for all your cowardly concluſions. *Amompharetus* ſtubbornneſſe did ſo amaze *Pauſanias*, that he was at his wits end. So he ſent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwardes on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might go no further,

The battell of the Grecians, with the Perſians, at the citie of Platæes.

and there withall made the reſt of his men to marche towardes the citie of PLATÆES, preſſing thereby to haue drawen *Amompharetus* to haue followed him, or elſe he ment to make him alone behind. But in trifling thus, the day brake: and *Mardonius* vnderſtanding that the GRECIANS did forſake their firſt lodging, he made his army preſently march in battell ray vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. So the barbarous people made great ſhoutes and cries thinking to go fight, but to go ſacke and ſpoyle the GRECIANS flying away, as indeed they did litle better. For, *Pauſanias* ſeeing the countenaunce of his enemies, made his enſigne ſtay, and commaunded euery man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to giue the GRECIANS the ſignall of the battell, either for the anger he tooke againſt *Amompharetus*, or for the ſodaine onſet of the enemies, which made them that they came not in ſtraight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begun, but ſtraggling in ſmall companies, ſome here, and ſome there. In the meane time, *Pauſanias* was buſie in ſacrificing to the gods, and ſeeing, that his firſt ſacrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothſayers obſeruations they made, he commaunded the SPARTANS to throw their targets at their feete, and not to fight

f their places, but onely to do as he bad them, without resisting their enemies. When he ad giuen this straight order, he went againe and did sacrifice, when the horsemen of the ene- ies were at hand, and that their arrowes flew amongst the thickest of the LACEDÆMONI- ns, and did hurt diuerse of them, and specially poore *Callicrates* among the rest, that was one the goodliest men in all the GRECIANS hoast and armie. He hauing his deaths wound ith an arrow, before he gaue vp the ghost, said his death did not grieue him, because he me out of his countrie to die for the defence of GREECE: but it grieued him to die so cow- dly, hauing giuen the enemie neuer a blowe. His death was marueilous lamentable, and e constancie of the SPARTANS wonderfull: for they neuer stirred out of their places, nor de any countenance to defend themselues against their enemies that came vpon them, but ered themselues to be thrust through with arrowes, and slaine in the field, looking for the re the goddes would appoint them, and that their Captaine would commaund them to . Some write also, that as *Pausanias* was at his prayers, and doing sacrifice vnto the gods e behinde the battell, certaine of the LYDIANS came vpon him, and ouerthrew and ke away all his sacrifice: and how *Pausanias*, and those that were about him, (hauing no her weapons in their hands) draue them away with force of staues and whippes. In me- rie whereof, they say there is a solemne procession kept at SPARTA on that day, which y call the LYDIANS procession, where they whip and beate young boyes about the aul- . Then was *Pausanias* in great distresse, to see the Priests offer sacrifice vpon sacrifice, d that not one of them pleased the goddes: at the last he turned his eyes to the temple of , and wept, and holding vp his hands, besought *Iuno Citheron*, and all the other goddes, trons and protectors of the countrie of the PLATÆIANS) that if it were non the will of gods the GRECIANS should haue the victorie, yet that the conquerors at the least should y their deaths dearely, and that they should finde they fought against valiant men and wor- y souldiers. *Pausanias* had no sooner ended his prayer, but the sacrifices fell out very fauou- le, insomuch the Priests and Soothsayers came to promise him victorie. Thereupon, he ight gaue commaundement to marche toward the enemie, which flew from man to man conuently how they should marche. So as he that had seene the squadron of the LACE- MONIANS, would haue said it had bene like the body of a fierce beast raising vp his bri- es preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people sawe they should haue a hoate battle, and t they should meete with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they cou- d their bodies with great targets after the PERSIAN fashion, and bestowed their arrowes ftly vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But they keeping close together, and couering them- es with their shields, marched on still vpon them, vntill they came to ioyne with the ene- e so lustily, that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thrusts and owes of their pikes and speares vpon their breasts, and ouerthwart their faces, that they slew ny of them, and laide them on the ground. For all that, they dyed not cowardly, but tooke LACEDÆMONIANS pikes and speares in their bare hands, and brake them in two by ength of their armes: and then they quickly pluckt out their cimeters and axes, and lustily de about them, and wrong the LACEDÆMONIANS shields out of their hands by force, and ught it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now, whilest the LACEDÆMONIANS ere busily fighting with the barbarous people, the ATHENIANS stood still imbattelled farre , & kept their ground. But whē they saw the LACEDÆMONIANS tary so long, & that they me not, and heard a marueilous noise of men as though they were fighting, and besides that ere came a speedy messenger vnto them sent from *Pausanias*, to let them vnderstand they ere fighting: then they marched with all speed they could to helpe them. But as they were omming on a great pace ouer the plaine, vnto that part where they heard the noise: the GRE- IANS that were on *Mardonius* side came against them. *Aristides* seeing them comming to- ards them, went a good way before his company, and cried out as loude as he could for life, d coniured the GRECIANS in the name of the gods, the protectors of GREECE, to leaue off ese wars, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to helpe them that ventured eir liues, to defend the commonwealth & safety of all GREECE. But when he saw they would eeds fight for any request & coniuratiō he could vse, & that they came still vpon him, bending

Callicrates slaine without fighting.

Note the obedience of the Spartan souldiers vnto death.

Barbarous people the Germans and Persians.

themselues to giue charge: then he staied his going to relieue the LACEDÆMONIANS,
The Grecians victorie of the Persians at Platees. was compelled to make head against those that set vpon him and his company, they b
about fiftie thousand men, of the which, the most part notwithstanding went their wa
left the army, specially when they vnderstood the PERSIANS were ouerthrowne and
The furie of the battell, and cruellest fight (as they say) was where the THEBANS were
cause the nobilitie and chiefest men of the countrie fought very earnestly for the PERSI
but the people refused, being led by a small number of the nobility that commanded tho
they fought that day in two places, the LACEDÆMONIANS being the first that ouer
Mardonius slaine of Arimnestus a Spartan, with a blow of a stone. the PERSIANS, and made them flie: & they slue *Mardonius* the kings lieutenant, with a
of a stone one *Arimnestus* a SPARTAN gaue him vpon his head, rightly as the oracle of
phiaraus had prophecied before vnto him. For *Mardonius* before the battell had sent th
LYDIAN, & a CARIAN, vnto the oracle of *Trophonius*, of the which the prophet made
vnto the CARIAN, in the CARIAN tongue: & the man of LYDIA lay within the sanc
Amphiaraus, where he thought in his dreame that one of the priests of the temple willed
to go out of the place he was in; & he denying it, the Priest tooke vp a great stone & th
at his head, and so thought he was slaine with the blow. And thus it is written. And
more, the LACEDÆMONIANS did chase the PERSIANS flying, into their fortificatio
had in a wood: & the ATHENIANS also shortly after ouerthrew the THEBANS whe
slue in the field, a three hundred of the noblest & chiefest of them. For euen as the T
began to turne taile, newes came vnto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had intre
themselues within their forte and strength in the wood, where the LACEDÆMONIA
besiege them. The ATHENIANS suffered the GRECIANS that fled to saue themselue
they went to helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS, to take the forte of the barbarous people:
went before but slenderly about it, because they had no experience to make an assau
force vpon a wall. But so soone as the ATHENIANS came in to them, they straight to
Two hundred and threescore thousand Persians slaine. A thousand three hundred & threescore Grecians slaine. by assault, and made great slaughter of the PERSIANS and barbarous people. For of three
dred thousand fighting men that *Mardonius* had in his campe, there were saued onely b
tie thousand led vnder *Artabazus*: and of the GRECIANS side, there were not slaine
thirteene hundred and three score in all, amongst which also there were two and fiftie A
men, all of the tribe of *Æantides*, the which had done more valiantly that day, the an
tribe, as *Clidemus* writeth. And this is the cause why the *Æantides* made a solemn sacrifice
to the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, at the common charge, according to the order giuen them
oracle of *Apollo*, to giue them thankes for this victorie. Of the LACEDÆMONIANS the
fourescore and eleuen: and of the THESPIATES, sixteene. But I maruell *Herodotus* hath
none but these people only fought in that iourney against the barbarous nation, and no
GRECIANS besides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graues also do shew
was a generall victorie and exploite of all the GRECIANS together. And moreouer, t
had bene but these three people onely that had fought against them, and that all the re
stood and looked on, and done nothing: sure there had bene no such epigram as this
ten vpon the aulter or tombe that was set vp in the place of the battell.

When the victorious Greekes, had driuen out of their land,
The Persians by force of armes, which long did them withstand,
They built to mighty Ioue, this holy aulter here,
And made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appeare.
In Guerdon of the good, which he did them restore,
In Guerdon of their liberty, which liked them euermore.

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS cal
dromion, that is, about the moneth of Iuly, or after the BOEOTIANS account, the six &
tie of the moneth, they call Panemus, on which day there is yet kept a common assem
the estates of GREECE, in the cities of PLATÆES, where the PLATÆIANS make a solem
crifice vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, to giue him thankes alwaies for this vi
It is no maruell that there was such difference then betwixt the moneths and dayes,
dering that euen now when astronomie is more perfectly vnderstanded, then it was

some do yet begin and end their moneths at one day, and some at another. After this great barrell and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there rose great strife betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS, touching the reward and honour of the victory. For the ATHENIANS would not giue place vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor suffer them to set vp any tokens or signes of triumphe. Whereupon the GRÆCIANS running to armes in mutinie together, by this occasion they had almost spoiled one another: had not *Aristides* through his wisedom and wise persuasions, staied, and quieted the other Captaines his companions, and specially one *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, whom he wanne with such discreet and gentle words, that they were contented to referre it wholly vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the other people of GREECE. So the GRECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to decide their controuersie. In this counsell holden there, *Theogiton* a Captaine of the MEGARIANS, said for his opinion, that to auoide the ciuill warre might growe betweene the GRECIANS vpon this quarrell: he thought it very requisite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor of this victorie, vnto some other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him rose vp *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN, seeming to euery man there that he would haue requested this honour for the citie of CORINTHE, being in deed the third citie in estimation of all GREECE, next vnto SPARTA & ATHENS: howbeit he made an oration in commendation of the PLATÆIANS, which was maruellously liked, & well thought of of euery man. For his opinion went flatly with the PLATÆIANS, that to ende this strife, they should giue the honor of this victory vnto the city of PLATÆES, & so would neither of both parties be angrie that they should be honored. Vpon his words, *Aristides* first agreed on the ATHENIANS behalfe, & then *Pausanias* for the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the PLATÆIANS should haue the reward. Now they both being agreede, before the spoile was deuided betweene them, they set aside some score talents that were giuen to the PLATÆIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto *Minerua*, and gaue her an image, and set out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACEDÆMONIANS notwithstanding, did set vp their tokens of victory by themselues, and the ATHENIANS theirs also by themselues. So, they sending vnto the oracle of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they should do sacrifice: *Apollo* answered them that they should build vpon an auter vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, howbeit that they should put no sacrifice vpon it, vntill they had first put out all the fire through the whole countrie, because it had bene polluted and defiled by the barbarous people: and then, that they should fetche pure and cleane fire at the common auter, whereon they do sacrifice vnto *Apollo Pythius*, in the city of DELPHES. This answer being deliuered, the great Lords and officers of GREECE went through all the countrie, to put out the fire euery where. And there was a man of the same citie of PLATÆES at that time called *Euchidas*, that came and offered him selfe, and promised he would bring them fire from the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, with all possible speed that might be. So when he came to the city of DELPHES, after he had sprinkled and purified his body with cleane water, he put a crowne of lawrell vpon his head, and went in that manner to take fire from the auter of Apollo. When he had done, he hied him againe as fast as he could runne for life, vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and came thither before the sunne was set, hauing come and gone that day a thousand furlongs. But after he had saluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fire he brought: he fell downe dead at their feete, and gaue vp the ghost. The PLATÆIANS lift him vp starke dead, and buried him in the temple of *Diana Euclia*, to say, of good renowme: and caused afterwards this Epitaphe following to be grauen vpon his tombe.

Engraued here doth lie, Euchidas speedy man,
who in one day both too and fro to Delphes lightly ranne.
Euen from this selfe same place, which thou dost here behold,
such haste, post haste, he swiftly made, therefore thou muest be bolde.

Many thinke that this goddesse *Euclia* is *Diana*, and so they call her. But other holde opinion she was the daughter of *Hercules*, and of *Myrto* the *Nymphe*, *Menœsius* daughter, and *Patroclus* sister, that died a virgine, & was honored afterwards as a goddesse, of the BOEOTIANS, and of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they finde an auter

Strife betwixt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for honor of the victory.

Corinthe the third city of estimation in Greece.
Sparta.
Athens.
Corinthe.
The Grecians grant the honor of the victory vnto the Platæians.

The wonderful speede of Euchidas the Plateian, a foote.

Diana Euclia.

Euchidas death.

and image dedicated vnto her: and all that are maried, do sacrifice to her vpon that aulter.

A generall counsell holden at the city of Plataes.

Afterwards there was a generall counsell holden by all the GRECIANS, in the which *Aristides* made a motion, that all the cities of GREECE should yearely send their deputies at a certaine day appointed, vnto the city of PLATÆES, there to make their prayers and sacrifices vnto the gods: and that from fiue yeares, to fiue yeares, they should celebrate common games, that should be called the games of libertie: and that they should also leaue throughout the prouinces of GREECE, for maintenance of the warres against the PERSIANS and barbarous people, ten thousand footemen, a thousand horsemen, and a fleete of a hundred saile. Item that the PLATÆIANS thenceforth should be taken also for denoute and holy men, and that no man should so hardy hurt or offend them, and that they should onely tende the sacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and prosperitie of GREECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and manner aforesaid, and the PLATÆIANS bound themselues yearely to keepe solemne sacrifices and anniuersaries for the soules of the GRECIANS that were slaine in their territories, fighting for defence of the libertie of the GRECIANS. And this they obserue yet vnto this day in this sorte: The sixteenth day of the moneth of Mæmasterion (which the BOEOTIANS call Alalcomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuarie) they go in procession, and before the procession there goeth a trumpetor that soundeth the alarum. Then there follow certaine chariots loden with branches of firre tree, and with nosegayes and garlandes of triumphe: then a blacke bull, and certaine young gentlemen noble men souns that carie great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, such as they vse to powre vpon the graues of dead men for propiciatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne that cary oiles, perfumes, and other sweete odours in voyall glasses. For no seruant or bondman may lawfully be admitted to haue any office about this misterie, for that they whose memory they honor, died all fighting for defence of the libertie of GREECE. After all this followeth the pronoust of the PLATÆIANS for that time being, last of all: who may not all the rest of the yeare besides so much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall pot in one of his handes, which he taketh in the towne house, and a naked sworde in the other hand, and so goeth through the citie in this sorte after all the pompe aforesaid, vnto the church yarde, where all their graues be that were slaine at that battell. So when he commeth thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the same he washeth the tombe stones, square pillers and images that stand vpon those tombes, and then annointeth them with oile and sweete sauors: afterwards, he sacrificeth a bull, and laieth him vpon a heape of wood hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine prayers and petitions vnto *Iupiter*, and *Mercurie*, goddes of the earth, he doth solemnly inuite the soules of those valiant men that dyed, fighting for the liberty of GREECE, vnto the feast of this funerall sacrifice. Then he taketh a cup full of wine in his hande, and spilling it all vpon their tombes, he speaketh these words alonde: I drinke to the worthy and valiant men, that died sometime in defence of the liberty of GREECE. This solemne ceremonie and anniuersarie, the PLATÆIANS do duely obserue vnto this present day. Now when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, *Aristides* perceiuing the people were bent to stablish a popular state, where the people might beare the whole rule and authoritie, iudging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noble seruice and valiant courage they had shewed in this warre: & considering also that they would hardly be brought to like of any other gouernment, being yet in armes, and very stoute, by reason of the famous victories they had obtained: he caused a law to be made, that all authoritie of gouernment should runne in equall course among the citizens, and that thenceforth all burgesses (as well poore as riche) should be chosen by voices of the people, and promoted to offices within the citie. And moreouer, when *Themistocles* tolde in open assembly, that he had a thing in his head would be greatly to the profit and commoditie of the state, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for diuerse respects, the people willed him to tell it vnto *Aristides* onely, and to take his aduise in it, to know whether it was meete to be doon or not. Then *Themistocles* tolde him secretly betwene them, that he thought to set the arsenal on fire, wherewith the GRECIANS ships lay: alleadging, that

Solemne sacrifices and funerals kept by the Plataians yearely for the Grecians that were slaine at the battell of Plataes.

Aristides preferreth the popular state.

A wicked deuise of Themistocles.

this meanes the ATHENIANS should be the greatest men of power in all GREECE. *Aristides* hearing that, without any more, came presently to the people againe, and tolde the whole counsell openly: that nothing could be more profitable in deed for the whole common-wealth, and withall more wicked and vniust, then that *Themistocles* thought good to do. When the people heard *Aristides* aunswer, they willed *Themistocles* to let his deuise alone whatsoeuer it were: so great iusticers were the ATHENIANS, and so much did they trust *Aristides* wisedom and equitie besides. So they made *Aristides* afterwards generall of the armie of the ATHENIANS together with *Cimon*, and sent them to make warre against the barbarous people. *Aristides* at his comming thither, seeing *Pausanias*, and the other Captaines that were generals ouer the whole armie, dealing hardly, and churlishly with people their confederates: he on the contrary side, spake gently vnto them, and shewed himselfe as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and iust to euery body not oppressing some to ease other, in defraying the charges of the warres. *Aristides* taking this course, it was not noted how by litle and litle he cut off the rule and authority of the LACEDÆMONIANS in GREECE, not by force of armes, nor by ships, nor by numbers of horses, but onely by his graue and wise gouernment. For if the iustice and vertue of *Aristides*, and the mildenesse and courtesie of *Cimon* made the gouernment of the ATHENIANS to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of GREECE: the couetousnesse, pride, and fiercenesse of *Pausanias*, made it much more to be desired. For *Pausanias* neuer spake vnto the other captaines of the people, allyes, and confederates, but it was euer in choller, and he was too sharpe with them: and for the poore priuate souldiers, he would cause them to be cruelly whipped for euery small offence, or else to make them stand a whole day together on their feete, laying a heauy iron ancker vpon their shoulders. No man durst go forrage, neither for strawe nor reedes to make them couches of, nor durst water their horse before the SPARTANS: for he had set skoutes for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when *Aristides* thought to haue spoken to him, and to haue tolde him some thing; he frowned vpon him, and said he had no leasure to speake with him now, and so would not heare him. Whereupon the Captaines of the other GRECIANS, and specially those of CHIO, SAMOS, and of LESBOS, did afterwards follow *Aristides*, and perswaded him to take vpon him the charge and authoritie to commaund the other people of GREECE, and to take in his protection the allyes and confederates of the same, who long sithence wished to reuolt from the gouernment of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and onely to submit themselues vnto the ATHENIANS. *Aristides* aunswered them thus: that they had not onely reason to do that they did, but that they were also constrained to do it. Notwithstanding, because the ATHENIANS might haue good ground and assurance of their vndoubted fidelitie and good seruice, they should deliuer them manifest testimonie and assurance thereof, by some famous act attempted against the LACEDÆMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durst neuer fall from the league of the ATHENIANS. *Vliades* SAMIAN, & *Antagoras* of CHIO hearing him say so, both captaines of galleys confedered together: they went one day to set vpon the admirall galley of *Pausanias*, hard by BIZANTIVM, the one of the one side of her, and the other on the other side, as she was rowing before all the fleete. *Pausanias* seeing them, stood vp straight in his galley, and began furiously to rage against them, and threatned them that before it were long he would make them know they had bene better to haue assaulted their owne naturall countrie, then to haue set vpon him as they had done. But they aunswered him, and bad him get him away quickly and if he were wise, and let him thanke fortune hardly, that graunted the GRECIANS victorie at the battell of PLATÆES vnder his leading: and that it was nothing else but the only reuerence and respect of the same, that had made the GRECIANS hold their hands till now, from giuing him that iust punishment his pride and arrogancie had deserued. So the end was, they left the LACEDÆMONIANS, & stacke vnto the ATHENIANS: wherein was easily discerned the great courage, and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACEDÆMONIANS. For when they saw their captains were marred and corrupted, through the ouer great authority and liberty they had, they willingly gaue vp their commandement ouer the other GRECIANS, and did no more send their Captaines to be generals of the whole armie of GREECE: thinking it better

Aristides sentence vpon Themistocles deuise.

The iustice of the Athenians.

Aristides and Cimon generals of the Athenians against the barbarous people.

Aristides iustice and vertue tooke from the Lacedæmonians all their rule & authoritie in Greece.

Pausanias proud and couetous.

Pausanias cruell punishing of his souldiers.

Aristides fine tryall of traitors.

The rebellious act of Vliades and Antagoras against Pausanias.

The temperance of the Lacedæmonians.

for their citizens, that they ſhould be obedient, and in euery pointe obſerue the diſcipline
law of their countrie, then if they had bin otherwiſe the onely rulers and lords ouer the
countrie. Now at what time the LACEDÆMONIANS did commaund all GREECE, as
the cities and people of GREECE did pay a certaine ſumme of money, towards defraying
the charges of the warres againſt the barbarous people. But after that their ſeignioric
rule was taken from them, the GRECIANS were contented a taxe ſhould be leauied, and
euery city ſhould be reaſonably ſeſſed, according to their wealth and abilitie: becauſe
citie might know what they ſhould pay. And for this purpoſe, they prayed the ATHE
they would appoint *Ariſtides* to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power &
ritie to taxe and ſeſſe euery citie indifferently, conſidering the greatneſſe of the territorie
the reuenues of the ſame, as euery one was reaſonably able to beare it. But if *Ariſtides*
poore when he entred into that great charge and office of authoritie, wherein all GRE
manner did referre themſelues vnto his diſcretion: he came out of that office more
and had made this aſſeſſement and taxation not onely iuſtly and truly, but alſo ſo indif
ly according vnto euery mans abilitie, that there was no man could finde fault with h
ings. And like as the auncient men in olde time did celebrate, and ſing out the bleſſed
thoſe that liued vnder the raigne of *Saturne*, which they called the golden age: euen
the people and confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwards honour the aſſeſſement
Ariſtides, calling it the fortunate & bleſſed time of GREECE, and ſpecially, when ſhortly
it did double, and treble on the ſodaine. For the taxe *Ariſtides* made, came to about foure
dred and three ſcore talents: and *Pericles* raiſed it almoſt vnto a third parte. For *Thu*
writeth, that at the beginning of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the ATHENIANS
ſixe hundred talents yearely vpon their confederates. And after the death of *Pericles*, the
tors and counſellers for matters of ſtate, did raiſe it vp higher by litle and litle, vntill it
ted vnto the ſumme of thirteene hundred talents. And this was not, becauſe the warres
riſe to ſo great a charge, by reaſon of the length of the ſame, and of the loſſes the ATHE
had receiued: but for that they did acouſtome the people to make diſtributions of mo
hand vnto euery citizen, to make them ſet vp games, and make goodly images, and to
ſumptuous temples. Thus was *Ariſtides* therefore iuſtly honored, praiſed, and eſteemed
all other, for this iuſt impoſition of taxes, ſauing onely of *Themiſtocles*: who went vp
downe fleering at the matter, ſaying it was no meete praiſe for an honeſt man, but rather
cofer well barred with iron, where a man might ſafely lay vp his gold and ſiluer. This be
to be cured with *Ariſtides*, which was nothing like the ſharpe girde *Ariſtides* gaue him
ly, when *Themiſtocles* talking with him, tolde him it was an excellent thing for a Capt
be able to know, and to preuent the counſels and doings of the enemies: and ſo is it,
Ariſtides againe, not onely a needfull, but an honeſt thing, and meete for a worthy
rall of an armie, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So *Ariſtides* m
the other people of GREECE to ſweare, that they would truely keepe the articles of
ance, and he him ſelfe as generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their othes in the
the ATHENIANS: and ſo pronouncing execrations & curſes againſt them that ſhould
the league and othe taken, he threw iron wedges red hotte into the ſea, and praied
to deſtroy them euen ſo, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithſtanding, afterw
(in my opinion) when there fell our great alteration in the ſtate, and that the ATHE
were forced to rule more ſtraightly then before: *Ariſtides* then willed the ATHENIAN
him beare the daunger and burden of periury and execration, and that they ſhould not
feare thereof to do any thing what ſoeuer they thought meet or neceſſary. To conclude,
phraſtus writeth, that *Ariſtides* was not only a perfect, an honeſt, and iuſt man, in priuat
ters betwixt party & party: but in matters of ſtate, and concerning the common weale
many things oftentimes according to the neceſſitie of the time, and troubles of the
wherein violence and iniuſtice was to be vſed. As when the queſtion was asked in open
ſell, to know whether they might take away the gold and ſiluer that was left in the Ile
LOS ſafely laid vp in the temple of *Apollo*, to beare out the charges of the wars againſt
barous people, & to bring it from thence vnto ATHENS, vpon the motion of the SA

Ariſtides did ſeſſe the cities of Grece.

Ariſtides a true ceſſer.

Tauntes betwixt Themiſtocles and Ariſtides.

Ariſtides preferred neceſſitie of time, before law and reaſon.

although it was directly against the articles of the alliance, made and sworne among all the Grecians. *Aristides* opinion being asked in the same, he answered: it was not iust, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding *Aristides* had brought his city, to rule and command many thousands of people: yet was he still pore for all that, and vntill his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his pouerty; then for all the famous victories and battels he had won: and that plainely appeareth thus. *Callias Ceres* torch bearer, was his neare kinseman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stoode in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Iudges, his accusers very faintly, and to litle purpose, vttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other by-matters, left the chiefest matter, and spake thus to the Iudges. My Lords, you all know *Aristides* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and you are not ignorant also that his vertue hath made him more esteemed, then any man els is, or can be, in all Greece. How thinke ye doth he liue at home? when you see him abroad vp and downe the city, in a thred bare gowne all to tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all see quake for very coulde, being so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet M. *Callias* here, his cosin germaine the richest citizen in all Athens, is so miserable: that notwithstanding *Aristides* hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authority among you, he suffereth him, and his poore wife and children ready to beg, to starue for any help he giueth him. *Callias* perceiuing the Iudges more angrie with him for that, then for any matter else hee was accused of: hee prayed *Aristides* might be sent for, and willed him to tell truely whether hee had not offered him good rounde sums of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take it, which he euer refused, and answered him alwaies, that he could better boast of his pouerty, then him selfe could of his riches: (which he sayd many did vse ill, and few could vse them well) and that it was a hard thing to find one man of a noble mind, that could away with pouerty, and that such onely might be ashamed of pouerty, as were poore against their wils. So *Aristides* confirmed all hee spake to be true: and euery man that was at the hearing of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as *Aristides*, then rich as *Callias*. This tale is written thus by *Aeschines* the Socratian Philosopher: and *Plato* reporteth of him also, that notwithstanding there were many other famous and notable men of Athens, yet hee gaue *Aristides* praise aboue them all. For others, sayd he, (as *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*) haue beautified the city with stately porches, and sumptuous buildings of golde and siluer, and with stone of other fine superfluous deuises: but *Aristides* was only he, that vertuously disposed himself and all his doings, to the furtherance of the state and common weale. His iustice and good nature appeared plainely in his doings and behauiour towards *Themistocles*. For though *Themistocles* was euer against *Aristides* in all things, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practise he was banished from Athens: yet when *Themistocles* was accused of treason to the state, hauing diuerse sharpe enemies against him: as *Cimon*, *Alcmeon*, with diuerse other: *Aristides* sought not reuenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither spake nor did any thing against him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioice to see his enemy in misery, no more then if he had neuer enuied him in his prosperity. And touching *Aristides* death, some write that he died in the realme of Pontvs, being sent thither about matters of the state: and other think he died an old man in the city of Athens, greatly honored and beloued of al the citizens. But *Craterus* the Macedonian writeth of his death in this sort. After that *Themistocles* (saith he) was fled, the people of Athens became very stubborn and insolent: whereupon, many lewd men grew to be common appeachers and accusers of the noble men & chiefest citizens, and to stirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people against them, who were waxen proud by reason of their prosperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Among the rest, *Arstides* was condemned for extorcion and ill behauiour in the commõ wealth, vpon one *Diophantes* accusation, of the village of Amphitrope: who burdned him, that he tooke money of the Ionians, to make the annual tribute cease which they payed vnto Athens: & so *Craterus* saith, that because *Aristides* was not able to pay the fine they set vpon his head (which was fiue Minas) he was driuen to forsake Athens, and to get him into Ionia where he died. Yet doth not *Craterus* bring forth any probable matter to proue this true he writeth: as his

Arstides gloried in his pouerty.

A hard thing to away with pouerty, who may be ashamed of pouerty.

Aristides commended of Plato.

Aristides temperance vnto Themistocles.

Aristides death.

Aristides condemned for extorcion.

pleading, his sentence and condemnation, or any decree passed against him, although he vse great diligence else in collecting all such matters, and vouching his authors. Furthermore, other writers that haue specially noted the faults and offences committed by the people of ATHENS in former times against their Captaines and gouernours: they doe declare *Themistocles* exile, *Miltiades* captiuity that died in prison, *Pericles* fine wherein he was condemned, *Paches* death that slue himselfe in the pulpit for orations, when he saw he was condemned: tell diuerse such stories, adding to also *Aristides* banishment: but yet they make no mention of the condemnation which *Craterus* speaketh off. Moreouer, *Aristides* tombe to be seene at this day vpon the hauen of Phalerus, which was set vp for him at the charge of the common wealth, as it is reported, because he died so poore a man, as they found nothing in his house to bury him with. Other go further, and say that his daughters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the common wealth, and that the city gaue euery one of them three thousand Drachmas: and his sonne *Lysimachus*, a hundred Minas of siluer, and a hundred Iugera, & at *Alcibiades* request, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him foure Drachmas a day besides, of ordinary allowance. Furthermore, when this *Lysimachus* died, they left him liue one onely daughter called *Polyzelie*, whom the people appointed, as *Callisthenes* writeth, as much prouision to liue withall, as they gaue to any that wan the Olympian games. Also sithence, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Hieronymus* RHODIAN, *Aristoxenus* the Musitian, and *Aristotle* the Philosopher, at the least if the booke intituled of Nobility bee any of *Aristotles* workes: all these agree together, that one *Myrto*, *Aristides* daughters daughter, was maried to the wise *Socrates*, who tooke her to his wife (hauing a wife already) because shee was a poore widdow, and could not be maried for her pouerty, hauing much a doe to liue. Yet *Panætius* doth write against them, in his booke of *Socrates* life. But *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth in his booke he intituled *Socrates*, that he could remember very well hee had seene one *Lysimachus*, *Aristides* sonnes sonne, or his daughters sonne, that was very poore, and liued of that he could get to interpret dreames, by certaine tables, wherein was written the arte to interpret the signification of dreames: and that he kept commonly about the temple of *Bacchus* called *Iacchion*, vnto whom, together with his mother and his sister, he sayd he had caused the people to giue them a Triobolum a peece, euery day towardes their liuing. It is very true that selfe same *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, when he reformed the state of ATHENS, ordained that the mother and sister should haue eche of them a Drachma by the day to finde them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, nor strange thing, that the people of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe, and to relieue, the women that dwelt in the city: considering that in times past, *Aristogiton* hauing a lide daughter in the Ile of LEMNOS, in very hard and poore state, and that could not be bestowed in marriage for her pouerty, they caused her to be brought to ATHENS, and maried her in one of the noblest houses of the city, and made her a ioynter besides in the village of POTAMOS. Which great curtesie and humanity of theirs, hath euer deserued great fame and commendation, and yet continueth euen vntill this daie, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery man there.

Aristides tombe.

The Athenians thankefulnesse vnto Aristides children.

Myrto Aristides daughters daughter, maried vnto Socrates.

The Athenians commended for their liberality.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Cato the Censor.

Marcus Cato and his auncesters, were (as they say) of the city of TVSCVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and dealt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and liued in the countrey of the SABINES, vpon certaine land his father left him. And though to many his auncesters were knowen to haue ben obscure: yet hee him selfe did highly commend his father *Marcus*, by bearing his name, & saying he was a souldier, and had serued valiantly in the fielde. And he telleth also of another *Cato* that was his great grandfather, who for his valiant seruice had bene oft rewarded of the generals, with such honorable gifts, as the ROMAINES did vse to giue vnto them, that had done some famous act in any battel: and how that he hauing lost fiue horses of seruice in the wars, the value of the same were restored to him againe, in money of the common treasure, because he had shewed himselfe trusty and valiant for the common welth. And where they had a common speach at Rome to call them vpstarts, that were no gentlemen borne, but did rise by vertue: it fortuned Cato to be called one of them. And for his part he did confesse it, that he was of the first of the house that euer had honour, and office of state: but by reason of the noble actes and good seruice of his auncestors, he maintained he was very auncient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, *Priscus*: but afterwards by reason of his great wisedome and experience he was surnamed *Cato*, because the ROMAINS call a wise man, and him that hath seene much. *Cato called an vpstart.* *The definition of this word Cato.*

He was somewhat giuen to be red faced, and had a paire of staring eyes in his head, as this man telleth vs: that for ill will wrote these verses of him after his death.

Pluto (the god) which rules the furies infernall,
will not receiue the damned ghost, of Porcius in his hall:
his saucy coppered nose, and fiery staring eyes,
his common slaunderous tales, which he did in this world deuise,
made Pluto stand in dread that he would brawle in hell,
although his bones were drie and dead, on earth he was so fell.

Furthermore, touching the disposition of his body, he was maruellous strong and lustie,

Catoes maners and life.

and all becauſe he did vſe to labor and toile euen from his youth, and to liue ſparingly, as one that was euer brought vp in the wars from his youth: ſo that he was of a very good conſtitution, both for ſtrength of body, as for health alſo. As for vtterance, he eſteemed it as a ſeconde body, and moſt neceſſary gift, not only to make men honeſt, but alſo as a thing very requiſite for a man that ſhould beare ſway and authority in the common wealth. He practiſed to ſpeake well in litle villages neare home, whither he went many times to plead mens cauſes in court iudiciall, that would retaine him of counſell: ſo as in ſhort time hee became a perfect pleader and had tongue at will, and in proceſſe of time became an excellent orator. After he was thus well knowen, they that were familiar with him, began to perceiue a graue manner and behauiour in his life, and a certaine noble mind in him, worthy to be employed in matters of high and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not only refuſe to take fees for his pleading, and following the cauſes he maintained: but furthermore made no reckoning of the eſtimation he wan by that manner and practiſe, as though that was not the only marke he ſhot at. But his deſire reached further, rather to win him ſelfe fame by ſeruing in the wars, and by valiant fighting with his enemy: then with ſuch a quiet and pleaſing manner of life. Inſomuch as when he was but a young ſtripling in maner, he had many cuts vpon his breſt, which he had receiued in diuerſe battels and encounters againſt the enemies. For he himſelfe writeth, that he was but ſeuenteene yeare old, when he went firſt vnto the warres, which was about the time of *Hannibals* chiefe proſperity, when he ſpoyled and deſtroyed all Italy. So when he came to fight, he would ſtrike luſtely, and neuer ſturre foote nor giue backe, but would looke cruelly vpon his enemy, and threaten him with a fearfull & terrible voice, which he vſed him ſelfe, and wiſely taught other alſo to vſe the like: for ſuch countenances, ſayeth he, many times do feare the enemies more, then the ſword yee offer them. When he went any iourney, he euer marched a foote, and caried his armor vpon his backe, and had a man waiting on him that caried his vittels with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they ſay) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or ſupper, but did helpe to dreſſe it him ſelfe for the moſt part, if he had any leyſure, when hee had done the duty of a priuate ſouldier in fortifying the campe, or ſuch other needfull buſineſſe. All the while he was abroad in ſeruice in the wars he neuer dranke other then cleane water, vnles it were when he found he was not well and then he would take a litle vineger: but if he ſaw he were weake, he would then drinke a litle wine. Now it fortuned that *Manius Curius* the ROMAINE, who had triumphed thriſe, had a houſe and land hard by *Cato*, where he kept in times paſt, which *Cato* for a walke would often viſite. And he conſidering how litle land he had to his houſe, and what a litle houſe he had of all, and how poorely it was built, wondered with him ſelfe what maner of man *Curius* was: bene, that hauing bene the greateſt man of ROME in his time, and hauing ſubdued the moſt nations and people of all ITALY, and driuen king *Pyrrus* alſo out of the ſame: yet him ſelfe with his owne hands did manure that litle patch of ground, and dwell in ſo poore and ſimple fatme. Whither notwithſtanding, after his three triumphs, the SAMNYTES ſent their Ambaſſadours to viſite him, who found him by the fires ſide ſeething of parſeneapes, and preſented him a maruellous deale of gold from their ſtate and communalty. But *Curius* returned them againe with their gold, and told them, that ſuch as were contented with that ſupper, had no need of gold nor ſiluer: and that for his part, he thought it greater honour to command them that had gold, then to haue it him ſelfe. *Cato* remembring theſe thinges to him ſelfe, went home againe, and beganne to thinke vppon his houſe, of his liuing, of his family and ſeruaunts, and alſo of his expences: and to cut off all ſuperfluous charges, and fell him ſelfe to labour with his owne handes, more then euer he had done before. Furthermore, when *Fabius Maximus* tooke the city of TARENTVM againe, *Cato* ſerued vnder him being very young, where he came into familiar acquaintance with *Nearchus* the PYTHAGORIAN philoſopher, in whō he had maruellous delight to hear him talke of Philoſophy. Which *Nearchus* held the ſame opinion of pleaſure, that *Plato* did, by calling it the ſweete poyſon and chiefeſt bayte to allure men to ill: and ſaying that the body was the firſt plague vnto the ſoule, and that her onely health and remedy, and purgation ſtoode vppon rules of reaſon, good examples and contemplations, to driue ſinfull thoughts and carnall pleaſures of the body, far off from her. *Cato* moreouer

Cato an excellent orator.

Cato a ſouldier at 17. yeares of age.

A grim looke giueth terror to the enemy.

This Manius Curius ouerthrew king Pyrrus being generall of the Tarentines. Cato the elder wondered at the thriftines of Manius Curius.

The moderation of Manius Curius.

Nearchus the Pythagorian Philoſopher, Catoes ſchoolemaiſter.

Platoes opinion of pleaſure.

him selfe much to sobriety and temperaunce, and framed him selfe to be contented with litle. They say he fell in his very olde age to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited somwhat by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demosthenes*, to frame his matter, and also to be eloquent. Which plainely appeareth, in all his bookes and writings, full of authorities, examples, & stories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his sentences and morals, his adages and quick answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a noble man of ROME at that time, one of great authority, and a deepe wise man besides, who could easily discerne buddes of vertue sprowting out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honourable disposition to helpe forward, and to aduaunce such. His name was *Valerius Flaccus*, a neare neighbour vnto *Cato*, who was informed by his seruants of *Catoes* strange life, how he would be doing in his ground with his owne hands: and how he would be gone euery day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleade mens causes that praied his counsaile, & that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but cast a litle coat on his shoulders, and being sommer hee would go out bare, naked to the waist, to worke in his ground among his seruaunts and other workemen: and would besides, sit and eate with them together at one bord, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him also a world of such maners and fashions which he vsed, that shewed to be a marueilous plaine man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they told him what notable wise sayings and graue sentences they heard him speake. *Valerius Flaccus* hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with *Cato*, and perceiuing he was of a very good nature, & well giuen, & that he was a good griffe to be set in a better ground: he perswaded him to come to ROME, and to practise there in the assembly of the people, in the common causes and affaires of the common weale. *Cato* followed his counsaile, who hauing bene no long practiser among them, did grow straight into great estimation, and wanne him many friends, by reason of the causes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken also, by means of the speciall fauor and countenance *Valerius Flaccus* gaue him. For first of all, by voice of the people he was chosen Tribune of the souldiers, (to say, colonell of a thousand footemen) and afterwards he was made treasurer: and so went forwards, and grew to so great credit and authority, as he became *Valerius Flaccus* companion in the chiefest offices of state, being chosen Consull with him, & then Censor. But to begin with al, *Cato* made choise of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, aboue all the Senators of ROME, & gaue him selfe to follow him altogether: and not so much for the credit & estimation *Fabius Maximus* was off, (who therein exceeded all the ROMAINS of that time) as for the modesty and discrete gouernment he saw in him, whom hee determined to follow, as a worthy mirrour and example. At which time *Cato* passed not for the malice and euill will of *Scipio* the great, who did striue at that present being but a yong man, with the authority and greatnesse of *Fabius Maximus*, as one that seemed to enuy his rising and greatnes. *Cato* being sent treasurer with *Scipio*, when he vndertooke the iourney into AFRICA, and perceiuing *Scipioes* bountifull nature and disposition to large gifts without meane to the souldiers: he tolde him plainely one day, that he did not so much hurt the common wealth in wasting their treasure, as he did great harme in changing the auncient manner of their auncestors: who vsed their souldiers to be contented with litle, but hee taught them to spend their superfluous money (all necessaries prouided for) in vaine toies and trifles, to serue their pleasure. *Scipio* made him answer, hee would haue no treasurer should controll him in that sort, nor that should looke so narrowly to his expenses: for his intent was to go to the warres, with full sailes as it were, and that he would (and did also determine to) make the state priuy to all his doings, but not to the money he spent. *Cato* hearing this answere, returned with speede out of SICILE vnto ROME, crying out with *Fabius Maximus* in open Senate, that *Scipio* spent infinitely, and that he tended plaies, commedies, and wrestlings, as if he had not beene set to make warres, inuasions, and attempts vppon their enemies. Vpon this complaint the Senate appointed certaine Tribunes of the people, to goe and see if their informations were true; and finding them so, that they should bring him backe againe to ROME. But *Scipio* shewed farre otherwise to the commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparaunt

Cato learned the Greeke tongue in his olde age.

Cato profited most by Demosthenes eloquence.

Valerius Flaccus a graue wise man.

Catoes strange life.

Cato goeth to Rome by Valerius Flaccus perswasion.

Cato chosen Tribunus militum.

Catoes offices in the Senate.

Cato followed Fabius Maximus.

Catoes emulation with Scipio the great.

Cato being treasurer vnder Scipio African, reproued him for his wastfull expences.

Cato accuseth Scipio of riot.

victory, through the necessary preparation and prouision he had made for the warres: and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great busines, and was at any leysure, he would be priuately mery with his friends: and though he was liberall to his souldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duety and charge in any matter of importaunce. So *Scipio* took shipping, and sailed towards AFRIKE, whither he was sent to make warre. Now to return to *Cato*. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, so that he

Catoes eloquence his continent life, and extream pains.

uerse called him the *Demosthenes* of ROME: howbeit the maner of his life was in more estimation then his eloquence. For all the youth of ROME did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendation of wordes, and one enuied another which of them should come neareſt: but few of them would file their handes with any labour as their forefathers did, and make a supper and dinner, without fire or prouision, or would be content with a meane gowne, a poore lodging, and finally would thinke it more honorable to defie fansies & pleasures, then to haue and enioy them. Because the state was waxē now of such power and wealth, as it could no more retaine the auncient discipline, and former austerity and straightnes of life it vsed by reason of the largenes of their dominion and seigniory, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their subiects, it was euen forced to receiue a medley of sundry countrey fashions, examples, and maners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at *Catoes* vertue, when they saw other straight wearied with paines and labour, tenderly brought vp like pulers: and *Cato* on the other side neuer ouercommen, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coueted honor, nor in his age also when he was gray headed and balde, after his Consulship and triumphe, but like a conqueror that had gotten the maistery, he would neuer giue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he wrote him selfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backe that cost him aboue a hundred pence, that his hindes and worke men alwaies drunke no worse wine, when he was Consull and generall of the army, then he did him selfe: and that his Cater neuer bestowed in meate for his supper, aboue thirty Asses of ROMAINE money, and yet he sayed it was, because hee would be the stronger, and apter to do seruice in the wars for his countrey and the common weale.

Catoes wonderfull thrift.

He sayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his friends that died, he had a peece of tapestry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the Babylonian border, and he caused straight to be sold: and that of all his houses he had abroade in the countrey, hee had not one wall plastered, nor rough cast. Moreouer he would say, hee neuer bought bondeman or woman dearer, then a thousand fiue hundred pence, as one that sought not for fine made men, nor goodly personages, but strong fellowes that could away with paines, as carters, horsekeepers, neatheardes, and such like: and againe he would sell them when they were olde, because he would not keepe them when they could do no seruice. To conclude, he was of opinion that no man bought any thing deare, that was for litle purpose: yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to bestow so litle, for that which needed not. Hee would haue men purchase houses, that had more store of arable land and pasture, then of fine horteyardes or pleasant deins. Some say, he did thus, for very misery and couetousnesse: other thinke, and not amisse, that he liued so sparingly, to moue others by his example to cutte off all superfluity and waste.

Catoes sharpenesse.

Neuertheleſſe, to sell slaues in that sort, or to turne them out of dores when you haue had the seruice of all their youth, and that they are growen old, as you vse bruite beastes that haue serued whileſt they may forage: me thinkes that must needes proceede of too seuere and grieuous nature, that hath no longer regard or consideration of humanity, then whileſt one is able to doe an other good. For we see, gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. For nature teacheth vs to vſe iuſtice onely vnto men, but gentleneſſe sometimes is shewed vnto bruite beastes: for that commeth from the very fountaine and spring of all curteſie and humanity, which shall neuer drie vp in any man liuing. For to say truely, to keepe caſt horſes spoiled in our seruice, and dogs also not onely when they are whelps, but when they be old: be euen tokens of gentleneſſe and kindneſſe. As the ATHENIANS made a law, when they builded their temple called Hecatompedon: that they should suffer the moyles and mules that did seruice in their carriage about the building of the same, to graze euery where, without let or trouble of any man. And they say, there was one of their moiles thus turned at liberty, that came her selfe to the place

Gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. Gentleneſſe to be vſed vnto bruite beaſtes.

A gentle law made by the Athenians in fauour of their labouring mules.

about, going before all the other draught beastes, that drew vp cartes loden towardes the ci-
tie, and kept them companie, as though she seemed to encourage the rest to draw: which the
people liked so well in the poore beast, that they appointed shee should be kept whilest she
lived, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this present are the graues of *Cimons* mates to
be seene, that wanne him thrise together the game of the horse race at the games Olympian,
and they are hard by the graue of *Cimon* himselfe. We heare of diuerse also that had bu-
ried their dogges they brought vppe in their house, or that waited on them: as among o-
thers, olde *Xanthippus* buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit
vnto this day. For when the people of ATHENS did forsake their citie at the comming downe
of *Xerxes* the king, this dogge followed his maister, swimming in the sea by his gallies side,
from the firme lande, vnto the Ile of SALAMINA. And there is no reason, to vse liuing and
sensible things, as wee would vse an olde shoo or a ragge, to cast it out vppon the dung-
hill when we haue worne it, and can serue vs no longer. For if it were for no respect else, but
to vse vs alwaies to humanitie: we must euer shewe our selues kinde and gentle, euen in such
small pointes of pittie. And as for me, I could neuer finde in my heart to sell my draught Oxe
that had ploughed my lande a long time, because he could plough no longer for age: and
much lesse my slaue to sell him for a litle money, out of the country where he had dwelt a long
time, to plucke him from his old trade of life wherewith he was best acquainted, and then
especially, when he shall be as vnprofitable for the buier, as also for the seller. But *Cato* on the
other side gloried, that he left his horse in SPAYNE he had serued on in the warres during his
Consulship, because he would not put the commonwealth to the charge of bringing of him
home by sea into ITALIE. Now a question might be made of this, and probable reason of ei-
ther side, whether this was noblenesse, or a niggardlinesse in him: but otherwise to say truly,
he was a man of a wonderful abstinence. For when he was generall of the army, he neuer tooke
allowance but after three bushels of wheat a moneth of the commonwealth, for himselfe & his
whole family: and but a bushell and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horse and other beasts
of his cariage. On a time when he was Praetor, the gouernment of the Ile of SARDINIA fell
to his lot. And where the other Praetors before him had put the country to exceeding great
charge, to furnish them with tents, bedding, clothes, and such like stuffe, and burthened them
also with a maruellous traine of seruants and their friends that waited on them, putting them
to great expence of feasting and banketing of them: *Cato* in contrary maner brought downe
all that excesse and superfluitie, vnto a maruellous neere and vncredible sauing. For when
he went to visite the cities, he came a foote to them, and did not put them to a penny charge
of himselfe: and had onely one officer or bailife of the state, that waited on him, and caried
his gowne and a cup with him, to offer vp wine to the gods in his sacrifices. But though he
vsed himselfe simply to the subiects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed him-
selfe seuere and bitter to them in matters concerning iustice: and spared no man, in any com-
maundement or seruice for the state and common wealth. For he was therein so precise, that
he would not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS vn-
der his gouernment, both to loue and feare the Empire of ROME, more then euer they did be-
fore. For his grace both in speaking and writing did rightly shew him selfe: because it was
pleasant and yet graue: sweete and fearefull: merry and seuere: sententious, and yet familiar,
such as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared, as *Plato* sayed vnto *Socrates*: who
at the first sight seemed a plaine simple manne to them that knew him not outwardly, or
like a pleasaunt taunter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him through-
out, they saw he was full of graue sentences, goodly examples, and wise perswasions, that he
would make men water their plantes that heard him, and leade them as hee would by the
eare. Therefore I can not see any reason that moues men to say, *Cato* hadde *Lasias* grace and
eloquence. Notwithstanding, lette vs referre it to their iudgements that make profession
to discerne orators graces and stiles: for my part I shall content my selfe to write at this pre-
sent, onely certaine of his notable sayings and sentences, perswading my selfe that mens man-
ners are better discerned by their wordes, then by their lookes, and so doe many thinke.
On a time he seeking to dissuade the people of ROME, which would needes make a thanke-

Xanthippus buried his dogge, that swam by his gallies side from Athens to Salamina, and died when he landed.

Catoes straight life.

Cato, Praetor in Sardinia.

Catoes neerenesse in his cir-cuite.

Catoes seuerity.

Catoes speach and writing.

The praise of Socrates.

full distribution of corne vnto euerie citizen, to no purpose: beganne to make a
Catoes sayings. with this preface. It is a harde thing (my Lordes of ROME) to bring the belliely
sion to reason, that hath no eares. And an other time, reprouing the ill gouerne
citie of ROME, hee saide: it was a hard thing to keepe vp that state, where a lille
solde dearer then an Oxe. He said also that the ROMAINES were like a flocke of sh
saieth he, as euery weather when he is alone, doth not obey the shepheard, but w
are all together they one follow an other for loue of the formost: euen so are you,
you are together; you are all contented to be ledde by the noses by such, whose co
man alone of you would vse in any priuate cause of your owne. And talking an o
of the authoritie the women of ROME had ouer their husbandes. He saide: other
maunde their wiues, and we commaund men, and our wiues commaund vs. Fur
Themistocles sayings. all he borrowed of *Themistocles* pleasant sayings. For his sonne making him doe ma
by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day. The ATHENIANS commaund all
I commaunde the ATHENIANS, you commaund me, and your sonne ruleth you. I
therefore bid him vse the libertie he hath with some better discretion, foole and af
sithence he can doe more by that power and authoritie, then all the GRECIANS bef
saide also that the people of ROME did not onely delight in diuerse sorts of purple,
wise in diuerse sorts of exercises. For saide he, as diuerse commonly die that colour
best esteemed, and is most pleasant to the eye: euen so the lustie youthes of ROME
Honor nourisheth arte. themselues to such exercise, as they see your selues most like, and best esteeme. He co
aduised the ROMAINES, that if their power & greatnesse came by their vertue & temp
they should take heed they became no changelings, nor waxe worse: and if they came
greatnesse by vice and violence, that then they should change to better, for by that m
knew very well they had attained to great honor and dignity. Againe he told them,
as sued ambitiously to beare office in the commonwealth, and were common suters fo
did seeme to be afraid to lose their way, and therefore would be sure to haue vshers & s
before them, to shew them the way, least they should lose themselues in the city. He did
Cato against offices of perpetuity. them also, that often chose one man to continue one office still: for it seemeth, saith he,
that you passe not much for your officers, or that you haue not many choise men yo
worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that led a maruellous wicked & an
nable life, of whom he was wont to say, that when his mother prayed vnto the god
might leaue her sonne behinde her, she did not thinke to pray, but to curse: meaning
him liue for a plague to the world. And to another also that had vnthriftely solde h
which his father had left him, lying vpon the sea side: he pointed vnto them with his
made as though he wondred how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger
sea. For that which the sea hardly consumeth, & eateth into, by litle & litle a long time
consumed it all at a clappe. An other time, when king *Eumenes* was come to ROME,
nate entertained him maruellous honorably, and the noblest citizens did striue, emu
an other, who should welcome him best. But *Cato* in contrary maner shewed plainl
he did suspect all this feasting and entertainement, and would not come at it. Wh
his familiar friendes told him, I maruell why you flie from king *Eumenes* company, t
good a Prince, and loues the ROMAINES so well. Yea, sayed he, let it be so, but for all
king is no better then a rauening beast that liues of the prey: neither was there euer a
so happy, that deserued to be compared to *Epaminondas*, to *Pericles*, to *Themistocles*,
Manius Curius, or to *Hamylcar*, surnamed *Barca*. They say his enemies did malice him,
Cato would punish him selfe for offending. That is to say vnderstanding For they iudged that the seat of reason was placed in the heart, following Aristotles opinion. he vsed commonly to rise before day, & did forget his owne busines to follow matter
And he affirmed, that he had rather loose the reward of his well doing, then not to be
shed for doing of euill: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorauntly,
with him selfe. The ROMAINES hauing chosen on a time three Ambassadors to send i
realme of BITHYNIA, one of them hauing the goute in his feete, the other his hea
cuttes and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: *Cato* laughing, sayed the RO
sent an Ambassade that had neither feete, head nor heart. *Scipio* sued once to *Cato* at
request, about those that were banished from ACHAIA. The matter was argued after

in the Senate, and there fell out diuers opinions about it. Some would haue had them reſtored to their country and goods againe: other were wholly againſt it. So *Cato* riſing vp at the laſt, ſaid vnto them. It ſeemes we haue litle elſe to doe, when we ſtande beating of our braines all day, diſputing about theſe olde GRECIANS, whether the ROMAINES or the ACAIANS ſhall burie them. In the end, the Senate tooke order they ſhould be reſtored vnto their countrie againe. Whereupon *Polybius* thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the baniſhed men whom they had reſtored by their order, might enioy their former eſtates and honors in ACHAIA, they had at the time of their baniſhment: but before he would moue the matter vnto the Senate, he would feele *Catoes* opinion firſt, what he thought of it. Who anſwered him, ſmyling: me thinkes *Polybius* thou art like *Vlyſſes*, that when he had ſcaped out of the *Cyclops* caue the giant, he would needes goe thither againe, to fetch his hatte and girdle he had left behind him there. He ſaid alſo, that wiſe men did learne and profite more by fooles, then fooles did by wiſe men. For wiſe men ſaide he, do ſee the faultes fooles commit, and can wiſely auoide them: but fooles neuer ſtudie to follow the example of wiſe mens doings. He ſaid alſo that he euer liked young men better that bluſhed, then thoſe that looked euer whitely: and that he would not haue him for a ſouldier, that wagges his hande as he goeth, remoues his feete when he fighteth, and rowteth and ſnorteth louder in his ſleepe, then when he cryeth out to his enemie. An other time when he would taunt a maruellous fatte man: ſee, ſaide he, what good can ſuch a body do to the commonwealth, that from his chinne to his codpeece is nothing but belly? And to another man that was giuen to pleaſure, and deſired to be great with him: my friend, ſaied *Cato*, as refuſing his acquaintance: I cannot liue with him that hath better iudgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his hart. This was alſo his ſaying, that the ſoule of a louer, liued in anothers body: and that in all his life time he repented him of three things. The firſt was, if that he euer tolde ſecret to any woman: the ſecond, that euer he went by water, when he might haue gone by lande: the third, that he had bene idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Alſo when he ſaw a vicious olde man, he would ſay, to remoue him: O gray beard, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not beſides with your vice. And to a ſeditious Tribune of the people that was ſuſpected to be a poiſoner, and would needes paſſe ſome wicked law by voice of the people, he would ſay: O young man, I know not which of theſe two be worſe, to drinke the drugges thou giueſt, or to receiue the lawes thou offereſt. An other time, being reuiled by one that led a lewde and naughtie life: go thy way, ſaid he, I am no man to ſcolde with thee. For thou art ſo vſed to reuile, and to be reuiled, that it is not dainty to thee: But for my ſelfe, I neuer vſe to heare ſcolding, and much leſſe delight to ſcolde. Theſe be his wiſe ſayings we finde written of him, whereby we may the eaſilier coniecture his maners and nature. Now, when he was choſen Conſul with his friend *Valerius Flaccus*, the gouernment of SPAYNE fell to his lot, that is on this ſide of the riuer of BETIS. So, *Cato* hauing ſubdued many people by force of armes, and wonne others alſo by friendly meanes: ſodainly there came a maruellous great army of the barbarous people againſt him, and had enuironed him ſo, as he was in maruellous danger, either ſhamefully to be taken priſoner, or to bee ſlaine in the field. Wherefore, he ſent preſently vnto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours vnto the marches where he was. Theſe CELTIBERIANS did aske him two hũdred talents to come & helpe him: but the ROMAINS, that were about him, could not abide to hire the barbarous people to defend them. Then *Cato* told them ſtraight, there was no hurt in it, nor any diſhonour vnto them. For ſayed he, if the field be ours, then we ſhall pay their wages we promiſed, with the ſpoile and money of our enemies: and if we loſe it, then our ſelues and they lie by it, being left neither man to paie, nor yet any to aske it. In the end hee wanne the battell, after a ſore conflict, and after that he had maruellous good fortune. For *Polybius* writeth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this ſide the riuer of BÆTIS, were by his commaundement raſed all in one day, which were many, and full of good ſouldiers. Him ſelfe writeth, that hee tooke moe cities in SPAINE, then he remained there daies: and it is no vaine boaſt, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of them. Now, though the ſouldiers vnder him had got well in this iourney, and were rich, yet he cauſed a pound weight of ſiluer to be giuen to

Bluſhing in young man is a better token then paleneſſe.

A louer liueth in an other body.

Cato and Valerius Flaccus Conſuls.

Catoes doings in Spaine.

euery ſouldier beſides: ſaying, he liked it better that many ſhould returne home with ſiluer in their purſes, then a few of them with gold onely. But for himſelfe he affirmed: that of all the ſpoile gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thing, ſauing that which hee tooke in meate and drinke. And yet, ſaith he, I ſpeake it not to reproue them that grow rich by ſuch ſpoiles but becauſe I would contend in vertue rather with the beſt, then in money with the richeſt, or in couetouſneſſe with the moſt vertuous. For, not onely he himſelfe was cleare from bribes and extortion, but his officers alſo vnder him kept the ſame courſe. In this Spaniſh iorney, he had fiue of his ſeruantes with him, whereof one of them called *Paulus*, bought three young boyes that were taken in the warres, when the ſpoile was ſold to them that would giue moſt. So *Cato* knew it. But *Paulus* being affraide to come neere his maiſter, hung himſelfe: and then *Cato* ſolde the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treaſurie cheſtes of ſtuing at Rome. Now while *Cato* was in Spaine. *Scipio* the great that was his enemy, & ſought to hinder the courſe of his proſperitie, and to haue the honour of conquering all the reſt of Spayne: he made all the friendes he could to the people, to be choſen in *Catoes* place. He was no ſooner entred into his charge, but he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to be gone, that he might make *Catoes* authoritie ceaſe the ſooner. *Cato* hearing of his haſtie comming, tooke only fiue enſignes of footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen to attend vpon him home: with the which, in his iorney homeward, he ouercame a people in Spayne called the Lacetanians, and tooke ſixe hundred traitors alſo that were fled from the Romaines campe to their enemies, and did put to death euery mothers childe of them. *Scipio* ſtorming at that, ſaid *Cato* did him wrong. But *Cato* to mocke him finely, ſaid: it was the right way to bring Rome to floriſh, when noble borne citizens would not ſuffer meane borne men, and vpſtarts as himſelfe was, to go before them in honor: and on the other ſide when meane borne men would contend in vertue, with thoſe that were of nobleſt race, and farre aboue them in calling. For all that, when *Cato* came to Rome, the Senate commaunded that nothing ſhould be changed nor altered otherwiſe, then *Cato* had appointed it, whileſt he was in his office. So that the gouernment for which *Scipio* made ſuch earneſt ſute in Spayne, was a greater diſgrace vnto him, then it was vnto *Cato*: becauſe he paſſed al his time & office in peace, hauing no occaſion offered him to do any notable ſeruice worthy memorie. Furthermore, *Cato* after he had been Conſull, and had graunted to him the honor to triumphe: did not as many others doe, that ſeeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honor and dignity. Who, when they haue been called to the higheſt offices of ſtate, as to be Conſuls, and haue alſo granted them the honor to triumphe: do then leaue to deale any more in matters of ſtate, & diſpoſe themſelues to liue merrily and quietly at home, and not to trouble themſelues any more. Now *Cato*, farre otherwiſe behaued himſelfe. For he would neuer leaue to exercile vertue, but began a freſh, as if he had bene a young nouelle in the worlde, and as one greedy of honour and reputation, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleaſure his friends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and plead their cauſes for them that required his counſell, and goe with his friends alſo into the warres. As he went with *Tiberius Sempronius* the Conſull, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conqueſt of the countrey of Thrace, and vnto the prouinces adioyning to the riuer of Danvbye vpon thoſe marches. After that he was in Greece alſo, Collonell of a thouſand footemen, vnder *Manius Aquilius*, againſt king *Antiochus* ſurnamed the great, who made the Romaines ſo much affraid of him, more euer they were of enemy but *Hanniball*. For, when he had conquered all the regions and prouinces of Asia, which *Seleucus Nicanor* enioyed before, & had ſubdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was ſo proud hearted, as he would needs haue wars with the Romaines whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and beſt able to fight with him. So he made ſome honeſt ſhew and pretence of warres, ſaying: it was to ſet the Grecians at liberty, who had no cauſe thereof, conſidering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered from the bondage of king *Philp*, and of the Macedonians, through the goodneſſe of the Romaines. Notwithſtanding, he came out of Asia into Greece with a maruellous great army, and all Greece was ſtraight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, becauſe of the great promiſes and large hopes the gouernours of diuerſe cities (whom the king had wonne and corrupted

Catoes abſtinence from ſpoile and briberie.

Diſcorde betwixt Cato and Scipio.

Cato ouercame the Lacetanians.

Catoes actes after his Conſulſhip and triumphe.

The power of Antiochus the great.

corrupted with money) did make vnto them. Whereupon *Manius* dispatched Ambassadors vnto the citie, and sent *Titus Quintius Flaminius* among others, who kept the greatest part of the people from rebelling (that were easily drawen to giue care to this innouation) as we haue expressed more amply in his life: and *Cato* being sent Ambassadour also, perswaded the CORINTHIANS, those of PATRAS, and the ÆGIANS, and made them sticke still to the ROMAINES, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some say they finde an oration of his written in the Greeke tongue, which hee made before the ATHENIANS, in commendation of their auncestors: wherein he said, he tooke great pleasure to see ATHENS, for the beautie and statelinesse of the citie. But this is false. For he spake vnto the ATHENIANS by an interpreter, though he could haue vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had beene disposed: but he did like the lawes and customes of his owne countrie, and the ROMAINE tongue so well, that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mocke *Posthumius Albinus*, who wrote an historie in the Greeke tongue, praying the readers in his preface to beare with him, if they found any imperfection in the tongue: mary, saide *Cato*, he had deserued pardon in deede, if he had beene forced to haue written his storie in the Greeke tongue, by order of the states of GREECE, called the councel of the Amphictyons. They say the ATHENIANS wondered to heare his ready tongue. For what he had vttered quickly in few words vnto the interpreter: the interpreter was driuen to deliuer them againe with great circumstances, and many wordes. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GRECIANS words lay all in their lips, and the ROMAINES wordes in their heads. Now king *Antiochus* kept all the straites and narrow passages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES (being the ordinary way and entry into GREECE) and had fortified them aswell with an armie that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as also with walles and trenches he had made by hand, besides the naturall strength and fortification of the mount it selfe in sundry places: and so he determined to remaine there, trusting to his owne strength and fortifications aforesaid, and to turne the force of the warres some other way. The ROMAINES also, they despaired vtterly they should be able any way to charge him before. But *Cato* remembring with himselfe the compasse the PERSIANS had fetched about before time likewise to enter into GREECE: he departed one night from the campe with part of the armie: to proue if he could finde the verie compasse about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed vp the mountaine, their guide that was one of the prisoners taken, in the countrie, lost his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruellous steepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore souldiers were in maruelous ill taking. *Cato* seeing the danger they were brought into by this lewde guide, commaunded all his souldiers not to sturre a foot from thence, and to tarry him there: and in the meane time he went himselfe alone, and *Lucius Manlius* with him (a lustie man, and nimble to climbe vpon the rockes) and so went forwarde at aduenture, taking extreame and vncredible paine, and in as much danger of his life, grabbing all night in the darke without moone light, through wilde Olyue trees, and high rockes (that let them they could not see before them, neither could tell whither they went) vntill they stumbled at the length vppon a litle path way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they set vppe certaine markes and tokens, vppon the highest toppes of the rockes they could choose, by view of eye to be discerned furthest off vpon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe againe to fetch the souldiers, whom they led towardes their markes they had set vp: vntill at the length they found their path way againe, where they putte their souldiers in order to march. Now they went not farre in this path they found, but the way fayled them straight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worse case then before, and in greater feare, not knowing they were so neare their enemies, as in deede they were. The day began to breake a litle, and one of them that marched formost, thought he heard a noise, and that he saw the GREEKES campe at the foote of the rockes, and certaine souldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon *Cato* made thē stay, and willed only the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him, and none but them, because hee had found them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commandement. They were with him at a trise to know his pleasure: so *Cato* sayd vnto them.

Cato mocked Posthumius Albinus a Romaine for writing a storie in the Greeke tongue.

King Antiochus armie.

Catoes doings against king Antiochus.

Mount Callidromus.

Catoes oration to his souldiers.

My fellowes, I must haue some of our enemies taken prisoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that passage, what number they be, what order they keepe, how they are camped and armed, and after what sort they determine to fight with vs. The way to worke this feate standeth vpon swiftnesse and hardinesse to runne vpon them sodainely, as Lions doe, which being naked feare not to runne into the middest of any heard of fearefull beasts. He had no sooner spoken these wordes, but the FIRMANIAN souldiers beganne to runne downe the mountaine as they were, vpon those that kept the watch: and so setting vpon them, they being out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man prisoner. When they had him, they straight brought him vnto *Cato*, who by oath of the prisoner, was aduertised howe that the strength of their enemies armie was lodged about the person of the king, within the straight and valley of the saide mountaine: and that the souldiers they saw, were sixe hundred ÆTOLIANS, all braue souldiers, whom they had chosen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes ouer king *Antiochus* campe. When *Cato* had heard him, making small account of the matter, as well for their small number, as also for the ill order they kept: he made the trumpets sound straight, and his souldiers to march in battell with great cries, himselfe being the formost man of all his troupe, with a sword drawen in his hand. But when the ÆTOLIANS saw them comming downe the rockes towardes them, they beganne to flie for life vnto their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all disorder. Now *Manius* at the same present also, gaue an assault vnto the walles and fortifications the king had made ouerthwart the vallies and straights of the mountaines: at which assault king *Antiochus* selfe had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake some of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for very paine and anguish he felt, he turned his horse back, and got him behinde the preasse. And then there were none of his armie that made any more resistance, or that could abide the fierceneesse of the ROMAINES. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying by cause it was vnpossible for them to scatter and straggle, being holden in with high rockes on the one side of them, and with bogges and deepe marisses on the other side, which they must needes fall into if their feete slipped, or were thrust forward by any: yet they fell one vpon other in the straights, and ranne so in heapes together, that they cast themselues away for feare of the ROMEINES swords that lighted vpon them in euery corner. And there *Manius Cato*, that neuer made ceremonie or niseneesse to praise himselfe openly, nor reckoned it any shame to do it: did take a present occasion for it, as falleth out vpon all victorie and famous exploites. And so did set it out with all the ostentation and braue words he could giue. For he wrote with his owne hands, and such as saw him chase and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driuen to say, that *Cato* was not bound to the ROMAINS, but the ROMAINS bound vnto *Cato*. And then *Manius* the Consull selfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced *Cato* a great while, that was also hotte with chasing of the enemie: and spake aloude with great ioy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of ROME could recompence *Cato* for his valiant seruice that day. After this battell, the Consull *Manius* sent *Cato* to ROME, to be the messenger him selfe to report the newes of the victory. So hee imbarked incontinently, and had such a faire winde, that he passed ouer the seas to BRINDES without any daunger, and went from thence vnto TARENTVM in one day, and from TARENTVM in fiue daies more to ROME. And so he came to ROME in fiue dayes after his landing in ITALIE. He made such speede, that him selfe was in deede the first messenger that brought newes of the victory. Whereupon he filled all ROME with ioy and sacrifices, and made the ROMAINES so proude, that euer after they thought them selues able men to conquer the world both by sea and land. And these bee all the martiall deedes and noble actes *Cato* did. But for his doings in ciuill policy and state, he seemed to be of this opinion. That to accuse and pursue the wicked he thought it was the best thing an honest man and good gouernour of the common weale could employ him selfe vnto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be short, he did alwaies stirre vp some accuser, as he did *Valerius* against *Scipio*. But *Scipio*, by reason of his nobility, the greatnes of his house, and the magnanimity of his minde, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all feare, they should be able to condemne him. And so he let fall the accusation he had

The boldnesse and valiant attempt of Catoes souliers. Cato aduertised of the strength of king Antiochus campe.

Cato tooke the straight of Thermopyles.

King Antiochus hurt in the face with a stone.

Catoes victory of king Antiochus.

Cato would praise his owne doings.

Manius sendeth Cato to Rome to cary newes of the victory.

Cato an accuser of men.

gainst him. Notwithstanding, he ioyned with other that accused *Lucius Scipio*, his own brother, and followed the matter so sore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the cõmon wealth: who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people reuoked his condemnation. It is said that *Cato* comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a young man by the waye that had ouerthrowne his aduersarie in sute, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame and foyle before the people: he imbraced him with a good countenance, and sayed vnto him. Oh my sonne, sacrifices that good children should offer to their fathers soule, be not lambes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free himselfe from danger, in administration of the common welth. For if they could catch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him; so as they say he was accused almost a fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of fourescore yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thing to giue vp an account of his life before men in any other world, then in this amongst whome he liued. And yet was not this the last sute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was fourescore and tenne yeares of age, he accused *Servius Galba*. And thus he liued as *Nestor*, in manner three ages of man, alwayes in continuall sute & action. For when he wrestled with the first *Scipio* the AFRICAN about matters of state and commonwealth; he went on vnto the time of the second, that was adopted by the first *Scipios* sonne, the naturall sonne of *Paulus AEmilius*, who ouercame *Perseus*, king of MACEDON. Furthermore, *Marcus Cato* tenne yeares after his Consulship, sued to be Censor, which was in ROME the greatest office of dignity that any citizen of ROME could attaine vnto: & as a man may say, the roome of all glory and honour of their common wealth. For among other authorities, the Censor had power to examin mens liues and manners, and to punish euery offendor. For the ROMAINES were of that minde, that they would not haue men marry, beget children, liue priuately by themselues, and make feastes and banquets at their pleasure, but that they should stand in feare to be reproued and inquired of by the magistrate: and that it was not good to giue euery body liberty, to do what they would, following his owne lust and fancie. And they iudging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other things that are openly done at noone dayes, and in the sight of the world: vsed to choose two Censors, that were two Surueyors of mãners, to see that euery man behaued himselfe vertuously, and gaue not themselues to pleasure, nor to breake the lawes and customes of the common wealth. These officers were called in their tongue, *Censores*, and alwayes of custome one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a cõmoner. These two had power & authoritie to disgrade a knight by taking away his horse, and to put any off the Senate, whom they saw liue dissolutely and disorderly. It was their office also, to cesse and rate euery citizen according to the estimation of their goodes, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of euery man, and to keepe bookes of them, besides many other prerogatiues they had belonging to their office. Therefore when *Cato* came to sue for this office among other, the chiefest Senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very enuy, thinking it shame and dishonor to the nobility, to suffer men that were meanely borne, and vpstartes (the first of their house and name, that euer came to beare office in the state) to be called and preferred vnto the highest offices of state in all their cõmon wealth. Other also that were ill liuers, & knowing that they had offended the lawes of their coũtry: they feared his cruelty too much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, hauing the law in his own hands. So when they had consulted together about it, they did set vp seuen competitors against him, who flattered the people with many fayre words and promises, as though they had neede of magistrates to vse them gently, and to doe things for to please them. But *Cato* contrariwise, shewing no countenance that he would vse them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning those that had liued naughtily and wickedly, he cryed out: that they must reforme their citie, and perswaded the people not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpest phisitions: and that himselfe was such an one as they needed, and among the PATRICIANS *Valerius Flaccus* an other, in whose company he hoped (they two being chosen Censors) to

Cato fifty times accused.

The dignitie and office of the Censor

How the Censors were chose.

The Senators and nobilitie bent all against Catoes sute.

do great good vnto the common wealth, by burning and cutting off (like *Hydras* heades) vanitie and voluptuous pleasures, that were crept in amongest them: and that he saw well nough, how all the other suters sought the office by dishonest meanes, fearing such offices they knew would deale iustly and vprightly. Then did the people of ROME shew themselues nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refused not the towerdes uerity of *Cato*, but reiected those meale-mouthed men, that seemed ready to please the ple in all things: and thereupon chose *Marcus Cato* Censor, and *Valerius Flaccus* to be fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had beene present officer, and no suter for the being in themselues to giue it to whom they thought good. The first thing he did after he stalled in his Censorship, was that he named *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, his frend & fellow for with him, prince of the Senate: & among many other also whom he thrust out of the nate, he put *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* off the Senate, that had bene Consul seuen yeares fore, and was brother also vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius* that ouercame *Philip* king of MADON in battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Consul. But the why he put him off the Senate, was this. This *Lucius Quintius* caried euer with him a yong boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenance and credit vnto, as to any of his familiar friends he had about him. It fortuned on a time whilest *Lucius Quintius* was Consul and gouernour of a prouince, that he made a feast, and this boy being set at his table, by him, as his manner was, he beganne to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he pretily merry: and soothing him, told him he loued him so deerly, that vpon his departing ROME, when the Swordplayers were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebated swords to shew the people pastime, he came his way, and left the sight of that he neuer saw, that very desirous to haue seene a man killed. Then this *Lucius Quintius*, to make him see the sayed: care not for the sight thou hast lost, boy, for I will let thee see as much. And when had spoken these wordes, he commaunded a prisoner condemned to dye, to be fetched brought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if hee would straight see the killed: yea sir, sayed the boy: and with that he bad the hangman strike off his head. Many ters report this matter thus. And *Cicero* to confirme it also, wrote in his booke *de Se* that the same was written in an oration *Cato* made before the people of ROME. Now *Quintius* being thus shamefully put off the Senate by *Cato*, his brother *Titus* being withall, could not tell what to doe, but besought the people that they would command to declare the cause, why he brought such shame vnto his house. Whereupon *Cato* before the people, made recitall of all this feast. And when *Lucius* denied it, affirming not so: *Cato* would haue had him sworne before them all, that it was not true they had ned him withall. But *Lucius* prayed them to pardon him, who sayed he would not swear. Whereupon the people iudged straight that he deserued well that shame. So not long certaine games being shewed in the Theater, *Lucius* came thither, and passing beyond ordinary place that was appointed for those that had been Consuls, he went to sit alock mongest the multitude. The people tooke pity on him, and made such a do about him, forced him to rise, and to go sit among the other Senators that had bene Consuls: saluting best they could, the shame and dishonor happened vnto so noble a house. *Cato* put out Senate also, one *Manlius*, who was in great towardnes to haue beene made Consul the yeare following, onely because he kissed his wife too louingly in the day time, and before daughter: and reprouing him for it, he tolde him, his wife neuer kissed him, but when it dered. So when he was disposed to be merry, he would say it was happy with him when thundered. He tooke away *Lucius Scipioes* horse from him, that had triumphed for the ries he had won of the great king *Antiochus*: which wan him much ill will, because it red to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did beare *Scipio* the AFRICAN, was dead. But the thing that most grieued the people, of all other extreamities he vsed, was putting downe of all feasts and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to openly seene in it, it was vnpossible, because it was so common a thing, and euery man was so to it. Therefore *Cato* to fetch it about indirectly, did praise euery citizens goodes, and

Cato chosen Censor.

Catoes acts in his Censorship.

Cato put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Senate.

The cause why Cato put Quintius off the Senate.

Lucius Quintius Flaminius wickednesse and cruelty.

Manlius put off the Senate for kissing his wife before his daughter.

Merry with married men when Iupiter thundereth.

Banqueting & feasts put downe by Cato.

their apparrell, their coches, their litters, their wiues chaines and iewels, and all other moueables and houſehold ſtuffe, that had coſt aboue a thouſand fiue hundred Drachmes a peece, at leſſe times as much as they were worth: to the end that ſuch as had beſtowed their money in thoſe curious trifles, ſhould pay ſo much more ſubſidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer he ordained for euery thouſand Aſſes that thoſe trifling things were praiſed at, the owners thereof ſhould pay three thouſand Aſſes to the common treaſury: to the end that they who were grieued with this taxe, and ſawe other pay leſſe ſubſidy (that were as much worth as themſelues, by liuing without ſuch toyes) might call home themſelues againe, and lay aſide ſuch fooliſh brauery and fineneſſe. Notwithſtanding *Cato*, was enuied euery way. Firſt, of them that were contented to pay the taxe impoſed, rather then they would leaue their vanity: and next, of them alſo, that would rather reforme themſelues, then pay the taxe. And ſome thinke that this law was deuiſed rather to take away their goods, then to let them to make any ſhewe of them: and they haue a fond opinion beſides, that their riches are better ſeene in ſuperfluous things, then in neceſſarie. Whereat they ſay *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and ſuperfluous things, then thoſe that had neceſſary and profitable things. And *Scopas* the THESSALIAN, whē one of his familiar frends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, & to make him grant it the ſooner, told him it was a thing he might well ſpare, and did him no good: marry ſayeth he, all the goods I haue, are in ſuch toyes as do me no good. So this couetous deſire we haue to be rich, commeth of no neceſſarie deſire in nature, but is bred in vs by a falſe opinion from the common ſort. Now *Cato* caring leaſt of all for the exclamations they made againſt him, grewe to be more ſtraight and ſeuere. For he cut off the pipes and quilles priuate men had made to conuey water into their houſes & gardens, robbing the city of the water that came frō their cōmon conduite heads, and did plucke downe alſo mens porches that were made before their dores into the ſtreete, and brought down the priſes of cōmon works in the city, and moreouer raiſed the common farmes and cuſtomes of the city, as high as he could: all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of moſt men. Wherefore, *Titus Flaminius*, and certaine other being bent againſt him in open Senate, cauſed all *Catoes* couenants and bargains made, with the maſter work-man for repairing and mending of the common buildings and holy places, to be made voyde, as things greatly preiudiciall to the common wealth. And they did ſo ſtirre vp the boldeſt and raſheſt of the Tribunes of the people againſt him, becauſe they ſhould accuſe him vnto the people, and make requeſt he might be condemned in the ſumme of two talents. They did maruellouſly hinder alſo the building of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate houſe: which pallace was finiſhed notwithſtanding, and called after his name, Baſilica Porcia: as who ſhould ſay, the pallace *Porcius* the Cenſor built. Howbeit it ſeemed the people of ROME did greatly like and commend his gouernment in the Cenſorſhip. For they ſet vp a ſtatue of him in the tēple of the goddeſſe of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumph, but onely ingraued this inſcription word for word, to this effect by tranſlation: For the honor of *Marcus Cato* the Cenſor: becauſe he reformed the diſcipline of the common wealth of ROME (that was farre out of order, and giuen to licentious life) by his wiſe precepts, good manners, and holy inſtitutions. Indeed, before this image was ſet vp for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were deſirous of ſuch things: ſaying, they did not conſider how they bragged in founders, painters and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for himſelfe, the people did alwaies carry liuely images of him in their hartes, meaning the memory of his life and doings. When ſome wondred why diuerſe meane men & vnknowne perſons had images ſet vp of thē, and there were none of him: he gaue them this anſwer. I had rather men ſhould aske why *Cato* had no image ſet vp for him, then why he had any. In the end, he would haue no honeſt mā abide to be praiſed, vnles his praiſe turned to the benefit of the cōmon wealth: and yet was he one of them that would moſt praiſe himſelfe. So that if any had done a fault, or ſtept awry, and that men had gone about to reproue them: he would ſay they were not to be blamed, for they were no *Catoes* that did offend. And ſuch as

Catoes counſell for reforming exceſſe at Rome.

Superfluous things vſurped for riches.

Scopas goodes were all in toyes, that did him no good.

Baſilica Porcia built by Cato.

Catoes image ſet vp in the temple of the goddeſſe of health.

Honor changeth conditions.

No man ſhould abide to be praiſed but for the common wealth.

counterfeated to follow any of his doings, and came short of his manner, he called themselues handed *Catoes*. He would say that in most daungerous times the Senate vsed to cast their eyes vpon him, as passengers on the sea do looke vpon the master of the shippe in a storme: so that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance vntill he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other as himselfe. His authoritie was great in matters of state, for his wisdome, his eloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendation, they praised him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, and a good sauer for his profit: for he was neuer careless of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore me thinkes I must needes tell you the way some part of his wel doing, to follow our declaration of him. First of all he married a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both should make her proude and stout enough: but yet he thought the nobler borne, would be the more ashamed of dishonest then the meaner borne: and therefore they would be more obedient to their husbandes, and honest manner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he sayed: that he that bet his wife or childe, did commit as great a sacriledge, as if he polluted or spoyled the holiest things in the worlde: and he thought, it a greater praise for a man to be a good husband then a great Senator. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of olde Socrates then his patience, in vsing his wife well, that was such a shrewe, and his children that were so harebrainde. After *Catoes* wife had brought him a sonne, he coulde not haue so earnest businesse in hand, if it had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, and go home to his house, about the time his wife did vnswadell the young boy to wash and dress him: for she gaue it sucke with her owne breasts, and many times would let the slaues children sucke of her also, because they might haue a naturall loue towardes her sonne, hauing sucked one milke, and beene brought vp together. When his sonne was come to age of discretion, and that he was able to learne any thing, *Cato* himselfe did teach him, notwithstanding he had a slaue in his house called *Chilo* (a very honest man, and a good Grammarian) who did also teach many other: but as he sayed himselfe, he did not like, a slaue should rebuke his sonne, nor pull him by the eares, when peraduenture he was not apt to take very sodainly that was taught him: neither would he haue his sonne bounde to a slaue for so great a matter, that, as to haue his learning of him. Wherefore he himselfe taught him his grammer, the lawe, and to excercise his body, not onely to throwe a dart, to play at the sword, to vawte, to ride a horse, and to handle all sortes of weapons, but also to fight with fistes, to abide colde and heate, and to swim ouer a swift running riuer. He sayed moreouer, that he wrote great histories in great letters with his owne hand, because his sonne might learne in his father house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excell them. He sayed also, that he tooke as great heed of speaking any vnhonest or vncomely words before his sonne, as he would haue done if he had been before the Vestall Nunnes. He neuer was in the hotte house with his sonne: for it was a common vse with the ROMAINES at that time, that the sonnes in law did not bathe themselues with their mothers in lawe, but were ashamed to see one another naked. But afterwardes they hauing learned of the GREEKES to wash themselues naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe euen with their wiues. There lacked no towardlines, nor good disposition in Cato his sonne, to frame himselfe vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed himself willing to followe whatsoeuer his father had taught him. Howbeit he was such a weakeling, that he could not away with much hardnesse, & therefore his father was contented not to binde him to that straight and painefull life, which himselfe had kept. Yet he became valiant in the warres. For he fought maruellous stoutly in the battell, in which *Perseus* king of MACEDON was ouerthrowen by *Paulus AEmilius*: where his sword being stricken out of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweaty besides, he fell into a great fury and prayed of his frends about him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vpon the enemies in that place where his sword fell out of his hand, & came in fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being vnder such a heape of dead bodies and other weapons as were

What Cato was at home in his house, and towards his wife and children.

Cato iudgeth the noble borne gentlewomen the best wiues.

Socrates patience commended bearing with the shrewdnes of his wife.

Catoes wife was nource to her own childe.

Cato taught his sonnes.

Chilo a grammarian.

What exercises Cato brought vp his sonnes in.

Catoes sonne was valiant.

ROMAI

ROMAINES as MACEDONIANS, one lying on an other. *Paulus Æmilius* the generall hearing of this act of his, did highly cõmend the young man. And at this day there is a letter extant from *Cato* to his sonne, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the recouering of his sworde againe. Afterwardes, this *Cato* the younger maried *Tertia*, one of *Paulus AEmilius* daughters, and sister vnto *Scipio* the second, & so was matched in this noble house, not only for his own vertues sake, but for respect of his fathers dignity and authority: whereby the great care, paines and study that *Cato* the father tooke in bringing vp his son, in vertue and learning, was honorably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his sonne. He euer had a great number of young litle slaues which he bought, when any would sell their prisoners in the warres. He did choose them thus young, because they were apt yet to learne any thing he would traine them vnto, & that a man might breake thẽ, like yoũg coltes, or litle whelps. But none of them all, how many soeuer he had, did euer go to any mans house, but whẽ himselfe or his wife did send them. If any man asked them what *Cato* did: they answered, they could not tell. And when they were within, either they must needs be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleepe: for he loued them well that were sleepy, holding opinion that slaues that loued sleepe were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would set them to, then those that were waking. And because he thought that nothing did more prouoke slaues to mischiefe and naughtines, then lust & desire of women: he was contented his slaues might company with his bondwomen in his house, for a peece of money he appointed them to pay, but with straight commaundement besides, that none of them should deale with any other woman abroad. At the first when he gaue himselfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his seruants did about his person: saying that it was a foule thing for a gentleman or noble man, to fall out with his seruants for his belly. Afterwardes, as he rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his friends and familiars, they were no sooner gone, but he would scourge them with whips and leather thongs, that had not waited as they should haue done at the borde, or had forgotten any thing he would haue had done. He would euer craftily make one of them fall out with another: for he could not abide they should be friends, being euer iealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to dye, he would put him to death before thẽ all. Howbeit in his latter time he grew greedie, and gaue vp his tillage, saying that it was more pleasant, thẽ profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his mony surely, & bring a certen reuenue to his purse, he bestowed it vpon ponds, and naturall hotte bathes, places fit for fullers craft, vpon meadows and pastures, vpon copises and young wood: and of all these he made a great & a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would say, *Iupiter* himselfe could not diminish. Furthermore, he was a great vsurer, both by land and by sea: and the vsurie he tooke by sea, was most extreame of all other, for he vsed it in this sort. He would haue them to whom he lent his money vnto, that trafficked by sea, to haue many partners, and to the nũber of fifty: and that they should haue so many shippes. Then he would venture among them for a part only, whereof *Quintius* his slaue whom he had manumissed, was made his factor, & vsed to sayle, and traficke with the marchantes, to whom he had lent his money out to vsury. And thus he did not venture all the money he lent, but a litle peece only for his part, and got maruellous riches by his vsury. Moreouer he lent monie to any of his slaues, that would therwith buy other yoũg slaues, whom they taught & brought vp to do seruice, at *Catoes* charge and cost: & then they sold them againe at the yeares end, and some of them *Cato* kept for his owne seruice, and gaue his slaues as much for them, as any other offred. Therefore to allure his son in like manner to make profit of his money: he told him it was no wise mans part to diminish his substance, but rather the parte of a widdowe. Yet this was a token of a most greedy couetous minde, that he durst affirme him to be diuine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his wealth and patrimony more, then his father left him. Furthermore, when *Cato* was grown very old, *Carneades* the ACADEMICKE, and *Diogenes* the STOICKE, were sent from ATHENS as Ambassadors to ROME, to sue for a release of a fine of fiue hundred talents which they had imposed on the ATHENIANS vpon a condẽnatiõ passed againſt thẽ for

Cato the yonger maried Tertia Paulus AEmilius daughter.

Scipio the secõd was AEmilius naturall sonne.

Catoes discipline to his slaues.

Catoes opinion for sleepy men.

Note how Cato altered his mãner and opiniõ by wealth.

Catoes good husbandry for increasing his wealth.

Cato a great vsurer. He tooke extreame vsury by sea.

Carneades and Diogenes Philosophers sent Ambassadours to Rome.

a contempt of appearaunce, by the sentence of the SICYONIANS, at the sute of the OROPIANS. Immediately whē these two Philosophers were arriued in the city of ROME, the young gentlemen that were giuen to their bookes, did visit and welcome them, and gaue great reuerence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to *Carneades*: whose grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse, then the fame ranne vpon him, and specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppresse his praise. ROME straight was full, as if a winde had blown this rumor into euery mans eare: that there was a GRECIAN arriued, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence would leade a man as he lust. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had so inflamed the young gentlemens mindes with loue and desire to be learned: that all other pleasures and delightes were set aside, and they disposed themselues to no other exercise, but to the studie of Philosophie, as if some secret and diuine inspiration from aboue had prouoked them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of ROME were glad, and reioyced much to see their youth so well giuen to knowledge, and to the studie of the Greeke tongue, and to delight in the company of these two great and excellent learned men. But *Marcus Cato* euen from the beginning that young men beganne to studie the Greeke tongue, and that it grew in estimation in ROME, did dislike of it: fearing least the youth of ROME that were desirous of learning and eloquence, would vtterly giue ouer the honour and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he sawe the estimation and fame of these two personages did increase more and more, and in such sort that *Caius Aquilius*, one of the chiefest of the Senate made sute to be their interpretour: he determined then to conuey them out of the cittie by some honest meane and colour. So he openly found fault one daye in the Senate, that the ambassadours were long there, and had no dispatch: considering also they were cunning men, and could easily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this only might perswade them to determine some answer for thē, and so to send them home againe so to their schooles, to teach their children of GREECE, and to let alone the children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any priuate ill will or malice he bare to *Carneades*, as some men thought: but because he generally hated Philosophy, and of ambition despised the muses and knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had sayed, that *Socrates* was but a busy man, & a sturrer vp of sedition, and sought by all meanes possible to surpe tiranny, and rule in his coūtrie: by peruerting & changing the manners & custōs of the same, and alluring the subiectes thereof to a disliking of their lawes and auncient customes. And he laughed at *Socrates* schoole, that taught the arte of eloquēce: saying his scholers waxed olde, and were still so long in learning, that they ment to vse their eloquence and pleade causes in an other world, before *Minos* when they were dead. Therefore to plucke his sonne from the studie of the Greeke tongue, he sayed to him with a strained voyce, and in a bigger sound then he was wont to do: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecy or inspiration) that so long as the ROMAINES disposed themselues to studie the Greeke tongue, so long would they mar and bring all to naught. And yet time hath proued his vaine words false and vntrue. For the cittie of ROME did neuer flourish so much, nor the ROMAINE Empire was euer so great, as at that time, when learning and the Greeke tongue most flourished. Howbeit *Cato* did not onely hate the philosophers of GREECE, but did dislike them also, that professed phisicke in ROME. For he had either heard or read the answer *Hippocrates* made, when the king of PERSIA sent for him, & offred him a great summe of gold and siluer, if he would come and serue him: who sware he would neuer serue the barbarous people, that were naturall enemies to the GRECIANS. So *Cato* affirmed, it was an oth that all other phisitians had euer after: wherefore he commaunded his sonne to flye from them all alike, and sayed he had written a litle booke of phisicke, with the which he did heale those of his house when they were sicke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He neuer forbad them to eate, but did alwaies bring them vp with hearbes, and certaine light meates, as mallards, ringdoues and hares: for such meates, sayed he, are good for the sicke, and light of digestion, sauing that they make them dreame and snort that eate them. He boasted also how with

Cato misliked the Greeke tongue.

Catoes phisicall bookes.

maner of phiſicke, he did alwaie keepe himſelfe in health, and his family from ſickneſſe. Yet for all that, I take it he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife, and his ſonne alſo. But he himſelfe was of a ſtrong nature, and a luſtie bodie, full of ſtrength, and health, and liued long without ſickeneſſe: ſo that when he was a very olde man and paſt mariage, he loued women well, and married a young maiden for that cauſe onely. After his firſt wife was dead, he maried his ſonne vnto *Paulus Æmylius* daughter, the ſiſter of *Scipio*, the ſecond AFRICAN. *Cato* him ſelfe being a widower, tooke paines with a pretie young maide that waited in his houſe, and came by ſtelth to his chamber: howbeit this haunt could not long continue ſecret in his houſe, and ſpecially where there was a young gentlewoman maried, but needs muſt be ſpied. So, one day when this young maide went ſomwhat boldly by the chamber of young *Cato*, to goe in to his father, the young man ſaid neuer a worde at it: yet his father perceiued that he was ſomewhat aſhamed, and gaue the maide no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his ſonne and daughter in law were angrie with the matter, ſaying nothing to them of it, nor ſhewing them any ill countenance: he went one morning to the market place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongeſt whom was one *Salonius*, that had bene his clearke, and waited vpon him as the reſt did. *Cato* calling him out aloude by his name, asked him if he had not yet beſtowed his daughter. *Salonius* aunſwered him, he had not yet beſtowed her, nor would not before he made him priuie to it. Then *Cato* tolde him againe: I haue found out a husbande for her, and a ſonne in lawe for thee, and it will be no ill match for her, vnleſſe ſhe miſlike the age of the man, for in deede hee is very olde, but otherwiſe there is no fault in him. *Salonius* tolde him againe, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter alſo, praying him euen to make what match he thought good for her: for ſhe was his humble ſeruant, and relyed wholly vppon him, ſtanding in neede of his fauour and furtherance. Then *Cato* beganne to diſcouer, and tolde him plainely hee would willingly marrie her himſelfe. *Salonius* therewith was abaſhed, becauſe he thought *Cato* was too olde to marrie then, and him ſelfe was no fit man to match in any honourable houſe, ſpecially with a Conſull and one that had triumphed: howbeit in the ende, when he ſawe *Cato* ment good earneſt, he was very glad of the match, and ſo with this talke they went on together to the market place, and agreed then vpon the marriage. Now while they went about this matter, *Cato* the ſonne taking ſome of his kinne and friendes with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thing, that for ſpight he ſhould bring him a ſteppe mother into his houſe. Then his father cried out, and ſaid: O my ſonne, I pray thee ſay not ſo, I like well all thou doeſt, and I find no cauſe to complaine of thee: but I do it, becauſe I deſire to haue many children, and to leaue many ſuch like citizens as thou art, in the commonwealth. Some ſay that *Piſiſtratus* the tyrant of ATHENS, made ſuch a like aunſwere vnto the children of his firſt wife, which were men growen, whē he maried his ſecond wife *Timonaſſa*, of the towne of ARGOS, of whom he had (as it is reported) *Iophon*, and *Theſſalus*. But to returne againe to *Cato*, he had a ſonne by his ſecond wife, whom he named after her name, *Cato* SALONIAN: and his eldeſt ſonne died in his office being Prætor, of whom he often ſpeaketh in diuerſe of his bookes, commending him for a very honeſt man. And they ſay, he tooke the death of him very paciently, and like a graue wiſe man, not leauing therefore to do any ſeruice for buſineſſe for the ſtate, otherwiſe then he did before. And therein he did not as *Lucius Lucullus* and *Metellus* ſurnamed *Pius*, did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of gouernment and ſtate, after they were waxen olde. For he thought it a charge and duetie, whereunto euery honeſt man whileſt he liued was bound in all pietie. Nor as *Scipio* AFRICAN had done before him, who perceiuing that the glorie and fame of his doings did purchaſe him the ill will of the citizens, he changed the reſt of his life into quietneſſe, and forſooke the citie and all dealings in cōmon wealth, and went & dwelt in the country. But as there was one that told *Dionyſius* the tirant of SYRACVSA, as it is written, that he could not die more honorably, then to be buried in the tyrannie: euen ſo did *Cato* thinke, that he could not waxe more honeſtly old, then in ſeruing of the common wealth vnto his dying day. So at vacant times, when *Cato* was deſirous a litle to recreate and refreſh himſelfe, he paſſed his time away in reading of bookes, and looking vppon his husbandry in the country. This is the cauſe why he

Cato talketh with Salonius his clarke about the mariage of his daughter.

Catoes anſwere to his ſonne of his ſecond mariage.

Cato maried Salonius daughter, being a very old man and had a ſonne by her. How Cato paſſed his age.

Catoes writings and monuments.

wrote so many kindes of bookes and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the countrie did tend and follow all in his youth, for his profit. For he said he had but two sortes of reuenue, tillage, and sparing: but in age, whatsoeuer he did in the countrie, it was all for pleasure and to learne some thing euer of nature. For he hath written a booke of the countrie life, of tillage, in the which he sheweth how to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe them. He would needes shew such singularity and skill in all things: when he was in his house in the country, he fared a litle better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and such as had land lying about him, to come and suppe with him, and he would be merry with them: so that his companie was not onely pleasant, and liking to old folke him selfe, but also to the younger sort. For he had seene much, and had experience in many things, and vsed much pleasant talke profitable for the hearers. He thought the bord

Catoes companie pleasant both to old and young.

The table a good meane to procure loue, and how table talke should be vsed.

of the chiefest meanes to breede loue amongest men, and at his owne table would alwaies praise good men and vertuous citizens, but would suffer no talke of euill men, neither in praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable act and seruice he did in the common wealth, was the ouerthrow of CARTHAGE: for in deede he that wanne it and rased it was *Scipio* the second, but it was chiefely through *Catoes* counsell & aduise, that the last

Cato author of the last warres against the Carthaginians.

warre was taken in hand against the CARTHAGINIANS, & chaunced vpon this occasion. Cato was sent into AFRICKE to vnderstand the cause and controuersie that was betwene the CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, king of NVMIDIA, which were at great warres together. And he was sent thither because king *Massinissa* had euer bene a friend vnto the ROMAINES, and that the CARTHAGINIANS were become their confederates since the last wars, in the which they were ouerthrowen by *Scipio* the first, who tooke for a fine of them, a great part of their Empire, and imposed vpon them besides, a great yearely tribute. Nowe when he was come into that countrie, he found not the citie of CARTHAGE in miserie, beggerie, and out of order as the ROMAINES supposed: but full of lustie youthes very rich and wealthy, and great store of armour and munition in it for the warres, so that by reason of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high saile, and stouped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was not then time for the ROMAINES to leaue to vnderstand the controuersies betwixt the CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, and rather to prouide betimes to destroy CARTHAGE, that had euer an auncient enemie to the ROMAINES, and euer sought to be reuenged of that they had suffered at their hands before, and that they were now growen to that greatnesse and courage in so short time, as in manner it was incredible: so as it was likely they would fall into great enmitie with the ROMAINES, as they euer did before. Therefore so soone as he returned to ROME, he plainely told the Senate, that the losses and harmes the CARTHAGINIANS had receiued by the last warres they had with them, had not so much diminished their power and strength, as the same had shewed their owne folly and lacke of wisedome: for it was to be feared much, least their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them in the warres. And that they made warres now with the NVMIDIANS, to exercise themselues, meaning afterwards to warre with themselues: and that the peace they had made with them was but an intermission and stay of warres, onely expecting time and opportunity to begin with them againe. They say moreouer, that besides the perswasions he vsed, he brought with him of purpose, AFRICKE figges in his long sleeues, which he shooke out amongest the Senate. When the Senators maruelled to see so goodly faire greene figges, he said: This countrie that beareth them, is not aboue three daies sailing from ROME. But yet this is a straunge which they report of him besides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was euer the one end of his tale: me thinketh still CARTHAGE would be vtterly destroyed. *Publius Scipio Nasica*, vsed euer in like manner the contrarie speech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE should stand. This *Publius Scipio* sawe, by his opinion, that the ROMAINES through their pride and insolency were full of absurdities, caried themselues very high, by reason of their happy successe and victories, and were seditious minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reason of their great authoritie they imagined they might bring their citie to what height they would. Therefore he feared that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwaies continue as a bridle, to raigne in the insolencie

Scipio Nasica, against Cato, for the destroying of Carthage

f the people of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no ſuf-ient power to make wars with the ROMAINES, nor yet to ouercome them: & euen ſo were y not wholly to be deſpiſed, and not to be feared at all. *Cato* ſtill replied to the contrary, that erein conſiſted the greateſt danger of all: that a citie which was euer of great force & power, d had bene puniſhed by former warres & miſerie, would alwaies haue an eie of reuenge to eir enemies, & be much like a horſe that had broken his haltar, that being vnbridled, would one vpon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor ſound aduiſe, ſo to ſuffer the ARTHAGINIANS to recouer their ſtrength, but rather they ought altogether to take away outward daunger, and the feare they ſtood in to looſe their conqueſt: and ſpecially, when y left meanes within the citie ſelfe to fall ſtill againe to their former rebellion. And this is cauſe why they ſuppoſe *Cato* was the occaſion of the third and laſt warre the ROMAINES d againſt the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the warre was begun, *Cato* died, and be-e his death he prophecied, as a man would ſay, who it ſhould be that ſhould end thoſe wars. d it was *Scipio* the ſecond, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a Co- *Catoes death.*
ell ouer a thouſand footmen: but in all battels, and whereſoeuer there was wars, he ſhewed ſelfe euer valiant and wiſe. Inſomuch as newes being brought thereof continually vnto NE, and *Cato* hearing them, ſpake as they ſay, theſe two verſes of *Homer*:

This only man right wiſe, reputed is to be,
all other ſeeme but shadowes ſet, by ſuch wiſe men as he.

Which prophecie *Scipio* ſoone after confirmed true by his doings. Moreouer, the iſſue *Cato* behinde him, was a ſonne he had by his ſecond wife: who was called (as we ſaid before) SALONIAN, by reaſon of his mother, & a litle boy of his eldeſt ſon that died before him. *Catoes poſterity*
s *Cato* SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a ſonne behind him that came to be Con-& was grandfather vnto *Cato* the Philoſopher, one of the moſt vertuous men of his time.

THE COMPARISON OF
Ariſtides with Marcus Cato.

NOW that we haue ſet downe in writing, theſe notable and worthy thinges of memorie: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhappes the difference betweene the one and the other will not eaſily be diſcerned, ſeeing there be ſo many ſimilitudes and reſemblances one of an other. But if wee come to compare them in euery particularitie, as we would do Poets works, or pictures drawen in tables: firſt, in this we ſhall finde them much a like, that hauing had nothing elſe to preferre and commend them, but their only vertue and wiſedom, they haue bene both gouernors *Ariſtides and Catoes acceſſe to the common wealth.*

in their common wealth, and haue thereby atchieued to great honour and eſtimation. But me thinkes when *Ariſtides* came to deale in matters of ſtate, the common wealth and ſeigniorie of ATHENS was then of no great power, & therefore it was eaſie for him to ſet himſelfe in great Beſides, the other gouernors & captaines that were of his time, & competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authoritie. For the taxe of the richeſt perſons then at ATHENS reuenue, was but at fiue hundred buſhels of corne and vpwards, and therefore were ſuch called Pentacoſiomedimni. The ſecond taxe was but at three hundred buſhels, and they were called knights. The third & laſt was at two hundred buſhels, and they called them Zeugitæ. When *Marcus Cato* comming out of a litle village from a rude countrie life, went at the firſt dash (as it were) to plunge himſelfe into a bottomleſſe ſea of gouernement in the common weale of ROME: which was not ruled then by ſuch gouernors and captaines, as *Curius*, *Fabricius*, *Oſtilius* were in old time. For the people of ROME did no more beſtow their offices vpon the meane labouring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke: but they would looke now vpon the nobilitie of their houſes, and vpon their riches that gaue them money, or ſued earneſtly to them for the offices. And by reaſon of their great power and authoritie, they would be waited vpon and ſued vnto, by thoſe that ſought to beare the honorable offices of the ſtate and common wealth. And it was no like match nor compariſon, to haue *Themiſtocles* an aduerſarie and competitor, being neither of noble houſe, nor greatly rich (for to ſay, that all the goods his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fiue hundred talents when he began to deale in ſtate) in reſpect as to contend for the chiefeſt place of honour & authority againſt *Scipio* AFRICAN, *Seruilius Galba*, or *Quintius Flaminius*, hauing no other maintenance, nor helpe to truſt vnto, but a tongue ſpeaking boldly with reaſon and all vprightneſſe. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* at the battels of MARATHON, and of PLATÆES, was but one of the captaines of the ATHENIANS: where *Cato* was choſen one of the two Conſuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Cenſors, before ſeuen other that ſued ſute for it, which were all men of great reputation in the citie, and yet was *Cato* preferred before them all. Furthermore, *Ariſtides* was neuer the chiefeſt in any victorie. For at the battell of MARATHON, *Miltiades* was the generall: and at the battell of SALAMINA, *Themiſtocles*, and at the iourney of PLATÆES, king *Pauſanias*, as *Herodotus* ſaith, who writeth that he had a maruellous victory there. And there were that ſtriued with *Ariſtides* for the ſecond place, *Sophanes*, *Amynias*, *Callimachus*, and *Cynegirus*, euery one of the which did notable valiant uice at thoſe battels. Now *Cato* was generall himſelfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthie and counſell, during the warre he made in SPAYNE while he was Conſull. Afterwards at the iourney where king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowen in the country of THERMOPILÆ, being but a Colonell of a thouſand footemen, and ſerning vnder an other that was Conſull, wanne the honour of the victorie, when he did ſodainely ſet vpon *Antiochus* behind, where he looked only to defend himſelfe before. And that victorie without all doubt was one of the chiefeſt actes that euer *Cato* did, who draue ASIA out of GRECE, and opened the way to *Lucius Scipio* to paſſe afterwardes into ASIA. So then for the warres, neither the one nor other of them was euer ouercome in battell: but in peace and ciuill gouernement, *Ariſtides* was ſupplanted by *Themiſtocles*, who by practiſe got him to be baniſhed ATHENS for ten yeares. Whereas *Cato* had in manner all the greateſt and nobleſt men of ROME that were in his time ſworne enemies vnto him, and hauing alwaies contended with them euen to his laſt gaſpe, he euer kept him ſelfe on ſound grounde, like a ſtout champion, and neuer tooke the foyle. For he hauing accuſed many before the people, and many alſo accuſing him: he was neuer once condemned, but alwaies his tongue was the buckler and defence of his life and innocencie. Which was to him ſo neceſſarie a weapon, and with it he could help himſelfe ſo in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cauſe why he neuer receiued diſhonor nor was vniuſtly condemned: rather then for any thing elſe he was beholding to ſome eloquence to any other that did protect him. And truely, eloquence is a ſingular gift, as *Antipater* ſaith, in that he wrote of *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher after his death: ſaying, that among many other ſingular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could perſwade what he liſted. Now there is a rule confeſſed of all the world, that no man can attaine any

Cato in martiall affaires excelled Ariſtides.

Ariſtides and Catoes diſpleaſures in the common wealth

The power of innocencie and eloquence.

vertue or knowledge, then to knowe how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a citie: a part whereof is Oeconomia, cõmonly called houſerule, conſidering that a citie is no other, then an aſſembly of many houſholds & houſes together, and then is the citie commonly ſtrong and of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wiſe and wealthy. Therefore *Lycurgus* that baniſhed gold and ſiluer from LACEDÆMON, and coyned them money of iron, that would be marred with fire & vinegar when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands: but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not only cut off all ſuperfluous expences that commonly waite vpon riches, but did alſo prouide that his people ſhould lacke nothing neceſſarie to liue withall, fearing more to ſee a begger and needy perſon dwelling in his citie, and enioy the priuiledges of the ſame, then a proud man by reaſon of his riches. So me thinkes, *Cato* was as good a father to his houſehold, as he was a good gouernor to the common wealth: for he did honeſtly increaſe his goods, and did teach other alſo to doe the ſame, by ſauing and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof in his booke he wrote ſundry good rules and precepts. *Ariſtides* contrariwiſe, made iuſtice odious and ſlanderous by his pouertie, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans ſelfe that vſed iuſtice. And yet *Heſiodus* the Poet, that commendeth iuſtice ſo much, doth wiſh vs withall to be good husbands, reprouing ſloth and idlenes, as the roote and originall of all iniuſtice. And therefore me thinkes *Homer* ſpake wiſely when he ſaid.

Oeconomia, houſerule.

In times paſt, neither did I labour, carcke nor care
for buſineſſe, for family, for foode, nor yet for fare:
but rather did delight, with ships the ſeaes to ſaile,
to draw a bow, to fling a dart in warres, and to preuaile.

As giuing vs to vnderſtand that iuſtice & husbandry are two relatiues, & neceſſarily linked one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his owne things, nor houſe, doth liue vniuſtly, and taketh from other men. For iuſtice is not like oyle, which Phiſitions ſay is very holſome for mans bodie, if it be applied outwardly: and in contrary manner very ill, if a man drinke it: neither ought a iuſt man to profite ſtraungers, and in the end not to care for him ſelfe nor his. Therefore, me thinkes this gouerning vertue of *Ariſtides* had a fault in this reſpect, if it be true that moſt authors write of him: that he had no care nor forecaſt with him to leaue ſo much, as to marrie his daughters withall, nor therewith to burie himſelfe. Where thoſe of the houſe of *Cato*, continued Prætors and Conſuls of ROME, euen vnto the fourth deſcent. For his ſonnes ſonnes, and yet lower, his ſonnes ſonnes ſonnes came to the greateſt offices of dignitie in ROME. And *Ariſtides*, who was in his time the chiefeſt man of GREECE, left his poſteritie in ſo great pouerty, that ſome were compelled to become Soothſaiers (that interprete dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might be ſaid, pouertie of it ſelfe is neither ill nor diſhoneſt: but where it groweth by idleneſſe, careleſſe life, vanitie, and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth vpon any man that is honeſt, and liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iuſt, valiant, wiſe, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great ſigne of a noble minde. For it is vnpoſſible that man ſhould doe any great thinges, that had ſuch a baſe minde as to thinke alwaies vppon trifles: and that he ſhould relieue the poore greatly, that lacketh himſelfe reliefe in manie thinges. And ſure, riches is not ſo neceſſarie for an honeſt man that will deale truely in the common wealth, and gouernement, as is ſufficiencie: which being a contentation in it ſelfe, and deſirous of no ſuperfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his buſineſſe in the common wealth, that enioyeth the ſame. For God is he alone, who ſimply and abſolutely hath no neede of any thing at all: wherefore the chiefeſt vertue that can be in man, and that commeth neereſt vnto God, ought to be eſteemed that, which maketh man to haue neede of leaſt things. For like as a luſtie bodie, and well complexioned, hath no neede of ſuperfluous fare and curious apparell: euen ſo a cleane life, and ſound houſe, is kept with a little charge, and ſo ſhould the goods alſo be proportioned, according to vſe and neceſſitie. For hee that gathereth much, and ſpendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no deſire to ſpend much, then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he needeth: and if he do deſire it, and dare

The nature of oyle.

No man wiſe, that is not wiſe to himſelfe.

VVhether pouertie be anill thing.

nor for niggardlineſſe ſpend part of that he laboureth for, then is he miſerable. Now would I aske *Cato* with a goodwill, if riches be made but to vſe them, why do you boaſt then you haue gotten much together, when a litle doth ſuffiſe you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you finde, to drinke of the ſame tappe workemen and labourers do, not to care for purple died gownes, nor for houſes with plaſtered walles: it followeth then that neither *Ariſtides*, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius*, haue forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not vſe nor occupie. For it was to no purpoſe for a man that eſteemed rootes and parſenippes to be one of the beſt diſhes in the worlde, and that did ſeeth them himſelfe in his chimney, whileſt his wife did bake his bread, to talke ſo much of an Aſſe, and to take paines to write by what art and induſtrie a man might quickely enrich himſelfe. For it is true, that ſufficiencie and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thing: but it is becauſe it taketh from vs all deſire of vnneceſſarie thinges, and maketh vs not to paſſe for them. And therefore we finde that *Ariſtides* ſaide, when rich *Callias* caſe was pleaded, that ſuch as were poore againſt their wils, might well be aſhamed of their pouertie: but ſuch as were willingly poore, had good cauſe and might iuſtly reioyce at it. For it were a mad part to thinke that *Ariſtides* pouertie proceeded of a baſe minde and ſlothfulnes, ſince he might quickly haue made himſelfe rich without any diſhoneſtie at all, by taking only the ſpoile of ſome one of the barbarous people whom he had ouercome, or any one of their tentes. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victorie and battels *Cato* had wonne, they did in manner litle helpe to increaſe the Empire of ROME: for it was already ſo great, as it could almoſt be no greater. But *Ariſtides* victories are the greateſt conqueſtes and nobleſt actes that the GRECIANS euer did in any warres: as the iourney of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, and the battell of PLATEES. And yet there is no reaſon to compare king *Antiochus* with king *Xerxes*, nor the wals of the citie of SPAINE which *Cato* ouerthrew and raſed, vnto ſo many thouſandes of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrowen and put to the ſword by the GRECIANS, aſwell by land as by ſea. In all which ſeruices, *Ariſtides* was the chiefeſt beſides all other, as touching his valiantnes in fighting: notwithſtanding, he gaue other the glory of it, that deſired it more then himſelfe, as he did eaſily alſo leaue the gold & ſiluer vnto thoſe, that had more neede of it then himſelfe. Wherein he ſhewed himſelfe of a nobler minde, then they did. Furthermore, for my part, I will not reproue *Catoes* manner, to commend and extoll himſelfe ſo highly aboue all other, ſince he himſelfe ſayth in an oration he made, that praiſe himſelfe is as much folly, as alſo to diſpraiſe himſelfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is not perfect, that deſireth other ſhould not praiſe him, then he that commonly doth vſe to praiſe himſelfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great ſhew of humanitie, & neceſſary for him that will liue amongeſt men of gouernement: and euen ſo, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuie vnto him, that is infected withall. Of the which *Ariſtides* was cleare, and *Cato* farre gone in it. For *Ariſtides* did helpe *Themiſtocles* his chiefeſt enemie, in all his nobleſt actes, and did ſerue him (as a man would ſay) like a priuate ſouldier that garded his perſon, when *Themiſtocles* was generall, being the onely inſtrument and meane of his glorie: which was indeede the onely cauſe that the citie of ATHENS was ſaued, and reſtored againe to her former good ſtate. But contrariwiſe, croſſing *Scipio* in all his enterpriſes, thought to hinder his voyage and iourney vnto CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame *Hannibal*, who vntill that time was euer inuincible: and ſo in the ende, continuing him ſtill in iealouſie with the ſtate, and euer accuſing him, he neuer left him till he had driuen him out of the citie, and cauſed his brother *Lucius Scipio* to be ſhamefully condemned for theft, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore, temperance and modeſtie, which *Cato* did euer commende ſo highly: *Ariſtides* truely had them moſt ſincerely. But *Catoes* ſecond wife, who maried a maide (that was neither fit for dignitie and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifeſt cauſe. For he can not be excuſed with honeſtie, that being a man of mariage, brought his ſonne that was married, and his faire daughter in law, a ſteppe mother into his houſe, and but a clarkes daughter, whoſe father did write for money, for any man that would hire him. Take it *Cato* maried her to ſatisfie his luſt, or elſe for ſpight to be reuenged

Whether Ariſtides factes or Catoes did moſt benefite their countrie.

Ambition, a hatefull thing in the common wealth.

Cato reproued for his ſecond wife.

of his ſonne, becauſe his ſonne could not abide his young filth he had before: either of theſe turneth ſtill to his ſhame, as well the effect, as alſo the cauſe. Againe, the excuſe he made to his ſonne why he maried, was alſo a lye. For if he had grounded his deſire indeede, to haue gotten either children, as he ſayd, that might be as honeſt men as his eldeſt ſonne: then ſurely he had done well after the death of his firſt wife, if he had ſought him an other wife ſoone after, that had bene of an honeſt houſe, and not to haue lyen with a young harlatry filth, till his ſonne had ſpyed him and then when he ſaw it was knowen, to go and mary her, and to make alliance with him, not becauſe it was honorable for him to do it, but was eaſieſt to be obtained.

The end of Marcus Catoes life the Cenſor.

THE LIFE OF *Philopœmen.*

IN the citie of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called *Caſſander*, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in gouernment there, as any man of his time whatſoeuer. Notwithſtanding, fortune frowned on him in the end, in ſo much as he was driuē out of this country, and went to lye in the city of MEGALOPOLIS, only for the loue he bare vnto *Crauſis*, *Philopœmenes* father, a rare mā, and nobly giuen in all things, and one that loued him alſo very well. Now ſo lōg as *Crauſis* liued, *Caſſander* was ſo well vſed at his hands, that he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this world, *Caſſander*, to requite the loue *Crauſis* bare him in his life time, tooke his ſonne into his charge, being an orphane, and taught him, as *Homer* ſayd *Achilles* was brought vp by the old Phœnix. So this child *Philopœmen* grew to haue noble conditions, and increaſed alwayes from good to better. Afterwardes, when he came to grow to mans ſtate. *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, both MEGALOPOLITANS, tooke him into their gouernment. They were two Philoſophers that had bene hearers of *Arceſilaus*, in the ſchoole of Academia, and afterwardes employed all the Philoſophy they had learned, vpon their gouerning of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of ſtate, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they deliuered their city from the tyranny of *Ariſtodemus*, who kept it in ſubiection, by corrupting thoſe that kil-

Crauſis, Philopœmenes father.

Caſſander Philopœmenes ſchoolemaiſter.

Ecdemus and Demophanes read Philoſophie to Philopœmen.

led him. And they did helpe *Aratus* also to driue the tyrant *Niocles*, out of SICYONE, at request of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with ciuill dissentiō & factions amōg they went vnto CYRENA, where they did reforme the state of the common wealth, and blished good lawes for them. But for themselues, they reckened the education and bri vp of *Philopœmen*, the chefest acte that euer they did: iudging that they had procured uersall good vnto all GREECE, to bring vp a man of so noble a nature, in the rules and prec of Philosophy. And to say truely, GREECE did loue him passingly well, as the last valia she brought foorth in her age, after so many great and famous auncient Captaines: alwayes increase his power and authoritie, as his glory did also rise. Whereupon there ROMAINE, who to prayse him the more, called him the last of the GRECIANS: me that after him, GRECE neuer brought forth any worthy person, deseruing the nam GRECIAN. And now concerning his person, he had no ill face, as many suppose he for his whole image is yet to be seene in the citie of DELPHES, excellently well done, were aliue. And for that they report of his hostesse in the citie of MEGARA, who took for a seruing man: that was by reason of his curtesie, not standing vpon his reputation because he went plainly besides. For she vnderstanding that the generall of the Ach came to Inne there all night, she bestirred her, and was very busie preparing for his her husband paraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane season cam *lopœmen* into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The simple woman seeing h better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging so prayed him to lend her his hand in the kitchin. He straight cast off his cloke, and to fall to hew wood. So, as *Philopœmen* was busie about it, in commeth her husband finding him riuing of wood: ha ha ha, sayd he, my Lord *Philopœmen*, why what m this? Truely nothing else, sayd he in his DORICAN toung, but that I am punished, be haue neither fayre boy, nor goodly man. It is true that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* sayd vnto him, seeming to mocke him for his personage: O *Philopœmen*, thou hast fayre and good legges, but thou hast no belly, for he was fine in the waist, and small bodied with reason, I take it this iesting tended rather to the proportion of his army, then body: because he had both good horsemen, and footemen, but he was often without to pay them. These iestes, schollers haue taken vp in schooles of *Philopœmen*. But descend to his nature and conditions: it seemeth that the ambition and desire he had to honour in his doings, was not without some heate and wilfulnesse. For, because he wo together follow *Epaminondas* steps, he shewed his hardinesse to enterprise any thing, hi dome to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt but in ciuill matters and controuersies, he could hardly other whiles keepe himself the boundes of modestie, patience, and curtesie, but would often burst out into choll wilfulnesse. Wherefore it seemeth, that he was a better Captaine for warres, thē a wise nour for peace. And indeede, euen from his youth he euer loued souldiers, and armes lighted maruellously in all martiall exercises: as in hādling of his weapō well, riding o gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And because he seemed to haue a naturall gift in wre certaine of his friends, and such as were carefull of him, did wish him to giue most vnto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made such profession, w no hinderaunce to their martiall exercises. Aunswere was made him againe, that the tion of the person, and manner of life that wrestlers vsed, and such as followed like was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a souldier, and specially touching limme. For wrestlers studied altogether to keepe themselues in good plight, by muc ping, eating, and drinking, by labouring, and taking their ease at certaine houres, by n ling a iotte of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to loose the force and stre their body, if they did surfet neuer so litle, or passed their ordinary course & rule of diet. souldiers contrariwise are vsed to all chaunge, and diuersitie of life, and specially be from their youth, to away with all hardnesse, and scarsitie, and to watch in the night sleepe. *Philopœmen* hearing this, did not onely forsake those exercises, and scorned the afterwardes being generall of an armie, he sought by all infamous meanes he could

Philopœmen the last famous man of Greece.

Philopœmen taken for a seruing man.

Philopœmen, hastie and wilfull.

Philopœmen delighted in warre and martiall exercises.

Philopœmen did reproue wrestling.

downe all wrestling, and such kinde of exercise, which made mens bodies vnmeete to take paines, and to become souldiers for to fight in defence of their country, that otherwise would haue bene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his booke and schoolemasters, and began to weare armour in inuasions the MANTINEIANS vsed to make vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, to get some spoile on a sodaine, or to destroy a part of their countrey: *Philopœmen* then would euer be the formost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leasure, he vsed much hunting in time of peace, all to acquaint his body with toyle and trauell, or else he would be digging of his grounds. For he had a fayre manor, not passing twenty furlongs out of the citie, whither he would walke commonly after dinner or supper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lye vpon some illfauored matresse, as the meanest labourer he had, and in the morning by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine men to labour in his vineyard, or else with his plough mē to follow the plough, and sometimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his friends and other officers of the same. Whatsoeuer he could spare and get in the warres, he spent it in buying of goodly horses, in making of fayre armours, or paying his poore countreymens ransome, that were taken prisoners in the warres: but for his goods and reuenue, he sought onely to increase them, by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed the iustest and best way of getting of goods. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and study vpon it, as one that thought it fit for euery noble man & gentleman so to trauell, gouerne, and increase his owne, that he should haue no occasion to couet or vsurpe an other mans. He tooke no pleasure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to read all sortes of bookes of Philosophie: but those onely that would teach him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to read *Homers* workes, sauing those places onely that stirred vp mens harts most vnto valiantnesse. But of all other stories, he specially delighted to read *Euangelus* bookes, which treated of the discipline of warres, how to set battels, and declared the actes and gestes of *Alexander* the great, saying: that men should euer bring his wordes vnto deedes, vnlesse men would take them for vaine stories, and things spoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes of the feates of warre, and how battels should be ordered, he was not onely contented to see them drawen and set out, in chartes and mappes: but would also put them in execution, in the places themselues as they were set out. And therefore, when the armie marched in order of battell in the field, he would consider and studie with himselfe, the sodaine euents and approches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they comming downe to the valley, or going out of a plaine, were to passe a riuer or a ditch, or through some straight: also when he should spread out his army, or else gather it narrow: and this he did not onely forecast by himselfe, but would also argue the same with the Captaines that were about him. For *Philopœmen* doubtlesse was one of the odde men of the world, that most esteemed the discipline of warre, (and sometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the most large field and most fruitefull ground that valiantnesse could be exercised in: so that he despised & cōtemned all that were no souldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, *Cleomenes* king of LACEDÆMON, came one night vpon the sodaine, and gaue an assault to the city of MEGALOPOLIS, so lustely, that he draue backe the watch and got into the market place, and wanne it. *Philopœmen* hearing of it, ranne immediatly to the rescue. Nertheless, though he fought verie valiantly, and did like a noble souldier, yet he could not repulse the enemies, nor driue them out of the citie. But by this meanes he got his citizens leasure, and some time to get them out of the towne to saue themselues, staying those that followed them: and made *Cleomenes* still waite vpon him, so that in the end he had much a do to saue himselfe being the last man, and very sore hurt, & his horse also slaine vnder him. Shortly after, *Cleomenes* being aduertised that the MEGALOPOLITANS were gottē into the city of MESSINA, sent vnto them to let them vnderstād, that he was ready to deliuer them their citie, lands, & goods again. But *Philopœmen* seeing his coūtreymen very glad of these newes, & that euery man prepared to returne againe in hast: he stayd them with these perswasions, shewing them that *Cleomenes* deuise was not to redeliuer thē their citie, but rather to take thē together with their city: foreseeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked

Philopœmens gaines how they were employed.

Philopœmens study and care in tillage.

Philopœmen delight to read Euangelus bookes of the discipline of warres.

Philopœmen saued the Megalopolitans from Cleomenes king of Sparta.

Philopœmen very sore hurt.

walles and emptie houſes, and that himſelfe in the end ſhould be compelled to go his way. This perſwaſion ſtayed the MEGALOPOLITANS, but withall it gaue *Cleomenes* occaſion to burne and plucke downe a great part of the citie, and to cary away a great ſumme of money and a great ſpoyle. Afterwardes, when king *Antigonus* was come to aide the ACHAIANS gainſt *Cleomenes*, and that *Cleomenes* kept on the top of the mountaines of Sellaſia, and had all the paſſages, & wayes vnto them out of all thoſe quarters: king *Antigonus* ſet his armie battell hard by him, determining to ſet vpon him, and to driue him thence if he could poſſibly. *Philopœmen* was at that time amongeſt the horſemē with his citizens, who had the ILLYRIANS on the ſide of them, being a great number of footemen & excellent good ſouldiers, which did ſhut in the taile of all the army. So they were commaunded to ſtand ſtill, and to keepe their place, vntill ſuch time as they did ſhew them a redde coate of armes on the top of a pyke from the other wing of the battell, where the king himſelfe ſtood in perſon. Notwithſtanding this ſtraight cōmaundement, the Captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to ſee if they could force the LACEDÆMONIANS that kept on the top of the mountaines. The ACHAIANS contrariwiſe, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded. *Euclidas*, *Cleomenes* brother, perceiuing thus their enemies footemen were ſeuered from their horſemen, ſodainly ſent the lighteſt armed ſouldiers & luſtieſt fellowes he had in his bands, to giue a charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behind, to proue if they could make them turne their faces on them, becauſe they had no horſemen for their garde. This was done, and theſe light armed men did maruellouſly trouble and diſorder the ILLYRIANS. *Philopœmen* perceiuing that, and conſidering how theſe light armed men would be eaſily broken and driuen backe, ſince occaſion ſelfe inforced them to it: he went to tell the kings Captaines of it, that lett men of armes. But when he ſaw he could not make them vnderſtand it, and that they made no reckening of his reaſons, but tooke him of no skill, becauſe he had not yet attained any credit or eſtimation to be iudged a man, that could inuent or execute any ſtratageme of warre: he went thither himſelfe, and tooke his citizens with him. And at his firſt comming, he ſo troubled theſe light armed men, that he made them flie, and ſlue a number of them. Moreouer, to encourage the better king *Antigonus* men, and to make them giue a luſty charge vpon their enemies, whileſt they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horſe, and marched foote vp hill and downe hill, in rough and ſtony wayes, full of ſprings and quauemyres, being heauily armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fighting in this ſort very painfully and vneaſily; he had both his thighes paſt through with a dart, hauing a leather thong on the middeſt of it. And though the blow did not take much hold of the fleſh, yet was it a ſtrong blow, for it pearced both thighs through & through, that the iron was ſeene on the other ſide. Then was he ſo combered with this blow, as if he had bene ſhackled with irons on his feet, and knew not what to do: for the leather faſtened in the middeſt of the dart, did greeue him maruellouſly, when they thought to haue pulled the dart out of the place where it entred in, ſo as neuer a man about him durſt ſet his hands to it. *Philopœmen* on the other ſide, ſeeing the fight terrible on either ſide, and would ſoone be ended: it ſpited him to the guttes, he would ſo fayne haue bene among them. So at the length he made ſuch ſtruggling, putting backe one thigh, and ſetting forward an other, that he knapped the ſtaffe of the dart a ſunder, and made them pull out the two troncheons, the one on this ſide, and the other on the other ſide. Then when he ſaw he was at libertie againe, he tooke his ſword in his hand, and ranne through the middeſt of them that fought, vnto the foremoſt ranckes, to meete with the enemy: ſo that he gaue his men a new courage, and did ſet them on fire with enuie, to follow his valiantneſſe. After the battell was wonne, *Antigonus* asked the MACEDONIAN Captaines, to proue them, who moued the horſemen to deuide themſelues, and giue the charge, before the ſigne that was commannded. They aunſwered him, that they were forced to do it againſt their will, becauſe a young MEGALOPOLITAN gentlemā gaue a charge with his company, before the ſigne was giuen. Then *Antigonus* laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the part of a wiſe and valiant Captaine. This exploit, together with *Antigonus* teſtimony, gaue great reputatiō vnto *Philopœmen*, as we may eaſily imagine. So king *Antigonus* maruellouſly intreated him he would ſerue with him, and offered him a bande of men at armes, and great entertainemēt.

King Antigonus came to aide the Achaūs againſt Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon.

Philopœmens noble fact in the battell againſt king Cleomenes.

Philopœmen hurt in fight.

Antigonus ſaying of Philopœmenes skill of a ſouldier.

tainement, if he would go with him. But *Philopœmen* refused his offer, and chiefly, because he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commaunded by any. Notwithstanding, because he could not be idle, he tooke sea, and went into CRETA, where he knew there were warres, onely to continue himselfe in exercise thereof. So when he had serued a long time with the CRETANS, which were valiant souldiers, and very expert in all policies and fates of warre, and moreouer were men of a moderate and spare dyet: he returned home againe to ACHAIA, with so great credit and reputation of euery one, that he was presently chosen generall of all the horsemen. So when he entred into his charge, he founde many horsemen very ill horsed, vpon litle iades, such as might be gotten cheapest, and how they sed not to go themselues in person to the warres, but did send other in their stead: and to be hort, how they neither had harts, nor experience of the warres, and all because the Generals nd Captaines of the people of the ACHAIANS that serued before him, did take no heede to hose matters, as fearing to offend any, because they had the greatest authority in their hands, o punish or reward whom they thought good. *Philopœmen* fearing none of all these things, would leaue no part of his charge and duety vndone, but went himselfe in person to all the cities, to perswade and encourage the young gentlemen, to be well horsed, & well armed, that hey might winne honour in the field, be able to defend themselues, and ouerthrow their enemies. And where perswasion could do no good, there he would set fynes vpon their heades hat so refused, and did vse to muster them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turning, and arriets, and one to fight with an other, and at such times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to giue them the looking on: that in short space he made them ery forward, proper, and ready horsemen, whose chiefest propertie is, to keepe their order nd rankes in the battell. So as when necessitie serued for the whole company of horsemen o turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or else euery man by himselfe: they were so throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe set in battell ray, did seeme as it were to be ut one body, they remoued so together, and withall so easily, and at all times, and so oft, as time they would on the one side, or on the other. Now in a great battell the ACHAIANS had with the ÆTOLIANS and the ELIANS, by the riuer of Larissus: *Demophantus* generall of the horsemen of the ÆTOLIANS, came from his company to fight with *Philopœmen*, who also made towardes him, and gaue him first such a blow with his speare, that he strake him starke ead. When *Demophantus* fell to the ground, his souldiers fled by and by vpon it. This wanne *Philopœmen* great honour, who gaue no place to the youngest men in fighting most valiantly with his owne hands: nor to the oldest men in wisedome, for the wise leading of his army. In eed the first man that made the people of ACHAIA grow in power and greatnes, was *Aratus*: or before his time ACHAIA was of small reckning, because the cities of the same stood deuided betweene themselues, and *Aratus* was the first man that made them ioyne together, & stablished among them an honest ciuill gouernement. Whereby it happened, that as we see in rookes and riuers where any litle thing stoppeth and falleth to the bottom, which the course of the water bringeth downe the streame, there the rest that followeth doth vse to stay, and go o further: euen so in the citie of CREECE that were in hard state, and sore weakened, by faction one against an other, the ACHAIANS were the first that stayd themselues, and grew in amitie one with the other, and afterwardes drew on the rest of the cities into league with them, s good neighbours & confederates. Some by helping and deliuering them from the oppression of tyrants, and winning other also by their peaceable gouernement and good concorde: hey had a meaning in this wise, to bring all the country of PELOPONNESVS into one body nd league. Neuertheless, while *Aratus* liued, they depended most vpon the strength & power of the MACEDONIANS: first with sticking vnto king *Ptolomie*, and then vnto *Antigonus*, nd last to *Philip*, who ruled in manner all the state of GREECE. But when *Philopœmen* came to ouerne, & to be the chiefest man, the ACHAIANS being strõg enough to resist the strongest, ould match thẽ no more vnder any other bodies ensigne, nor would suffer any more straũge ouernours or Captaines ouer them. For *Aratus* (as it seemed) was somwhat too soft and cold or the warres, and therefore the most things he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, & by the kings friendships with whom he was great, as we haue at large declared in his

Philopœmen chosen generall of the horsemẽ of the Achaians.

Philopœmen slue Demophantus, generall of the horsemen of the Ætolians.

The prayse of Philopœmen.

Aratus raised Achaia to greatnesse.

Philopœmen and Aratus compared.

Aratus a soft mã in warres.

life. But *Philopœmen* being a man of execution, hardy and valiant of perſon, and of good fortune, in the firſt battell that he euer made, did maruellouſly encreaſe the courage and hartes of the ACHAIANS: becauſe vnder his charge they euer foyled their enemies, alwayes had the vpper hand ouer them. The firſt thing *Philopœmen* began withall at his comming, he chaunged the manner of ſetting of their tables, and their faſhion of armour themſelues. For before they caried litle light targettes, which becauſe they were thin and narrow, did not couer halfe their bodies, and vſed ſpeares farre ſhorter then pykes, by reaſon whereof they were very light, and good to skirmiſh and fight a farre off: but when they came to ioyne battell, their enemies then had great vantage of them. As for the order of their battelles, they knew not what it ment, nor to caſt themſelues into a ſquadring, but onely vſed the ſquare battell, nor yet gaue it any ſuch fronte where the pykes of many rankes might puſh together, and where the ſouldiers might ſtand ſo cloſe, that their targettes ſhould touch one an other, as they do in the ſquardron of the battell of the MACEDONIANS: by reaſon whereof, they were ſoone broken, and ouerthrowen. *Philopœmen* reformed all this, perſwading them to vſe the pyke and ſhield, in ſtead of their litle targets, ſpeares or boreſtaffe, and to put good mortians or burganettes on their heads, corſellettes on their bodies, and good taſſes and greaues to couer their thighes and legges, that they might beare it out manfully, not giuing a foote of ground, as light armed men that runne to and fro in skirmiſhe. And thus hauing perſwaded and taught the young men to arme themſelues throughly, firſt he made them the bolder and more couragious to fight, as if they had been men that could not haue bene ouercome: then he turned all their vaine ſuperfluous charges into neceſſarie and honeſt expences. But he could not poſsibly bring them altogether from their vaine and riche apparell, they had of long time taken vp, the one to exceede another, nor from their ſumptuous furniture of houſes, as in beddes, hangings, curious ſeruice of table, and delicate kinde of diſhes. But to begin to withdraw this deſire in them whereas they had, to be fine and delicate, in all ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie things, and to loue good things neceſſarie, and profitable: he wiſhed them to looke more nearely to their owne charge about themſelues, taking order as well for their apparell, as alſo for their diet, how to ſpare in them, to come honorably armed to the field, for defence of their countrey. Thereupon, if you had looked into the goldſmithes ſhoppes, ye ſhould haue ſeene nothing elſe in their handes, but breaking and battering of pottes of gold and ſiluer, to be caſt and molten downe againe, and then gilding of armours and targettes, and ſiluering of harneſſe. In the ſhew places for the running of horſes, there was mannaging and breaking of young horſes, and young men exerciſing armes. Womens handes alſo were full of morions and head peeces, whereto they tyed goodly braue plumes of feathers of ſundry colours. They were alſo full of imbrodered arming coates and caſſockes, with curious and very rich workes. The ſight of which brauerie did heaue vp their hartes, and made them gallant and luſty, ſo as enuie bred ſtraight in them who ſhould do beſt ſeruice, and no way ſpare for warres. Indeede, ſumptuouſneſſe and brauerie in other ſightes, doth ſecretly carry mens mindes away, and allure them to ſeeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied and womaniſh perſons: becauſe this ſweete tickling, and intuſing of the outward ſence that is delighted therewith, doth ſtraight melt and ſoften the ſtrength and courage of the mind. But againe, the ſumptuous coſt beſtowed vpon warlike furniture, doth incourage and make great a noble hart. Euen as *Homer* ſayth it did *Achilles*, when his mother brought him armour and weapons, ſhe had cauſed *Vulcan* to make for him, and layed them at his feete, who ſeeing them, could not tarie, but was ſtraight ſet on fire with deſire to occupie them. So when *Philopœmen* had brought the youth of ACHAIA to this good paſſe, to come braſely armed and furniſhed into the field, he began then to exerciſe them continually in armes: wherein they did not onely ſhewe themſelues obedient to him, but did moreouer ſtriue one to excell an other, and to do better then their fellowes. For they liked maruellous well the ordering of the battell he had taught them, becauſe that ſtanding ſo cloſe together as they did, they thought ſurely they could hardly be ouerthrowen. Thus by continuance of time, being much vſed to weare their armour, they found them a great deale eaſier

Philopœmen chaungeth the Achaias order and diſciplins of warres.

Philopœmen turned all curioſitie and daintie fare, into braue and rich armours.

Braue armour incourageth mens mindes to ſerue nobly.

ghter then before, besides the pleasure they tooke to see their armor so braue, and so riche: in much as they longed for some occasion to trie them straight vpon their enemies. Now the CHAIANS at that time were at warres with *Machanidas*, the tyrant of LACEDÆMON, who ght he by all deuise he could with a great armie, to become chiefe Lorde of all the PELO-ONNESIANS. When newes was brought that *Machanidas* was come into the countrie of MANTINIANS, *Philopœmen* straight marched towards him with his armie: so they met with not farre from the citie of MANTINEA, where by and by they put themselues in order of battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of straungers to serue them, besides the whole force of their countrie; and when they came to ioyne battell, *Machanidas* with his straungers gaue such a lusty charge vpon certaine slingers and archers being the forlorne hope whom *Philopœmen* had cast off before the battell of the ACHAIANS to begin the skirmish, that ouerthrew them, and made them flie withall. But where he should haue gone on directly inst the ACHAIANS that were ranged in battell ray, to haue proued if he could haue broke em: he was very busie, and earnest still to follow the chase of them that first fled, & so came rd by the ACHAIANS that stood still in their battel, and kept their rancks. This great ouer-row fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIANS were but cast away. *Philopœmen* made as though it had bin nothing, and that he set light by it, and spying the eat fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the spur, whom they had ouer-rowne, and straying so far from the battell of their footmen, whom they had left naked, and e field open vpon them: he did not make towards them to stay them, nor did striue to stop em that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered them to take their course. And hen he saw that they were gone a good way from their footmen, he made his men marche on the LACEDÆMONIANS, whose sides were naked, hauing no horsemen to garde them: d so did set vpon them on the one side, & ran so hastily on them to win one of their flancks, e he made them flie, and slue withall a great number of them. For it is said, there were foure ound and LACEDÆMONIANS slaine in the field, because they had no man to leade them. And reouer, they say they did not looke to fight, but supposed rather they had wonne the field, hen they saw *Machanidas* chasing still those vpon the spur, whom he had ouerthrowne. Af-this *Philopœmen* retired to meete *Machanidas*, who came backe from the chase with his angers. But by chance there was a great broad ditch betweene them, so as both of them rode on the bancks sides of the same, a great while together, one against another of them: the e side seeking some conuenient place to get ouer and flie, and the other side seeking meanes keepe them from starting away. So, to see the one before the other in this sort, it appeared as y had bin wilde beasts brought to an extreamitie, to defend themselues by force, from so ce a hunter as *Philopœmen* was. But whilest they were striuing thus, the tyrants horse that s lusty and couragious, and felt the force of his masters spurres pricking in his sides, that the ood followed after, did venter to leape the ditche, comming to the bancks side, stood vpon hindmost legs, and aduaunced forward with his foremost feete, to reach to the other side. en *Simmias* and *Polyænus*, who were about *Philopœmen* when he fought, ranne thither aight to keepe him in with their boresta[illegible] that he should not leape the ditch. But *Philopœ-* who was there before them, perceiuing that the tyrants horse by lifting vs his head so h, did couer all his maisters body: forsooke by and by his horse, and tooke his speare in h his hands, and thrust at the tyrant with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditche. In mory whereof, the ACHAIANS that did highly esteeme this valiant act of his, and his wis-me also in leading of the battell: did set vp his image in brasse, in the temple of *Apollo* in LPHES, in the forme he slue the tyrant. They say, that at the assembly of the cõmon games led Nemea, (which they solemnize in honor of *Hercules*, not fat from the citie of ARGOS) d not long after he had wonne this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the second e of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, and being at good leisure also by reason of the feast: he shewed all the GRECIANS that were come thither to see the games and pastimes, his ar-e ranging in order of battell, and made them see how easily they remoued their places euery y, as necessitie and occasion of fight required, without troubling or confounding their ckes, and that with a maruelous force and redinesse. When he had done this, he went into

Philopœmen made warres with Machanidas tyrant of Lacedæmon.

Battell fought betweene Philopœmen and Machanidas.

Philopœmen ouercame Machanidas army, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians.

Philopœmen slue Machanidas.

the Theater to heare the musitians play, and sing to their instruments, who should win the game, being accompanied with lusty young gentlemen apparrelled in purple cloakes, skarlet coates & cassockes they ware vpon their armor, being all in the flower of their and well giuen and disposed: who did greatly honor and reuerence their captaine, and that, shewed themselues inwardly of noble hearts, being incouraged by many notable they had fought, in which they had euer attained the victorie, and gotten the vpper their enemies. And by chance, as they were entred into the Theater, *Pylades* the musi ing certaine poems of *Timotheus*, called the *Perses*, fell into these verses.

O Greekes, it is euen he, which your prosperitie
Hath giuen to you: and therewithall a noble liberty.

When he had sweetly song out aloude these noble verses, passingly well made: the assembly of the GRECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to see the game all their eyes straight vpon *Philopœmen*, and clapped their hands one to an other for ioy cause of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should soone recouer auncient reputation, and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy mi their aunce sters. And as young horse that do alwaies looke to be ridden by their o riders, if any stranger get vp on their backes, do straight waxe strange to be handeled make great a do: euen so, when the ACHAIANS came to any dangerous battell, their were euen done, if they had any other Generall or leader then *Philopœmen*, on whom sti depended and looked. And when they saw him euer, the whole armie reioyced, and straight to be at it, they had such confidence in his valiantnesse and good fortune: and not without cause. For of all men, their enemies did feare him most, and durst not stand him: because they were afraide to heare his name onely, as it seemed by their doings. *Philip* king of MACEDON, imagining that if he could finde meanes to dispatche *Philo* out of the way, howsoeuer it were, the ACHAIANS would straight take part againe with sent men secretly into the city of ARGOS, to kill him by treason. Howbeit the practise w couered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the GRECIANS generally, ken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS laid to the city of MEGARA, and thought certainly to haue wonne it at the first assault: the

The onely name of Philopœmen made the Bœotians flee for feare.

a rumor sodainly amongst them, that *Philopœmen* came to aide the city, and was not from it with his armie. But it was a false report. Notwithstanding, the BOEOTIANS w scared, that for feare they left their scaling ladders behinde them, which they had set a the wals to haue scaled the towne, and fled straight to saue themselues. An other time,

Nabis tyrant of Lacedemon, wanne the city of Messina.

Nabis the tyrant of LACEDÆMON, that succeeded *Machanidas*, had taken the city of M NA vpon the sodaine: *Philopœmen* being then a priuate man, and hauing no charge o diers, went vnto *Lysippus*, general of the ACHAIANS that yere, to perswade him that he send present aide vnto them of MESSINA. *Lysippus* told him, it was too late now to go t and that it was but a lost towne, not to be holpen: considering the enemies were in it alr *Philopœmen* perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither himselfe with the of MESSINA only, not staying for the assembly of the MEGALOPOLITANS, that w counsel about it, to giue him cõmission by voices of the people to take thẽ with him: bu all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man t nature was worthiest of all other to commaund them. Now when he came neere vnto M SINA, *Nabis* hearing of his comming, durst not tary him, though he had his army w the citie, but stole out at an other gate, and marched away in all the hast he could, thi himselfe a happy man and he could so escape his hands, and retire with safety, as indeed h And thus was MESSINA, by his meanes, deliuered from captiuitie. All that we haue w hitherto concerning *Philopœmen*, falleth out doutlesse to his great honor and glory: but wards he was greatly dispraised for a iorney he made into CRETA, at the request of the G TYNIANS, who sent to pray him to be their Captaine, being sore troubled with wars time. Because *Philopœmen* went then to serue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyrant *Nab* greatest wars with the MEGALOPOLITANS, in their own country: they laid it to his c either that he did it to flie the warres, or else that he sought honor out of season with

Nabis flieth Philopœmen. Philopœmen deliuered the city of Messina from Nabis the tyrant of Lacedemon. Philopœmenes second iourney into Creta discommended.

sions, when his poore citizens the MEGALOPOLITANS were in such distresse, that their country being lost & destroyed, they were driuen to keep them within their city, and to sow all their voide groundes and streetes in the same with corne, to sustaine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almost hard at their towne gates. And the rather, because himself making warres with the CRETANS, and seruing strangers beyonde the sea in the meane time, gaue his enemies occasion to slaunder him that he fled, that he would not stay to fight for defence of his countrie. Againe, there were that said, because the ACHAIANS did choose other for their Generall, that he being a priuate man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had maruellously intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that could not abide to liue idlely, and that desired specially about things to serue continually in the warres, and to put in practise his skil and discipline in the ordering of an armie. The wordes he spake one day of king *Ptolomie* do witnesse as much. For when there were some that praised king *Ptolomie* highly, saying that he trained his army well, and that he still continued his person in exercise of armes: It is not commendable for a king (said he) of his yeares, to delight in training his men to exercise armes, but to do some act himself in person. Well, in the ende, the MEGALOPOLITANS tooke his absence in such ill part, that they thought it a peece of treason, and would needs haue banished him, and put him from the freedome of the citie: had not the ACHAIANS sent their Generall *Aristenetus* to them, who would not suffer the sentence of banishment to passe against him, although otherwise there was euer contention betweene them about matters of the common-wealth. Afterwards, *Philopœmen* perceiuing his countrimen made no more account of him, to fright them withall, he made diuerse small villages and cities rebell against them, and taught them to say, & to giue it out, that they were not their subiects, neither paide them tribute from the beginning: and he made them stand to it openly, and maintaine their sedition against the citie of MEGALOPOLIS, before the counsell of the ACHAIANS. These things happned shortly after. But whilest he made wars in CRETA for the GORTYNIANS, he shewed not himself a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine & open wars: but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vse their owne policies, fine deuises, and ambushes against themselues. And made them know also, that all their crafts, were but childish sports as touching in respect of those that were deuised, and put in execution, by a wise experienced captaine, and skilfull to fight a battell. So *Philopœmen*, hauing won great fame by his acts done in CRETA, returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, where he found that *Philip* king of MACEDON had ouercome in battell, by *T. Q. Flaminius*: and that the ACHAIANS ioyning with the ROMAINES, did make war against the tyrant *Nabis*, against whom he was made generall immediatly vpon his returne, and gaue him battell by sea. In the which it seemed he fell into like misfortune, as *Epaminondas* did: the euent of this battell falling out much worse with him, then he looked for, in respect of his former courage and valiantnesse. But as for *Epaminondas*, some say he returned willingly out of ASIA, & the Iles, without any exploit done, because he would not haue his countrimen fleshed with spoile by sea, as fearing least of valiant soldiers by land, they would by litle & litle (as *Plato* said) become dissolute mariners by sea. But *Philopœmen* contrariwise, presuming on the skill he had to set the battel in good order by land, would needs take vpon him to do the same by sea. But he was taught to his cost to know what exercise & experience, & how strong it maketh them that are practised in things. For he lost not only the battell by sea, being vnskilful of that seruice: but he comitted besides a fouler error. For he caused an old ship to be rigged, which had bin very good of seruice before, but not occupied in a long time together, and imbarked his countrimen into the same, which were all likely to perish, because the ship had diuers leakes, by fault of good calking. This ouerthrow made his enemies despise him vtterly, perswading themselues he was fled for altogether, & had forsaken them for fear: whereupon they laid siege to the citie of GYTHIVM. *Philopœmen* being aduertised thereof imbarked his men sodainly, and set vpon his enemies ere they wist it, or had any thought of his comming: and found them straglingly vp and downe, without watch or garde, by reason of the victorie they had lately wonne. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set vpon his enemies campe, and burnt it euery whit: and in this feare and hurly burly, stile

Philopœmen made diuerse cities to rebell against the Achaians.

The Cretans politike warres.

Philopœmen made Generall of the Achaians against Nabis.

Philopœmen ouercome by sea.

Nabis besiegeth the city of Gythium.

a great number of them. Shortely after this stealing vpon them, the tyrant *Nabis* also stole vpon him againe vnwares, as he was to go through a maruellous ill & dangerous way. Which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the first, thinking it vnpossible for them that they could escape that danger, considering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But *Philopœmen* bethinking himselfe, and considering the nature & scituation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainly then, that the chiefest point of a good souldier, and man of war was to know how to put an armie in battell, according to the time and scituation of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and sorted it according to the scituation of the place, wherein he was compassed: and by doing this without trouble or businesse, he tooke away all feare of danger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in such fierce wise, that in a short time he put thē all to flight. And when he perceiued that they did not flie all in troupe together towards the city, but scattering wise, abroade in the fields in euery place: he caused the trumpet to sound the retreate. Then he commaunded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the countrie thereabout was full of thick woods and groues, very ill for horsemen, and also because there were many brookes, vallies, and quauemires, which they should passe ouer, he encamped himselfe presently, being yet broade day. And so, fearing least his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after another, and by couples: he sent a great number of ACHAIANS, and laid them in ambush amongst the brookes and hils neere about: which made great slaughter of *Nabis* souldiers, because they came not altogether in troupe, but scatteringly one after an other as they fled, one here, an other there, and so fell into their enemies hands, as birds into the fowlers net. These acts made *Philopœmen* singularly beloued of the GRECIANS, and they did him great honour in all their Theaters and common assemblies. Whereas *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, of nature very ambitious, and couetous of honour, did much repine, and was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of ROME should haue place and honor amongst the ACHAIANS, before a meane gentleman of ARCADIA. And imagined he had deserued better of all GREECE, then *Philopœmen* had: considering, how by only proclamation of an herald, he had restored GREECE againe to her ancient liberty, which before his comming was subiect vnto king *Philip*, & vnto the MACEDONIANS. After which *Titus Quintius* made peace with the tyrant *Nabis*. *Nabis* was shortly after very traitorously slaine by the ÆTOLIANS. Whereupon the city of SPARTA grew to a tumult, & *Philopœmen* straight taking the occasion, went thither with his armie, & handled the matter so wisely, partly for loue, and partly by force, he wan the city, and ioyned it vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. So was he maruellously commended and esteemed of the ACHAIANS for this notable victory, to haue wonne their tribe and communalty so famous a city, and of so great estimation. For the city of SPARTA was no small encrease of their power, and being ioyned as a member of ACHAIA. Moreouer he wan by this meanes, the loue & good will of all the bodie of LACEDÆMON, of the hope they had to finde him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyrant *Nabis* house and goods were sold, as forfited to the state: they resolued in their counsell to make him a present of the money thereof, which amounted to the sum of fiue score talents, and sent Ambassadors purposely vnto him, to offer it him. Then *Philopœmen* shewed himself plainly to be no counterfeit honest man, but a good man indeed. For first of all, there was not one of all the LACEDÆMONIANS that durst presume to offer him the money, but euery man was afraide to tell him of it: & euery body that was appointed to do it made some excuse or other for themselues. Notwithstading, in the end they made one *Timolaus* to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar friend, and also his hoast. And the same *Timolaus*, when he came vnto MEGALOPOLIS, & was lodged and entertained in *Philopœmens* house, did so much reuerence him for his wise talke & conuersation, for his modest diet, & iust dealing with all men: that he saw there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, but found some other occasion to excuse the cause of his cōming vnto him. And being sent vnto him again the second time, he did euē as much as at the first time. And making a third proose, he ventured at the last to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good will the city of SPARTA did beare him. *Philopœmen* became a glad man to heare it: and when he

Philopœmen ouercame Nabus, tyrant of Lacedæmon, in battell.

Titus Quintius enuieth Philopœmen.

Nabis slaine by the Ætolians.

Philopœmen free from couetousnesse.

had heard all he had to say to him, he went himselfe vnto the citie of SPARTA. There he declared vnto the counsell, that it was not honest men, and their good friends, they should seeke to win and corrupt with money, considering they might command their vertue vpon any occasion, without cost vnto them: but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by seditious orations in counsell did mutine, and put a whole citie in vprore: to the end that hauing their mouthes stopped with gifts, they should trouble them the lesse in the commonwealth. For, said he, it is more necessarie to stop your enemies mouthes, and to sowe vp their lips from libertie of speaking: then it is to keepe your friends from it. So noble a man was *Philopœmen* against all couetousnesse of money. Shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS beginning to stir againe, *Diophanes* (who was then Generall of the ACHAIANS) being aduertised of it, began to prepare to punish them. The LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side preparing for the warres, did set all the country of PELOPONNESVS in armes. Hereupon *Philopœmen* sought to pacifie *Diophanes* anger, declaring vnto him, that king *Antiochus*, and the ROMAINES, being at warres together at that present time, and they both hauing puisant armies one against an other in the middest of GREECE: it was meete for a good Generall & wise gouernor, to haue an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thing within his countrie at that instant, but then rather to dissemble it, & not to seeme to heare any fault whatsoeuer they did. *Diophanes* would not be perswaded, but entred the territories of LACEDÆMON with a great army, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* with him: and they together marched directly towards the city of SPARTA. *Philopœmen* was so mad with their doings, that he tooke vpon him an enterprise not very lawfull, nor altogether iust: neuertheless, his attempt proceeded of a noble minde, & great courage. For he got into the citie of SPARTA, and being but a priuate person, kept out the Generall of the ACHAIANS, and the Consull of the ROMAINS for entring the citie: & when he had pacified all troubles and seditions in the same, he deliuered it vp again as it was before, into the hands of the cõmunalty of the ACHAIANS. Neuertheless, himselfe being afterwards generall of the ACHAIANS, did compell the LACEDÆMONIANS to receiue those home againe whom they had banished for certaine faults, and did put foure score naturall borne citizens of SPARTA vnto death, as *Polybius* writeth. Or three hundred & fifty, as *Aristocrates* an other historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the wals of the city, and rased them to the ground, and tooke away the most part of their territories, and gaue them to the MEGALOPOLITANS. All those whome the tyrants had made free denizens of SPARTA, he compelled them to depart the country of LACEDÆMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAIA, three thousand only excepted, who would not obey his commandement: all those he solde for slaues, & with the money he made of them (to spight them the more) he built a goodly faire walke within the citie of MEGALOPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACEDÆMONIANS all the mischiefe he could, and as it were, to treade them vnder the feete in their most grieuous misery: he did a most cruell and vniust act toward them. For he compelled them to leaue the discipline and maner of education of their children, which *Lycurgus* had of olde time instituted: and made them to follow the maner the ACHAIANS vsed, in liew of their old grounded country custome, because he saw they would neuer be humble minded, so long as they kept *Lycurgus* order and institution. Thus were they driuen to put the heads in the choller, by the miserable mishap that befell them: and in all despight, to suffer *Philopœmen* in this maner to cut a sunder (as it were) the sinews of their commonwealth. But afterwards they made sute to the ROMAINES, that they might be suffered to enioy their ancient discipline againe, which being graunted them, they straight left the maner of the ACHAIANS, and did set vp againe as much as was possible (after so great miserie & corruption of their maners) their old ancient customes and orders of their countrie. Now about the time the wars began in GREECE, betwene the ROMAINES & king *Antiochus*, *Philopœmen* was then a priuate man, & without any authority. He seeing that king *Antiochus* lay still in the citie of CHALCIS, and did nothing but feast and loue, and had maried a young maide farre vnmeete for his years: & perceiuing that his SYRIAN soldiers wandred vp & downe the townes in great disorder, playing many lewde parts without guide of Captaines, he was very sory he was not at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and tolde the ROMAINES, that he enuied

Philopœmens wise counsell to the Lacedæmonians, how they should bestow their gifts

Diophanes and T. Quintius Flaminius do inuade Lacedæmonia.

Philopœmens noble act.

Philopœmens cruelty to the Spartans.

Philopœmen made the Spartans forsake Lycurgus law.

Antiochus solace and marriage at Chalcis.

Philopœmens counsell against the Romaines.

their victorie, hauing warres with enemies that were so easily to be ouercome. For (said he) if fortune fauored me that I were Generall of the ACHAIANS at this present, I would haue killed them euery man in the cellers and tippling houses. Now when the ROMAINES had ouercome *Antiochus*, they began to haue surer footing in GRECE: and to compasse in the ACHAIANS of all sides, and specially, by reason the heads and gouernours of the cities about them did yeeld to the ROMAINES, to winne their fauour. And now their greatnesse grew in haste, by the fauour of the gods, so as they were become the monarche of the whole world: who brought them now to the ende that fortune had determined. *Philopœmen* in the meane time did like a good pylot, bare hard against the billowes and roughnesse of their waues: and though for the time he was forced to giue place, and to let things passe, yet for all that he was against the ROMAINES and did withstand them in the most part of their proceedings, by seeking euer to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquence and well doing caried great authority among the ACHAIANS. And when *Aristænetus* MEGALOPOLITAN, (a man of great authoritie among the ACHAIANS, and one that euer bare great deuotion to the ROMAINES (said in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they should deny the ROMAINES nothing, nor shew themselues vnthankfull to them: *Philopœmen* hearing what he said, held his peace a while, and suffered him to speake (though it boiled in his heart, he was so angrie with him) and in the end, breaking all pacience, & as one ouercome with choller, he said. O *Aristænetus*, why haue you such hast to see the vnfortunate ende of GRECE? An other time, when *Manius* Consull of ROME (after he had conquered king *Antiochus*) did make request to the counsell of the ACHAIANS, that such as were banished from LACEDÆMON, might returne home into their countrie againe, and that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* also did earnestly intreate them: *Philopœmen* was against it, not for any hatred he bare vnto the banished mẽ, but because he would haue done it by his owne meane, and the onely grace of the ACHAIANS, to the end they should not be beholding for so good a turne, neither vnto *Titus*, nor yet to the ROMAINES. Afterwards he himselfe, being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did restore them whole to their owne again. Thus was *Philopœmen* somtime, a litle too bolde & quarrellous, by reason of his great stomack: and specially when any man of authority sought for to haue things, &c.

Philopœmen chosen the eight time Generall of the Achaians being 70. yeare olde.

lie, being three score and ten yeares of age, he was the eight time chosen Generall of the ACHAIANS, and hoped well, not onely to passe the yeare of his charge in peace and quietnesse, but also all the rest of his life without any sturre of new warres, he saw the affaires of GRECE take so good successe. For like as the force and strength of sickneſse declineth, as the natural strength of the sickly body empaireth: so through all the cities and people of GRECE enuy, quarrell and wars surceased, as their power diminished. Neuertheless, in the end of his yeare of gouernment, the gods diuine (who iustly punish all insolent words and deeds) threw him to the ground, as they suffer a rider vnfortunately to take a fall off his horse, being come almost to the ende of his carriere. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongst good companie, where one was maruellously praised for a good Captaine, said vnto them: what maisters, can yee commend him that was contented to be taken prisoner aliue of his enemies? Shortly after came newes that *Dinocrates* MESSINIAN (a priuate enemie of *Philopœmen* for certaine controuersies past betweene them, and a man generally hated besides of all honorable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawne the city of MESSENE from the deuotion of the ACHAIANS: and moreouer, that he came with an armie to the towne called COLONIDE. *Philopœmen* was at that time in the citie of ARGOS, sick of an ague, and yet hearing these newes, tooke his iorney towards MEGALOPOLIS, making all the speed he could possible, for that he came aboue foure hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence toward MESSINA, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at armes of the lustiest and wealthiest MEGALOPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of the city, and willingly offered themselues to go with him for the goodwill they bare him, and the desire they had to follow his valiantnesse. Thus went they on their way towards the citie of MESSINA, & marched so long, that they came neere to the hil of Euander, where they met with *Dinocrates* and his company, & gaue so fierce an onset on them, that they made them turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a relieſe of 500 men to *Dinocrates*

Philopœmens iourney against Dinocrates.

Mons Euander.

which he had left to keepe the countrey of MESSINA. The flying men that were scattered here and there, seeing this supply, gathered them selues againe together, and shewed vpon the hils. *Philopœmen* fearing to be enuironed, and being desirous to bring his men safe home againe, who most of loue had followed him: began to march away through narrow bushy places, him selfe being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, and skirmished with them, onely to driue them away from following of the rest of his company, and not a man that durst once set vpon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him. Howbeit *Philopœmen* sundry times venturing far from his company, to giue these young noble men leysure to saue them selues one after an other: tooke no heede to him selfe that he was alone, enuironed on euery side with a great number of enemies. Notwithstading, of all his enemies there was not a man that durst come to hand strokes with him, but stil slinging and shooting at him a farre off, they drane him in the end amongst stony places betweene two rockes, where he had much a doe to guide his horse, although hee had spurred him that he was all of a gore bloud. And as for his age, that did not lette him but he might haue saued him selfe, for he was strong and lusty by the continuall exercise he tooke: but by cursed happe his body being weake with sickenes, and weary with the long iorney he had made that day, he found him selfe very heauy and ill disposed, that his horse stumbling with him, threw him to the ground. His fall was very great, and bruised all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and neuer sturred nor spake: so that his enemies thinking hee had beene dead, came to turne his body to strippe him. But when they saw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once vppon him, and tooke him, and bound both his hands behinde him, and did all the villany and mischiefe they could vnto him, and such, as one would litle haue thought *Dinocrates* would haue vsed in that sort, or that hee could haue had such an ill thought towardes him. So, they that taried behinde in the city of MESSINA, were marvellous glad when they heard these newes, and ranne all to the gates of the city to see him brought in. When they saw him thus shamefully bound, and pinnioned, against the dignity of so many honours as he had receiued, and of so many triumphes and victories as he had past: the most part of them wept for pity, to consider the misshappe and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is so litle certainety, as in manner it is nothing. Then beganne there some pitteous speach to runne in the mouths of the people by litle and litle, that they should remember the great good he hadde done vnto them in times past, and the liberty hee had restored them vnto, when he expulsed the tyrant *Nabis* out of MESSINA. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to please *Dinocrates*, sayed they should hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a daungerous enemy, and that would neuer forgiue man that had once offended him: and the rather, because he would be more terrible to *Dinocrates*, then euer he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiuing such open shame by him. Neuertheles, in the end they carried him into a certaine dungeon vnder the ground, called the treasury, (which had neither light nor aire at all into it, nor dore, nor halfe dore, but a great stone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and so they did let him downe the same, and stopped the hole againe with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when these young noble ACHAIAN gentlemen had fled vpon the sputre a great way from the enemy, they remembred them selues, and looked round about for *Philopœmen*: and finding him not in sight, they supposed straight he had bene slaine. Thereupon they stayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he aunswered not, they beganne to say among them selues, they were beastes and cowardes to flie in that sort: and how they were dishonored for euer so to haue forsaken their captaine, to saue them selues, who had not spared his owne life, to deliuer them from daunger. Hereupon riding on their way, and enquiring still for him: they were in the end aduertised how he was taken. And then they went and carried those newes through all the townes and cities of ACHAIA, which were very sory for him, and tooke it as a signe of great ill fortune to withstand them. Whereupō they agreed to send Ambassadors forthwith to the MESSIANS, to commaund him: and in the meane time euery man should prepare to arme them selues to goe thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the ACHAIANS had thus sent, *Dinocrates* feared nothing so much, as that delay of time might saue *Philopœmens* life: wherefore to pre-

Philopœmens misfortune.
Philopœmen taken.

uent it, as ſoone as night came, and that the people were at reſt, he ſtraight cauſed the ſtone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to *Philopœmen* with a cup of poyſon to offer him, who was commaunded alſo not to goe from him vntill he had drunke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found *Philopœmen* laid on the ground vpon a litle cloke, hauing no liſt to ſleepe, he was ſo grieuouſly troubled in his minde. Who when he ſaw light, and the man ſtanding by him, holding a cuppe in his hand with this poyſon, he ſate vpright vpon his couch, howbeit with great paine he was ſo weake: and taking the cuppe in his hand, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horſemen that came with him, and ſpecially of *Lycortas*. The hangman made him anſwer, that the moſt of them were ſaued. Then he caſt his handes a litle ouer his head, and looking merrily on him he ſayd: it is well, ſeeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith ſpeaking no moe words, and making other a doe, he drunke vp all the poiſon, and layed him downe as before. So man ſtraue not much withall, his body being brought ſo low, and thereupon the poiſon wrought his effect, and rid him ſtraight out of his paine, The newes of his death ran preſently throughout all ACHAIA, which generally frō high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the ACHAIANS youth and counſellors of their cities and townes, aſſembled them ſelues in the citie of MEGALOPOLIS, where they al agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made *Lycortas* their Generall, vnder whoſe conduct they inuaded the MESSENIANS, with force and violence, putting all to the fire and ſword: ſo as the MESSENIANS were ſo feared with this mercileſſe fury, that they yeelded themſelues, and wholly conſented to receiue the ACHAIANS into their city. But *Dinocrates* wold not giue them leyſure to execute him by iuſtice, for hee killed himſelfe: and ſo did all the reſt make themſelues away, who gaue aduiſe that *Philopœmen* ſhould be put to death. But thoſe that would haue had *Philopœmen* hanged on a gibbet, *Lycortas* cauſed them to be taken, which afterwardes were put to death with all kind of torments. Then they burnt *Philopœmens* body, and did put his aſhes into a pot. Then they ſtraight departed from MESSINA, not in diſorder, one vpon anothers necke as euery man liſted: but in good order and ray, that in the middeſt of theſe funerals they did make a triumph of victory. The ſouldiers were all crowned with garlands of laurell in token of victory, notwithſtanding the teares ranne downe their cheekes in token of ſorrow, and they ledde their enemies priſoners ſhackled and chained. The funerall pot in the which were *Philopœmens* aſhes, was ſo couered with garlandes of flowers, noſegaies, and laces, that it could ſcant be ſeene or diſcerned, and was caried by one *Polybius* a young man, the ſonne of *Lycortas*, that was Generall at that time to the ACHAIANS: about whom there marched all the nobleſt & chiefeſt of the ACHAIANS, and after them alſo followed all the ſouldiers armed, and their horſes very well furniſhed. For the reſt, they were not ſo ſorrowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which haue cauſe of ſorrow: nor yet ſo ioyful, as thoſe that came conquerers from ſo great a victory. For all of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they paſt, came and preſented themſelues to them, to touch the funerall potte of his aſhes, euen as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany his conuoy vnto the city of MEGALOPOLIS. At the gates wherof, were old men, women and children, which thruſting them ſelues amongeſt the ſouldiers, did renewe the teares and rowes, and lamentations of all the miſerable and vnfortunate city: who tooke it that they had loſt with their citizen, the firſt and chiefeſt place of honor among the ACHAIANS. So he was buried very honorably as appertained vnto him: and the other priſoners of MESSINA, were all ſtoned to death, about his ſepulchre. All the other cities of ACHAIA, beſides many other honors they did vnto him, did ſet vp ſtatues, and as like to him, as could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the vnfortunate time of GREECE, when the city of CORINTHE was burnt and deſtroied by the ROMAINS, there was a malicious ROMAINE that did what he could to haue the ſame pulled down again, by burdening & accuſing *Philopœmen* (as if he had bene alyue) that he was alwaies enemy to the ROMAINES, and enuied much their proſperity and victories: but after *Polybius* had aunſwered him: neither the Conſull *Mummius*, nor his counſellers, nor his tenaunts, would ſuffer them to deface and take away the honors done in memory of ſo great & worthy a mā, although he had many waies done much hurt vnto *T. Quintius Flamin*

Philopœmen poyſoned by Dinocrates.

Philopœmens laſt wordes.

Philopœmens death.

The Achaians did reuenge Philopœmens death.

Dinocrates ſlue him ſelfe.

Philopœmens funerall.

Note the humanity of the Romaines, keeping their enemies monuments from defacing.

into *Manius*. So, these good men then made a difference betweene dutie and profite: and did make honesty and profit two distinct things, and so seperated one from the other, according to reason and iustice. Moreouer they were perswaded, that like as men receiue curtesie and kindnesse of any, so are they bound to requite them againe, with kindnesse and duety. And as men vse to acknowledge the same: euen so ought men to honor and reuerence vertue. And thus much for the life of *Philopœmen*.

The end of Philopœmenes life.

THE LIFE OF
Titus Quintius Flaminius.

IT is easie to see *Titus Quintius Flaminius* for me, and stature, by *Philopœmenes* statue of braſſe, to whom we compare him: the which is now set vp at ROME, neare to great *Apollo* that was brought from CARTHAGE, and is placed right against the comming into the new place, vnder which there is an inscription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they lay of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men again. For, if he did punish any man that had angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good also to many, and euer them whom he had once pleasured, as if they had done him some pleasure: and was ready to do for them still whom hee found thankfull, because hee would euer make them beholden to him, and thought that as honorable a thing as he could purchase to him selfe. Because greatly sought honor about all things, when any notable seruice was to be done, he would haue himself and no man should take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with those that could helpe him, or doe him good. For, the first seemeth as a meane to exercise his vertue with: the other, he tooke the as his fellowes and powers of honour with him. He came to mans state, when the city of ROME had greatest warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of ROME, which were of age to carry weapon, were sent to the warre, to learne to trayle the pike, and how to become good Captaines. Thus he entred into marshall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against

Titus Quintius first charge in warre.

Hannibal of CARTHAGE, where he was made Colonell of a thousand footemen, vnder *Marcellus* the consul: who being slaine by an ambush *Hannibal* had laied for him betweene the cities of BANTIA, and VENVSA, then they did choose *Titus Quintius Flaminius* gouernor of the prouince and city of TARENTVM, which was now taken againe the second time. In this gouernment of his, he wan the reputation as much of a good and iust man, as hee did of an expert and skilfull Captaine. By reason whereof, when the ROMAINES were requested to send to inhabite the cities of NARNIA and COSSA, he was appointed the chief leader of the, which chiefly gaue him heart and corage to aspire at the first to the Consulship, passing ouer all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by decrees) other young men were wont to attaine the Consulship. Therefore when the time came that the Consuls should be elected, he did present him selfe among other, accompanied with a great number of those he had brought with him, to inhabite the two new townes, who did make earnest sute for him.

Degrees of offices before one came to be Consull.

But the two Tribunes *Fuluius*, and *Manlius*, spake against him, and sayd: it was out of all reason, that so young a man should in such manner preasse to haue the office of the highest dignity, against the vse and custome of ROME, before he had passed through the inferior offices of the common wealth. Neuertheless, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voices of the people, who presently pronounced him Consull openly, with *Sextius Ælius*, although hee was not yet thirty yeare old. Afterwards, *Ælius* and he deuiding the offices of the state by lot, fell vpon *T. Quintius* to make warre with *Philip* king of MACEDON. In the which meane time fortune greatly fauoured the ROMAINS affaires, that made such a man Generall of their warre, to haue pointed a Generall that by force and violence would haue fought all things at the MACEDONIANS hands, that were a people to be won rather by gentlenesse and perswasion then by force and compulsion: it was all against them selues. *Philip*, to maintaine the brunt of a battell against the ROMAINES, had power enough of his own in his realme of MACEDON, but to make war any long time, to furnish him selfe with money and victuals, to haue places and cities to retire vnto, and lastly, to haue all other necessaries for his men and army: all these did him vpon to get the force of GREECE. And had not the force of GREECE been pulled from him, the wars against him had not been ended with one battell. Moreouer, GREECE (which neuer before bare the ROMAINS any great good will) would not haue dealt thus inwardly in friendship with them, had not their General been (as he was) a gentle person, courteously, and tractable, that wan them more by his wisedome then by his force, and could boldly and frequently vtter his minde to them, and curteously also heare them speake, that had to doe with him, and chiefly ministred iustice and equity to euery man a like. For it is not to be thought that GREECE would other wise so soone haue withdrawen them selues from the rule of those with whom they were acquainted, and gouerned, and haue put them selues vnder the rule of straungers, but that they saw great iustice and lenity in them. How beit that may more plainly appeare by declaring of his actes. *Titus* was informed, that the Generalles before him in the warre in MACEDON (as *Sulpitius*, and *Publius Iulius*) vsed to come thither about the end of the yeare, and made but couild warres and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in another against *Philip*, and all to take some straight, or to eschew which he thought was not his way to follow their example, nor they tarying so long time the most of their Consulshippe at ROME, in matters of gouernment, and so enioyed the honour of their office. Afterwardes in the end of their yeare, they would resort to the army of intent to get an other yeare ouer their heades in their office, that spending two yeares Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the warres abroad. But *Titus* bethinking to trifle out the halfe of his Consulshippe at ROME, and the other about Italie, in the warre did willingly leaue all his honors and dignities he might haue enioyed by his office at home, and beseeched the Senate that they would appoint his brother *Lucius Quintius* Lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he tooke with him selfe about three thousand old souldiers of those that had first ouerthrowen *Asdruball* in SPAINE, & *Hannibal* afterwards in ITALIE vnder the conduct of *Scipio*, which yet were able to serue, and were very willing to go with him in his iourney, to be the strength of his army. With this company he passed the sea without daunger, and landed in EPIRVS, where he found *Publius Iulius* encamped with

T. Q. Flaminius Sextius Ælius Consuls.

T. Q. Flaminius maketh war with Philip king of Macedon.

Titus curteisie wan the Grecians more then his force.

army before king *Philip*, who of long time had lien in campe about the mouth of the riuer of Apsus, to keepe the straight and passage which is the entry into EPIRVS. So that *Publius Iulius* had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the naturall force and hardnes of the place. Then *Titus* tooke the army of him, and sent him to ROME. Afterwards, him selfe went in person to view and consider the nature of the countrey, which was in this sort. It is a long valley walled on either side with great high mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe in THESSALY. Howbeit it had no such goodly woods, nor green forrests, nor faire medowes, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had: but it was a great deepe marrishe or quagmyre, through the middest whereof the riuer called Apsus did runne, being in greatnes and swiftnesse of streame, very like to the riuer of Peneus. The riuer did occupy all the ground at the foote of the mountaines, sauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow straight path by the waters side, very vnhandsome for an army to passe that way, though they foũd not a man to keepe the passage. There were some in the army that counselled *Titus* to fetch a great compasse about by the country of DASSARETIDE, & by the city of LYNCVS, where the country is very plaine, and the way maruellous easie. Howbeit he stood in great feare he should lacke victuals, if he stayed farre from the sea, and happely if hee fell into any barren or leane country, (*Philip* refusing the battel, and purposing to flie) he should be constrained in the end to returne againe towarde the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the mountaines to set vpon his enemy, and to proue if he could winne the passage by force. Now *Philip* kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the ROMAINES forced to get vp the hils, they were receiued with dartes, slings, and shot, that lighted amongst them here and there: insomuch as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slaine and hurt on either side. But this was not the end of the warre. For in the meane time there came certaine neatherds of the countrey vnto *Titus* (who did vse to keepe beastes on these mountaines) and told him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not: by the which they promised to guide his army so, that in three daies at the furthest, they would bring them on the toppe of the mountaine. And because they might be assured that their wordes were true, they said they were sent to him by *Charopus*, the sonne of *Machatas*. This *Charopus* was the chiefest man of the EPIROTS, who loued the ROMAINS very well, yet he fauored them but vnder hand, for feare of *Philip*. *Titus* gaue credit vnto them, and so sent one of his Captaines with them, with foure thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen. The heard men that were their guides, went before still, fast bound: and the ROMAINES followed after. All the day time the army rested in thicke woddes, and marched all night by moone light, which was then by good happe at the full. *Titus* hauing sent these men away, rested all the rest of his campe: sauing that some daies he entertained them with some light skirmishes to occupy the enemy withall. But the same day, when his men that ferched a compasse about, should come vnto the toppe of the mountaine aboue the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, and deuided them into three troupes, with the one of them he him selfe went on that side of the riuer where the way is straightest, making his bands to march directly against the side of the hil. The MACEDONIANS againe, they shot lustely at them from the height of the hill, and in certaine places amongest the rockes they came to the sword. At the selfe same time, the two other troupes on either hand of him did their endeuour likewise to get vp the hill, and as it were enuying one an other, they climed vp with great courage against the sharpe and steepe hanging of the mountaine. When the sunne was vp, they might see a far off as it were, a certain smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mists we see cõmonly rise from the tops of the mountaines. The enemies could see nothing, because it was behinde them, and that the top of the mountain was possessed with the same. The ROMAINES, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the middest of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they saw it increased stil more and more, and in such sort, that it darkned all the aire: then they did assure them selues it was certainely the token their men did giue them that they were come. Then they beganne to cry out, climing vp the hils with such a lusty courage, that they draue their enemies vp the hill still, euen vnto the very rough and hardest places of the moun-

T. Q. landed in Epirus. Apsus flu.

The description of the country of Epirus.

Charopus (Machatas sonne) the chiefe man of the Epirots.

T. Q. possessed the straights of the mountaine.

taine. Their fellowes alſo that were behinde the enemies, did aunſwere them with like lowde
The Macedonians flee. cries from the top of the mountaine: wherewith the enemies were ſo aſtonied, that they fled preſently vpon it. Notwithſtanding, there were not ſlaine aboue two thouſand of them, becauſe the hardneſſe and ſtraightneſſe of the place did ſo gard them, that they could not be chaſed. But the ROMAINES ſpoiled their campe, tooke all that they found in their tents, and ſold ſo their ſlaues, and wanne the paſſage into the mountains, by the which they entred the countrey of EPIRVS: and did paſſe through it ſo quietly, and with ſo great abſtinence, that although they were farre from their ſhips and the ſea, and lacked their ordinary portion of corne which they were wont to haue monthly, and that victuals were very ſcant with them at that time, yet they neuer tooke any thing of the country, though they found great ſtore and plenty of
Philips flying king of Macedon. riches in it. For *Titus* was aduertiſed, that *Philip* paſſing by THESSALY, and flying for feare had cauſed the inhabitants of the cities to gette them to the mountaines, and then to ſet fire on
T. Q. Flaminius modeſty forbearing ſpoiles wan him many friends. their houſes, and to leaue thoſe goods they could not carry away, by reaſon of the weight and vnhandſome cariage therof, to the ſpoile of his ſouldiers: and ſo (as it ſeemed) he left the whole countrey to the conqueſt of the ROMAINES. Whereupon *Titus* looking conſiderately to their doings, gaue his men great charge to paſſe through the countrey without doing any hurt or miſchiefe, as the ſame which their enemies had now left to them as their owne. So they tarried not long to enioy the benefit of their orderly and wiſe forbearing of the country. For, ſo ſoone as they were entred THESSALY, the cities willingly yeelded them ſelues vnto them: and the GRECIANS inhabiting beyong the countrey of THERMOPYLES, did marueilouſly deſire to ſee *Titus*, asking no other thing, but to put them ſelues into his hands. The ACHANIANS on the other ſide, did renounce the league & alliance they had made with *Philip*: and furthermore did determine in their counſell, to make warre with him on the ROMAINS ſide. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time friends and confederats with the ROMAINS, yet that they did ſhew them ſelues very louing to take their part in theſe wars: neuertheles when they deſired the OPVNTIANS that they would put their city into their hands, and were anſwered that it ſhould be kept and defended from *Philip*: they would not hearken thereto, but ſued for *Titus*, and put themſelues and their goods wholly into his protection. They ſay, that
Pyrrus ſaying of the Romaines army. king *Pyrrus* firſt ſaw the ROMAINES army range in order of battell from the top of a hill, he ſaid: this order of the barbarous people, ſetting of their men in battell ray, was not done in barbarous manner. And thoſe alſo that neuer had ſeene *Titus* before, and came for to ſpeake with him: were compelled in a manner to ſay as much. For where they had heard the MACEDONIANS ſay, that there came a Captaine of the barbarous people that deſtroyed all before him by force of armes, and ſubdued whole countries by violence: they ſayd to the contrary, that they found him a man in deede yong of yeares, howbeit gentle, and curteous to looke vnto, and that ſpake the Greeke tongue excellently well, and was a louer onely of true glory. By reaſon wherof they returned home maruellous glad, and filled al the cities and towns of GREECE with good will towards him, and ſayd: they had ſeene *Titus* the Captaine, that would reſtore them to their auncient liberty againe. Then it much more appeared, when *Philip* ſhewed himſelfe willing to haue peace, and that *Titus* alſo did offer it him, and the friendſhip of the people of ROME, with theſe conditions: that he would leaue the GRECIANS their whole liberties, remoue his garriſons out of their cities and ſtrong holdes: which *Philip* refuſed to doe. And thereupon all GREECE, and euen thoſe which fauored *Philip*, ſayed with one voice: that the ROMAINES were not come to make warres with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in fauor of the GRECIANS. Whereupon all GREECE came in, and offered them ſelues vnto *Titus* without compulſion. And as he paſſed through the countrey of BOEOTIA, without any ſhew at all of wars, the chiefeſt men of the city of THEBES went to meet him: who though they tooke part with the king of MACEDON, becauſe of a priuate man called *Brachylles*, yet they would honor *Titus*, as thoſe which were contented to keepe league and friendſhip with either ſide. *Titus* embraced them, and ſpake very curteouſly vnto them, going on his way faire and ſoftly, entertaining them ſomtime with one matter, and ſomtime with an other, to kept them talke of purpoſe, to the end his ſouldiers being wearied with iornying, might in the meane time take good breath: and ſo marching on by litle and litle, he entred into the city with

him. Wherewith the Lordes of THEBES were not greatly pleased, but yet they durst not
se him, though he had not at that time any number of souldiers about him. When he was
within THEBES, he praied audience, and began to perswade the people (as carefully as if he
d not had the city already) that they would rather take part with the ROMAINES, then with
the king of MACEDON. And to further *Titus* purpose, king *Attalus* being by chaunce at that
time in the assembly, did helpe to exhort the THEBANS very earnestly, that they would doe
Titus perswaded them. But *Attalus* was more earnest then became a man of his yeates, for
the desire he had (as was imagined) to shewe *Titus* his eloquence: who did so straine and
raise himselfe withall, that he sounded sodainely in the middest of his oration, whereby the
veine fell downe so fast vpon him, that it tooke away his senses, so as he fell in a traunce
before them all, and few daies after was conueyed againe by sea into ASIA, where he liued
a long after. In the meane time, the BOEOTIANS came into the ROMAINES, and tooke
their part. And *Philip* hauing sent Ambassadors to ROME, *Titus* also sent thither of his men
to solicite for him, in two respects. The one, if the warres continued against *Philip*, that then
they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they
would do him the honour, as to make and conclude it with *Philip*. For *Titus* of his owne na-
ture being very ambitious, did feare least they would send a successor to continue those warres
and should take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his friends made such ear-
nest sute for him, that neither king *Philip* attained that he praied: neither was there sent any
other generall in *Titus* place, but he still continued his charge in these warres. Wherefore, so
soone as he had receiued his commission and authoritie from the Senate, he went straight to-
ward THESSALY, with great hope to ouercome *Philip*. For he had in his armie aboue sixe
and twentie thousand fighting men, whereof the ÆTOLIANS made sixe thousand footmen,
and three thousand horsemen. King *Philips* armie on the other side was no lesse in number, &
they beganne to march one towards the other, vntill at the length they both drew neere the ci-
tie of SCOTVSA, where they determined to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were
afraid to see themselues one so neere an other: but rather to the contrarie, the ROMAINES on
the one side tooke greater heart and courage vnto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with
themselues what great honour they should winne to ouercome the MACEDONIANS, who
were so highly esteemed for their valiantnes, by reason of the famous acts that *Alexander* the
great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other side also, taking the ROMAINES
for other manner of souldiers then the PERSIANS, beganne to haue good hope if they might
once the field, to make king *Philip* more famous in the world, then euer was *Alexander* his
maister. *Titus* then calling his men together, spake and exhorted them to stande to it like men,
to shew themselues valiant souldiers in this battell, as those which were to shew the proofe
of their valiantnesse in the heart of GREECE: the goodliest Theater of the world, and against
the enemies of most noble fame. *Philip* then by chance, or forced to it by the speed he made,
those they were both readie to ioyne: did get vp vnwares vpon a charnell house, (where
they had buried many bodies, being a litle hill raised vp aboue the rest, and neere the trenches
of his campe) and there began to encourage his souldiers, as all generals doe before they giue
battell. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they tooke it for an ill signe that he was
seen vpon the toppe of a graue to speake vnto them: he of a conceit at the matter, did of him
selfe deferre to giue battell that day. The next morning, because the night was very wet by rea-
son the South windes had blowen, the cloudes were turned to a myst, and filled all the valley
with a darke grosse thicke aire comming from the mountaines there abouts, which couered
the field betwene both campes with a mist all the morning: by reason whereof the skoutes on
both sides that were sent to discouer what the enemies did, in very short time, met together,
and one gaue charge vpon an other in a place they call the dogges heads, which are points of
rockes placed vpon litle hils one before an other, and very neere one vnto an other, which
may be bene called so, because they haue had some likenesse of it. In this skirmish there were ma-
ny chaunges, as commonly falleth out when they fight in such ill fauoured stonie places. For
sometime the ROMAINES fled, & the MACEDONIANS chased them: an other time the MA-
CEDONIANS that followed the chase, were glad to fly themselues, and the ROMAINES who

King Attalus death.

The Boeotians yeeld vnto the Romaines.

Quintius army

King Philip and Quintius met with their armies neere Scotusa.

fled before, now had them in chase. This change and alteration came by sending new [illegible] still from both campes, to relieue them that were distressed and driuen to flie. Now beg[an] mist to breake vp, & the aire to cleare, so that both generals might see about them what done in either campe: by reason wherof both of thē drew on their army to the field & [illegible] So *Philip* had the vantage on the right wing of his armie, which was placed on the [illegible] an hanging hill, from which they came so a maine to set vpon the ROMAINES, & with a furie, that the strongest and valiantest that could be, had neuer bene able to abide the [illegible] their battell, so closely were they ioined together, and their wall of pikes was so strong on his left wing it was not so, because the rancks of his battell could not ioine so neere target to target, the place being betwixt the hils & the rockes where the battell was [illegible] so as they were compelled by reason of the straightnes and vneuennes of the ground to open, and vnfurnished in many places. *Titus* finding that disaduantage, went from the [illegible] of his battell which he saw ouerlaid by the right wing of his enemies, and going forward the left wing of king *Philips* battell, he set vpon the MACEDONIANS on that side he saw they could not close their rankes in the front, nor ioine them together in the [illegible] the battell (which is the whole strength and order of the MACEDONIAN fight) becau[se] field was vp hill and downe hill: and to fight hand to hand they were so pestered behind one thronged & ouerlaid an other. For the battell of the MACEDONIANS hath this pro[perty] that so long as the order is kept close and ioined together, it seemeth as it were but the [illegible] a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, and that they are sunder[ed] not ioyned together, it doth not only loose the force and power of the whole bodie, but [illegible] euery priuate souldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diuersitie of the weapons [illegible] with they fight, and partly for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the dispo[sition] ioyning together of their rankes and orders which doth stay vp one an other, more [illegible] euery priuate souldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONIANS was [illegible] and that they ran their way: one part of the ROMAINES followed the chase, and the o[ther] to giue a charge vppon the flankes of the right wing which fought yet, and they made [illegible] slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, began to [illegible] & breake, and in the end ranne away as fast as the other did, throwing downe their we[apons] insomuch as there were slaine of them eight thousand in the fielde, and fiue thousand [illegible] prisoners in the chase. And had not the fault beene in the ÆTOLIANS, *Philip* had not [illegible] him selfe by flying as he did. For whilest the ROMAINES had their enemies in chase, [illegible] TOLIANS taried, and rifled all king *Philips* campe, so as they had left the ROMAINES [illegible] to spoyle at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell and hot wordes be[tween] them, and one with an other. But afterwards they angered *Titus* worse, chalenging [to] nour of this victorie to themselues, because they gaue it out through GREECE, that they had ouerthrowen king *Philip* in the battell. So that in the songs and ballets the Poets praise of this victorie, which euery countrie and townes man had in his mouth: they put the ÆTOLIANS before the ROMAINES, as in this that followeth, which was [the] song in euery place.

Battell betweene Quintius and Philip king of Macedon.

The propertie of the Macedonian battell.

Quintius ouercame Philips armie.

Mutinie betwixt the AEtolians and the Romaines.

Oh friend, which passest by: here lie we wretched pheares,
VVithouten honour of the graue, without lamenting teares.
VVe thirtie thousand were, which ended haue our daies:
In cruell coasts of Thessalie, which caused our decaies.
VVe haue bene ouerthrowen by th' AEtolians men of warre:
And by the Latine crewes likewise, whom Titus led from farre.
Euen out of Italie, to Macedonie land,
Vs to destroy, he (Captaine like) did come with mightie hand.
And Philip stout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce face:
Is fled more swift then Harts doe runne, which are pursued in chace.

Alcæus verses in disgrace of king Philip.

The Poet was *Alcæus* that made these verses for to sing, who did them in disgrace [of] *Philip*, falsely increasing the number of his men which died in the battell, onely to [spite] spight him the more: howbeit he spighted *Titus* therby, more thē *Philip*, because it was

ery place. For *Philip* laughed at it, and to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made long to counterfaite his; as followeth.

This gibbet on this hill, which passers by may marke:
VV as set to hang Alceus vp, withouten leaues or barke. — *Philips verses against Alceus*

But *Titus* tooke it grieuously, who chiefly desired to be honored amongst the GRECIANS, reason wherof from that time forwards he delt in the rest of his matters alone, without ma- account of the ÆTOLIANS: wherewith they were maruellous angry, & specially when ceiued an Ambassador from *Philip*, and gaue eare vnto a treatie of peace which he offred. then they were so netled against him, that they gaue it out through all GREECE, that *Titus* sold peace vnto *Philip*, when he might altogether haue ended the warre, and vtterly haue stroyed *Philips* whole power and Empire, who had first brought GREECE into bondage. ese slanderous reports and false tales which the ÆTOLIANS spread thus abroad, did much uble the ROMAINES friendes and confederates: but *Philip* selfe pulled this suspition out of ir heads, when he came in person to require peace; and did submit himselfe wholly to the cretion of *Titus* and the ROMAINES. *Titus* then graunted him peace, and deliuered to him realme of MACEDON, and commaunded him he should giue ouer all that he helde in REE, and besides, that he should pay one thousande talentes for tribute, taking from him his armie by sea, sauing onely tenne shippes: and for assurance of this peace, he tooke one of sonnes for hostage, whom he sent to ROME. Wherein *Titus* certainly did very well, and ely did foresee the time to come. For then *Hanniball* of CARTHAGE (the great enemy of ROMAINES) was banished out of his countrie, and came to king *Antiochus*, whom he in the head, and earnestly moued, to follow his good fortune, and the increase of his Em- Whom *Hanniball* so followed with these persuasions, that king *Antiochus* at length was ne to it. And trusting to his former good successe, and notable actes, whereby in the warres ore he had attained the surname of great: he began now to aspire to the monarchy of the ole world, & sought how to find occasion to make warres with the ROMAINES. So that if (foreseeing that a far off) had not wisely inclined to peace, but that the wars of *Antiochus* fallen out together with the warres of king *Philip*, and that these two the mightiest Prin- of the world had ioyned together against the citie of ROME: then it had beene in as great uble and daunger, as euer it was before, in the time of their warres against *Hanniball*. How- *Titus* hauing happily thrust in this peace betweene both warres, hee cut off the warre was present, before the other that was comming: by which meanes he tooke from one he kings his last, and from the other his first hope. In the meane time the tenne commis- ners that were sent by the Senate from ROME to *Titus*, to aide and assist him in the order of affaires of GREECE: did counsell him to set all the rest of GREECE at libertie, and onely to pe in their hands with good garrison, the cities of CHALCIDE, of CORINTH, and of DE- TRIADE, to make sure that by practise they should not enter into league and alliance with *iochus*. Then the ÆTOLIANS (that were the common slaunderers of *Titus* proceedings) anne openly to make these cities to rebell, and did summone *Titus* to loose the chaines of ECE: for so did king *Philip* call these three cities. Then they asked the GRECIANS in ckery, whether they were willing now to haue heauier fetters on their legges then before, ng somewhat brighter and fairer then those they had bene shackled with: and also whether y were not greatly beholding to *Titus* for taking off the fetters from the GRECIANS legs, ying them about their neckes. *Titus* being maruellously troubled and vexed with this, ued the tenne counsellers so earnestly, that he made them graunt his request in the ende, t those three cities also should be deliuered from garrison: because the GRECIANS thence- th might no more complaine, that his grace and liberalitie was not throughly performed, d accomplished in euery respect on them all. Wherefore, when the feast called Isthmia was me, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to see the sport of games plaied there: for GREECE hauing bene long time troubled with warres, they seeing mselues now in sure peace, & in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, delighted only to see games, and to make merry. Proclamation was then made by sound of mpet in the assembly, that euery man should keepe silence. That done, the herauld went

Priuy grudge betwixt Quintius and the AEtolians.

T. Quintius graunted Philip peace.

Hanniball was with king Antiochus.

Chalcide, Corinth, Demetriade, called by Philip of Macedon, the Chaines of Greece.

Isthmia.

forward, and thruſt into the middeſt of the multitude, and proclaimed out aloude: that the Senate of ROME, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, Conſull of the people of ROME (now that they had ouerthrowen king *Philip* and the MACEDONIANS in battell) did thenceforth diſcharge from all garriſons, and ſet at liberty from all taxes, ſubſidies, and impoſitions for euer, to liue after their old auncient lawes, and in full libertie: the CORINTHIANS, the LOCRIANS, those of PHOCIDE, thoſe of the Ile of EVBOEA, the ACHAIANS, the PHTHIOTES, the MAGNESIANS, the THESSALIANS, and the PERRHOEBEIANS. At the firſt time of the proclamation all the people could not heare the voice of the herauld, and the moſt part of thoſe that heard him, could not tell directly what hee ſaide: for there ranne vp and downe the ſhewe where the games were plaide, a confuſed brute and tumult of the people that wondred, and asked what the matter ment, ſo as the herauld was driuen againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after ſilence made, the herauld putting out his voice farre louder then before did proclaime it in ſuch audible wiſe, that the whole aſſembly heard him: and then roſe there ſuch a loud ſhoute and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the ſound of it was heard to the ſea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were ſet to ſee the Swordplayers play, roſe vp all on their feete, letting the games alone, and went together with great ioy to ſalute, to embrace, and to thanke *Titus* the recouerer, protector, and patrone of all their liberties of GREECE. Then was ſeene (which is much ſpoken of) the power of mens voyces: for crowes fell downe at that preſent time among the people, which by chance flew ouer the ſhew place at that time that they made the ſame out shout. This came to paſſe, by reaſon the aire was broken and cut a ſunder with the vehemencie and ſtrength of the voices, ſo as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe vp the flying of the birdes: which were driuen of neceſſitie to fall to the ground, as flying through a voide place where they lacked aire. Vnleſſe I will rather ſay, that it was the violence of the crie, which ſtrooke the birdes paſſing through the aire, as they had beene hit with arrowes, and ſo made them fall downe dead to the earth. It may be alſo, that there was ſome hurling winde in the aire, as we doe ſee ſometime in the ſea, when it riſeth high, and many times turneth about the waues, by violence of the ſtormes. So it is, that if *Titus* had not preuented the whole multitude of people which came about him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hardly eſcaped from being ſtifled amongeſt them, the people came ſo thicke about him from every place. But after that they were wearie of crying and ſinging about his pauillion vntill night, the end they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kinne, friendes or citizens, they did kiſſe and embrace one an other for ioy, and ſo ſupped and made merry together. In their more reioycing yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table but of the warres of GREECE, diſcourſing amongeſt them what ſundry great warres they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their libertie. And yet for all that, they could neuer ſo ioyfully nor more aſſuredly obtaine it, then they did then at that preſent, receiuing the honorableſt reward, & that which deſerued greateſt fame through the worlde: that by the valiantneſſe of ſtraungers who fought for the ſame (without any bloud of their owne in compariſon, or that they loſt the life of any one man, whoſe death they had cauſe to lament) they were ſo reſtored to their auncient freedome and libertie. It is a rare thing amongeſt men, to finde a man very valiant, and wiſe withall: but yet of all ſorts of valiant men, it is harder to finde a iuſt man. For *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to lead an armie to winne the battell, as well by ſea as by land: but to turne their victories to any honeſt benefit, or true honour among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you do except those that fell againſt the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, the iorney of PLATEES, the battell of THERMOPYLES, the battell *Cimon* fought about Cyprus and vpon the riuer of Eurymedon: all the other wars and battels of GREECE that were made fell out againſt themſelues, and did euer bring them into bondage: and all the tokens of triumph which euer were ſet vp for the ſame, was to their ſhame and loſſe. So that in the end GREECE was vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrowen, and that chiefly through the wickedneſſe and ſelfe will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying an others doing. Which

Crowes flying, fell downe by the ſound of mens voices.

straunge nation, the which (as it should seeme) had very small occasion to moue them to do it (for that they haue had no great familiaritie with auncient GRECE, and through the counsell and good wisedome of the which, it should seeme very straunge that GRECE could receiue any benefite) haue notwithstanding with dangerous battels and infinite troubles, deliuered it from oppression and seruitude of violent Lordes and tyrants. This and such like talke, did at that time occupie the GRECIANS heads: and moreouer, the deeds following did answere and performe the wordes of the proclamation. For at one selfe time, *Titus* sent *Lentulus* into ASIA, to set the BARGILIANS at libertie, and *Titillius* into THRACIA, to remoue the garrisons out of the Iles and cities which *Philip* had kept there: and *Publius Iulius* was sent also into ASIA, vnto king *Antiochus*, to speake vnto him to set the GRECIANS at libertie which he kept in subiection. And as for *Titus*, he went himselfe vnto the citie of CHALCIDE, where he tooke sea, and went into the prouince of MAGNESIA, out of the which he tooke all the garrisons of the cities, and redeliuered the gouernment of the common wealth vnto the citizens of the same. Afterwardes when time came that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of ARGOS in the honour of *Hercules*, *Titus* was chosen iudge and rector of the games that were solemnized there: where, after he had set all thinges in very good order, pertaining vnto the solemnitie of the feast, he caused againe solemne proclamation to be made openly, for the generall libertie of all GRECE. Furthermore visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed iustice, and did set the inhabitants and citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with an other: and did call home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, and pacified al old quarels & dissentions among them. The which did no lesse please & content him, that by perswasions he could bring the GRECIANS to be reconciled one with the other: then if he had by force of armes ouercome the MACEDONIANS. Insomuch, as the memory of the libertie which *Titus* had restored vnto the GRECIANS, seemed vnto them the best part of the goodnesse they had receiued at his handes. They say, that *Lycurgus* the orator being the collectors of taxes, carie *Zenocrates* the Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition, which the strangers inhabiting within the city of ATHENS were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreouer prosecuted lawe so hard against them, that he made them pay a fine for the iniurie they had done vnto so worthy a person. And they tell, how the same Philosopher afterwards meeting *Lycurgus* children in the citie, said vnto them. I doe well requite your fathers good turne he did mee: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of euery man, for the kindnesse he shewed on my behalfe. Of the good deeds of the ROMAINES, and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* vnto the GRECIANS, did not only reape this benefite vnto them, in recompence that they were praised and honored of all the worlde: but they were cause also of increasing their dominions and Empire ouer nations, and that the world afterwardes had great affiance and trust in them, and that most iustly. So that the people and cities did not only receiue the Captaines and gouernors the ROMAINS sent them: but they also went to ROME vnto them, and procured them to come, and did put themselues into their handes. And not only the cities and communalties, but kings and princes also (which were oppressed by other more mighties than themselues) had no other refuge, but to put themselues vnder their protection: by reason whereof in a very short time (with the fauour and helpe of the goddes as I am perswaded) all the world came to submit themselues to their obedience, and vnder the protection of their Empire. *Titus* also did many more, that he had restored GRECE againe vnto libertie, then in any other seruice or exploit he had euer done. For when he offered vppe vnto the temple of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHOS, the targets of siluer with his owne shield, he made these verses to be grauen vpon them, in effect as followeth.

Quintius care to stablish the libertie of the Grecians.

The feast Nemea kept at Argos.

Lycurgus the orator, rescued Zenocrates the Philosopher, and saued him from prison.

O noble twynnes Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare:
Throw out loud shoutes of ioy and mirth, reioice and make good cheare.
O noble kings of Spartan soyle, which take delight to ride,
Your trampling steedes, with foomy bit, and trappings by their side:
Reioice you now, for Titus he, the valiant Romaine Knight,
These giftes so great to you hath got, euen by his force and might.

That hauing taken cleane away, from off the Greekish neckes,
The heauie yoke of seruitude, which helde them thrall to checkes,
Vnto their former libertie, he hath restorde them free,
VVhich altogether perisht was, as men might plainely see.

He gaue a crowne of massie gold vnto *Apollo*, vppon the which he made this inscription to be written.

A valiant Romaine Knight, euen Titus by his name,
A captaine worthy by desert, of high renowne and fame:
To thee (Apollo god) this crowne of pure fine gold,
Hath giuen thy godhead to adorne, with iewels manifold,
Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace)
VVith fauour to requite this loue, to him and to his race:
That his renowmed fame, and vertue may be spred,
And blased through the world so wide, to shew what life he led.

Nero did set Greece at libertie.

So hath the citie of CORINTHE enioyed this good happe, that the GRECIANS haue bin twise proclaimed to be set at libertie: the first time by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and the second time, by *Nero* in our time, and at the selfe same instant when they solemnly kept the feast called Isthmia. Howbeit the first proclamation of their libertie (as we haue told you before) was done by the voice of an herauld: and the second time it was done by *Nero* himselfe, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open assembly, in the market place of the citie of CORINTHE. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, *Titus* beganne then a good and iust warre against *Nabis* the cursed and wicked tyrant of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit in the ende he deceiued the expectation of GREECE. For when he might haue taken him, he would not doe it, but made peace with him, forsaking poore SPARTA vnworthily oppressed with the yoke of bondage: either because he was affraide that if the warre helde on, there should come a successor vnto him from ROME, that should cary the glorie away to end the same: or else he stoode ielous and enuious of the honour they did vnto *Philopœmen*. Who had shewed himselfe in euery place as excellent a Captaine as euer came in GREECE, and had done notable actes and famous seruice, both of great wisedome, and also of valiantnesse, specially in the ACHAIANS warre: he was as much honored & reuerenced of the ACHAIANS in the Theaters and common assemblies, euen as *Titus* was. Whereat *Titus* was maruellously offended, for he thought it vnreasonable, that an ARCADIAN who had neuer bene general of an armie, but in small little warres against his neighbours, should be as much esteemed and honored, as a Consull of ROME, that was come to make warres for the recouery of the libertie of GREECE. But *Titus* alleaged reasonable excuse for his doings, saying that he saw very well he could not destroy this tyrant *Nabis*, without the great losse and miserie of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore, of all the honors the ACHAIANS coulde did him (which were very great) me thinkes there was none that came neere any recompence of his honorable and well deseruing, but one onely present they offered him, and which he aboue all the rest most esteemed: and this it was. During the seconde warres of AFRICKE, which the ROMAINES had against *Hanniball*, many ROMAINES were taken prisoners in the sundry battels they lost, and were solde here and there, remained slaues in many countries: and amongest other, there were aboue twelue hundred perished in GREECE to the number of twelue hundred, which from time to time did mooue men with pitie and compassion towards them, that saw them in so miserable chaunge and hard fortune. But then much more was their miserie to be pitied, when these captiues found the ROMAINES army, some of them their sonnes, other their brethren, and the rest their kinsmen and friendes, free and conquerours, and themselues slaues and bondmen. It grieued them much to see these poore men in such miserable captiuitie, notwithstanding he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIANS redeemed and bought them for fiue hundred pence a man, and hauing gathered them together into a troupe, they presented all the ROMAINE captiues vnto *Titus*, euen as he was readie to take shipping to turne into ITALIE: which present made him returne home with greater ioy and contentation, hauing receiued for his noble deedes so honorable a recompence, and worthy of him.

VVby Quintius made peace with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon.

The honour of Philopœmen.

Twelue hundred Romaines sold for slaues.

The Achaians redeemed the Romaines that were sold for slaues in Greece.

that was so louing a man to his citizens and country. And surely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did most beautifie his triumphe. For those poore redeemed captiues did that, which the slaues are wont to do on that day when they be set at libertie: to wit, they shaue their heades, and do weare litle hats vpon them. The ROMAINES that were thus redeemed, did in like manner: and so followed *Titus* chariet, on the day of his triumphe and entrie made into ROME in the triumphing manner. It was a goodly sight also, to see the spoyles of the enemies, which were caried in the shew of this triumphe: as, store of helmets after the GRECIANS fashion, heapes of targets, shieldes, and pykes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull summe of gold & siluer. For *Itanus* the historiographer writeth, that there was brought a maruellous great masse of treasure in niggots of gold, of three thousand seuen hundred and thirtie pound weight, and of siluer, of forty three thousand, two hundred, three score and ten pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called *Philips*, foureten thousand, fiue hundred, and fourteen, besides the thousand talents king *Philip* should pay for a raunsome. The which summe, the ROMAINES afterwardes forgaue him, chiefly at *Titus* sute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a friend and confederate of the people of ROME, & his sonne *Demetrius* to be sent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hostage at ROME. Shortly after, king *Antiochus* went out of ASIA into GRECE with a great fleete of ships, & a very puissant army, to stirre vp the cities to forsake their league and alliance with the ROMAINES, and make a dissention amongest them. To further this his desire and enterprise, the ÆTOLIANS did aide and backe him, which of long time had borne great and secret malice against the ROMAINES, and desired much to haue had warres with them. So they taught king *Antiochus* to say, that the warre which he tooke in hand, was to set the GRECIANS at libertie, whereof they had no neede, because they did already enioy their liberty: but for that they had no iust cause to make warre, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he could. Wherefore the ROMAINES fearing greatly the rising of the people, and the rumour of the power of this great king, they sent thither *Manius Acilius* their generall, & *Titus*, one of his Lieutenants for the GRECIANS sakes. Which arriuall did more assure them that already bare good will to the ROMAINES; after they had once seene *Manius* and *Titus*: and the rest that began to flie out, and to shrinke from them, those *Titus* kept in obedience from starting, remembring them of the friendship & good will they had borne him, euen like a good skilfull Phisitian that could giue his patient Phisicke to preserue him from a contagious disease. Indeede there were some (but few of them) that left him, which were worne and corrupted before by the ÆTOLIANS: and though he had iust cause of offence towardes them, yet he saued thē after the battell. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome in the country of THERMOPYLES, fled his way, and in great hast tooke the sea to returne into ASIA. And the Consull *Manius* following his victory, entred into the country of the ÆTOLIANS, where he tooke certaine townes by force, and left the other for a prey vnto king *Philip*. So *Philip* king of MACEDON on the one side, spoyled & sacked the DOLOPIANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMANIANS, & the AVERANTINES: & the Consull *Manius* on the other side, destroyed the citie of HERACLEA, and layd siege to the citie of NAVPACTVM, which the ÆTOLIANS kept. But *Manius* taking compasion of them, to see the poore people of GRECE thus spoyled and turned out of all, went out of PELOPONNESVS (where he was then) vnto *Manius Acilius* camp, and there reproued him for suffering king *Philip* to vsurpe the benefit & rewarde of his honorable victory, still conquering many people, kings, and countries, whilest he continued siege before a citie, and onely to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwardes, when they that were besieged on *Titus* side from their wals, they called him by his name, and held vp their hands vnto him, praying him he would take pitie vpon them: but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto thē, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with *Manius*, & appeasing his anger, he got him to graunt the ÆTOLIANS truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might send Ambassadours to ROME, to see if they could obtaine grace & pardō of the Senate. But the most trouble & difficulty he had, was to intreat for the CHALCIDIANS, with whō the Cōsull *Manius* was more grieuously offended, thē with all the rest: because that king *Antiochus* after the warres was begun, had maried his wife in their citie, when he was past yeares of mariage,

The ceremonie of slaues manumissed. T. Quintius triumph.

Manius Acilius Consull, & T. Quintius Lieutenāt sent into Grece.

Antiochus ouerthrowen in Thermopyles, by Manius the Consull.

Quintius intreateth for the AEtolians. King Antiochus maried Cleopatolemus daughter in the citie of Chalcide.

and out of all due time. For he was now very old; and being in his extreme age, and in the middest of his warres, he fell in dotage with a young gentlewoman, the daughter of Cleonidamus, the fayrest woman that was at that time in all GRECE. Therefore the CHALCIDIANS were much affected vnto king *Antiochus*, and did put their citie into his handes, to serue him in this warre, for a strong and safe retiring place. Whereupon, when *Antiochus* had lost the battell, he came thither with all possible speede, and taking from thence with him his new singing fayre young Queene which he had maried, and his gold, his siluer and friendes, he tooke the seas incontinently, and returned into ASIA. For this cause the Consull *Manius*, hauing wonne the battell, did vnarth straight with his army towardes the citie of CHALCIS in a great rage and fury. But *Titus* that followed him, did alwayes lye vpon him to pacifie his anger, and did so much intreate him, together with the other ROMAINES of state and authoritie in counsell: that in the end, he got him to pardon them of CHALCIDE also. Who, because they were preserued from perill by his meanes, they, to recompence this fact of his, did consecrate vnto him, all their most stately and sumptuous buildings and common workes in the citie, as appeareth yet by the superscriptions remaining to be seene at this day. As in the first place of exercises: The people of CHALCIDE did dedicate this shew place of exercises, vnto *Titus* & *Hercules*. And in the temple called Delphinium: The people of CHALCIDE did consecrate this temple, vnto *Titus*, and vnto *Apollo*. And furthermore, vnto this present time, there is a Priest chosen by the voyce of the people, purposely to do sacrifice vnto *Titus*: in which sacrifice, after that the thing sacrificed is offered vp, & wine powred vpon it, the people standing by, do sing a song of triumph made in prayse of him. But because it were too long to write it out, we haue onely drawen in briefe the latter end of the same: and this it is.

Honours done vnto T. Quintius for sauing the Chalcidias and the Grecians.

The cleare vnspotted faith, of Romaines we adore,
And vow to be their faithfull friends, both now and euermore.
Sing out you Muses nine, to Ioues eternall fame,
Sing out the honour due to Rome, and Titus worthy name.
Sing out (I say) the prayse, of Titus and his faith:
By whom you haue preserued bene, from ruine, dole, and death.

Now the CHALCIDIANS did not alone onely honour and reuerence *Titus*, but he was generally honoured also by the GRECIANS as he deserued, and was maruellously beloued for his curtesie and good nature: which argueth plainly that they did not fainedly honour him, but through compulsion, but euen from the hart. For though there was some iarre betwixt him and *Philopœmen* as the first about seruice, for emulation of honour, and after betwixt him and *Diophanes* also, both generals of the ACHAIANS: yet he neuer bare the any malice in his heart, neither did his anger moue him at any time to hurt them any way, but he euer ended the heate of his wordes, in counsell and assemblies, where he vttered his minde franckely to them both. Therefore none thought him euer a cruell man, or eger of reuenge: but many haue thought him rash, and hasty of nature. Otherwise, he was as good a companion in company as possible could be, and would vse as pleasaunt wise mirth as any man. As when he sayd to the ACHAIANS, on a time, who would needes vniustly vsurpe the Ile of the ZACYNTHIANS, to driue them from it: my Lordes of ACHAIA, if ye once go out of PELOPONNESVS, you put your selues in daunger, as the torteyses do, when they thrust their heades out of their shell. And at his first time he parled with *Philip* to treate of peace, whē *Philip* said vnto him, you haue brought many mē with you, and I am come alone. Indeede it is true you are alone, sayd he, because you haue made all your friendes and kinne to be slaine. An other time, *Dinocrates* MESSINIAN exiled in ROME, after he had taken in his cuppes in a feast where he was, he disguised himself in womans apparell, and daunced in that manner: & the next day following he went vnto *Titus* to pray him to helpe him through with his sute, which was, to make the citie of MESSINA rebell, and leaue the tribe of the ACHAIANS. *Titus* made him aunswere, that he would think vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (sayd he) how you can daunce in womans apparell, and sing at a feast, hauing such matters of weight in your head. In the counsell of the ACHAIANS king *Antiochus* Ambassadours being come thither, to moue them to breake their league with the ROMAINES, & make alliance with the king their maister, they made a maruellous long discourse

Quintius curtesie and good nature. Emulation betwixt Titus Quintius and Philopœmen.

Titus Quintius sayings.

Antiochus Ambassadours do boast of their kinges great armie.

discourse of the great multitude of souldiers that were in their maisters army, and did number them by many diuerse names. Whereunto *Titus* aunswered, and told how a friend of his hauing bidden him one night to supper, and hauing serued so many dishes of meate to his bord, as he was angry with him for bestowing so great cost vpon him, as wondering how he could so sodainly, get so much store of meate, and of so diuerse kindes. My friend sayd to me againe, that all was but porke dressed so many wayes, & with so sundry sawces. And euē so (quod *Titus*) my Lordes of ACHAIA, esteeme not king *Antiochus* army the more, to heare of so many sorts of armes, numbred with their launces, & of such a number of footemen with their pykes: for they are all but SYRIANS, diuersly armed, onely with ill fauored litle weapons. Furthermore, after *Titus* had done these things, and that the warre with *Antiochus* was ended, he was chosen Censor at ROME, with the son of that same *Marcellus*, who had bene fiue times Cōsull. This office is of great dignitie, and as a man may say, the crowne of all the honours that a citizen of ROME can haue in their common wealth. They put off the Senate, foure men onely, but they were not famous. They did receiue all into the number of citizens of ROME, that would present themselues to be enrolled in their cōmon regist er: with a prouiso, that they were borne free by father & mother. They were compelled to do it, by *Terētius Culeo*, Tribune of the people, who to despight the nobilitie, perswaded the people of ROME to commaunde it so. Now at that time, two of the noblest & most famous men of ROME were great enemies one against another: *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, and *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Of these two, *Titus* named *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefest and worthiest person in the citie: & got the displeasure of the other, which was *Cato*, by this mishap. *Titus* had a brother called *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, nothing like vnto him in condition at all: for he was so dissolutely & licentiously giuen ouer to his pleasure, that he forgot all comlinesse and honesty. This *Lucius* loued well a young boy, and caried him alwayes with him whē he went to the warres, or to the charge and gouernement of any prouince. This boy flattering him, one day said vnto *Lucius Quintius*, that he loued him so well, that he did leaue the sight of the swordplayers at the theatre, which were making ready to the fight, although he had neuer sene man killed before: to wait vpon him. *Lucius* being very glad of the boyes wordes, aunswered him straight, thou shalt loose nothing for that my boy, for I will by & by please thee as well. So he cōmaunded a condemned man to be fetched out of prison, and withall called for the hangman, whom he willed to strike off his head in the middest of his supper, that the boy might see him killed. *Valerius Antias* the historiographer writeth, that it was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But *Titus Liuius* declareth, that in an oration which *Cato* himselfe made, it was writtē, that it was one of the GAVLES: who being a traitor to his coūtry mē, was come to *Flaminius* gate with his wife and children, and that *Flaminius* making him come into his hall, killed him with his owne handes, to please a boy he loued, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howbeit it is very likely that *Cato* wrote in this sort, to aggrauate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many haue written it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an honest gentleman condemned to dye: and among other, *Cicero* the oratour doth recite it in a booke he made of age, where he made it to be told vnto *Catoes* own person. Howsoeuer it was, *Marcus Cato* being chosen Censor, and clensing the Senate of all vnworthy persons, he put off the same *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, although he had bene Consull: which disgrace did seeme to redound to his brother *Titus Quintius Flaminius* also. Whereupō both the brethren came weeping with all humilitie before the people, and made a petition that seemed very reasonable and iust: which was that they would commaunde *Cato* to come before them, to declare the cause openly why he had with such open shame defaced so noble a house as theirs was. *Cato* then without delay, or shrinking backe, came with his companion into the market place, where he asked *Titus* out aloude, if he knew nothing of the supper where such a fact was committed. He aunswered, he knew not of it. Then *Cato* opened the whole matter as it was, and in the end of his tale, he bad *Lucius Quintius* sweare openly, if he would deny that he had sayd it not true. *Lucius* aunswered not a word. Whereupon the people iudged the shame was iustly layd vpon him: and so to honour *Cato*, they did accompany him from the pulpit for oration, home vnto his owne house. But *Titus* being much offended at the disgrace of his bro-

Titus Quintius writtie answere to the Ambassadours bragges.

T. Quintius chosen Censor with Marcellus.

P. Scipio, and M. P. Cato great enemies. Secret grudge betwixt Titus and Cato.

A cruell deede of Lucius Quintius.

Cato being Censor did put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Senate.

T. Quintius vnworthy acts against Cato.

ther, became enemy to *Cato*, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And by practise he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leases, and all deedes of sales made by *Cato* during his office, were called in, and made voyde: and caused many sutes also to be commenced against him. Wherein, I can not say he did wisely or ciuilly, to become mortall enemie to an honest man, a good citizen, and duetifull in his office, for his yeare, but vnworthy kinseman, who had iustly deserued the shame layed vpon him. Notwithstanding, shortly after when the people were assembled in the Theater to see games played, and the Senatours were set according to their custome, in the most honorable places: *Lucius Flaminius* came in also who in lowly & humble manner went to sit downe in the furthest seates of the Theater, without regard of his former honour: which whē the people saw, they tooke pity of him, & could not abide to see him thus dishonored. So they cried out to haue him come and sit among other Senatours the Consuls, who made him place, and receiued him accordingly. But to turne againe to *Titus*. The naturall ambition and couetous greedy minde he had of honour was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise the warres, which we haue spoken of before. For, after he had bene Consull, of his owne king he became a Colonell of a thousand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So he began to stoupe for age, and that he had giuen ouer as a man at the last cast, to beare any longer in the state: they saw plainly he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer him in old age to be ouercome with such youthfull violence, being farre vnmeete for any of yeares. For me thinkes his ambition was the onely cause that moued him to procure *Hannibals* death, which bred him much disliking and ill opiniō with many. For, after *Hannibal* fled out of his own countrey, he went first vnto king *Antiochus*: who, after he lost the battell PHRYGIA, was glad the ROMAINES graunted him peace with such conditions as them list would. Wherefore *Hannibal* fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered vp and down, at the length he came to the realme of BITHYNIA, and remained there about king *Prusias*, the ROMAINES knowing it well enough: and because *Hannibal* was then an old banished mā, of no force nor power, & one whom fortune had spurned at her feete, they made no great reckening of him. But *Titus* being sent Ambassadour by the Senate, vnto *Prusias* king of BITHYNIA, and finding *Hannibal* there, it grieued him to see him aliue. So that notwithstanding *Prusias* maruellously intreated him, to take pitie vpon *Hannibal* a poore old man, & his suppliant who came to him for succour: yet he could not perswade *Titus* to be content he should liue. *Hannibal* long before had receiued aunswere of his death from an oracle, to this effect.

Lucius Quintius restored to his place by the people.

T. Quintius ambition.

T. Quintius cause of Hannibals death.

Titus sent Ambassadour vnto Prusias king of Bithynia.

Hannibal deceiued by an oracle cōcerning his death.

The land of Lybia, shall couer vnder mowld,
The valiant corps of Hannibal, when he is dead and cold.

So *Hannibal* vnderstood that of LYBIA, as if he should haue dyed in AFRICKE, and be buried in CARTHAGE. There is a certaine sandy country in BITHYNIA neare to the sea, where there is a litle village called LIBYSSA, and where *Hannibal* remained continually, mistrusting king *Prusias* faint hart, and fearing the ROMAINES malice also, had made priuy caues and vaultes vnder ground long before, that he might secretly go out at either of them which way he would, and euery one of them came to the maine vault where he did lye, and could not be discerned outwardly. When it was told him that *Titus* had wrought *Prusias* to deliuer him into his hands, he sought then to saue himselfe by those mynes: but found that all the ventes out, had watch and ward vpon them by the kings commaundement. So then he determined to kill himselfe. Now some say, that he wound a linnen towell about his necke, and commaunded one of his men he should set his knee vpon his backe & wayghing hard vpon him, holding the towell fast, he should pull his necke backward all the power and strength he could, and neuer linne presing on him, till he had strangled him. Other say that he drancke bulles bloud, as *Midas* and *Themistocles* had done before him. *Titus Liuius* writeth, that he had poyson which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered in a cup he held in his handes, and before he dranke, he spake these wordes. Come on, let vs deliuer the ROMAINES of this great care, sith my life is so grieuous to them, that they think it too long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate so much: and yet *Titus* by this shall winne no honorable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient

Hannibal kept at Libyssa in Bithynia.

Hannibals death.

Midas and Themistocles poysoned them selues.

Hannibal, last wordes.

MAIN

MANS, who attempted king Pyrrhus their enemy, euen when he made warres with them, and had wonne battels of them, that he should beware of poysoning which was intended towardes him. And this was *Hannibal* euen he indeed that wrote. The wiues whereof being come to ROME vnto the Senate, many of them thought *Titus* too violet and cruell, to haue made *Hannibal* kill himself (in the last extremitie of age) had not *Titus* done him already, and was as a thirde left [illegible] offered him to vrge him to do it, but a cowardly kinde of honour, for that he would be accounted to be the cause and author of *Hannibals* death. And then in contrarie wise they did much honour & commend the clemencie & noble minde of *Scipio* AFRICAN. Who hauing ouercome *Hannibal* in battell, in AFRICA it selfe, and being then indeed to be feared, and had the neuer ouercome before: yet he did perswade him to be driuen out of his country, neither did ask him of the CARTHAGINIANS that day, nor then, and before the battell, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke *Hannibal* curteously by the hand, and after the battell in the conditions of peace he gaue them, he neuer spake word of hurt to *Hannibals* person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how afterwardes they met one another together in the citie of EPHESVS, and as they were walking, that *Hannibal* tooke the elder had on *Scipio*'s right hand, *Scipio* take it patiently & did not offer not of walking for that neither shewed any countenance of enuie of that king. And in entring into discourse of many matters, they descended at the end to talke of auncient Captaines: & *Hannibal* gaue his iudgement, that *Alexander* the great was the first of all Captaines, *Pyrrhus* the second, & himself the third. Then *Scipio* smiling, gently asked him what would'st thou say then, if I had not ouercome thee? Truely, quod *Hannibal*, I would not then put my self in the third rank, but the first, and aboue all the Captaines that euer were. So diuers greatly commending the ghoddy sayings and deedes of *Scipio*, did marueilously mislike *Titus*, for that he had (as a man may say) layd his handes vpon the death of an old man. Other do the contrary againe say, it was well done of him, saying, that *Hannibal* so [illegible] he had ouer a fire to the Empire of the ROMANS, which lacked but one to blow it vp: when he was in his best strength and lusty age, it was not his hand nor body that troubled the ROMANS so much, but his great wisedome and skill he had in the warres, and the [illegible] to be base in his hate towardes the ROMANS, which neither yeares, neither age [illegible] with or take away. For mens naturall conditions do remaine still, but fortune doth [illegible] keepe in a state, but chaungeth still, and then quickeneth vp our desires to set wilfully vpon those that warre against vs, because they hate vs in their harts. The things which [illegible] afterwardes, did greatly proue the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of *Titus*. For one *Aristonicus*, sonne of a daughter of a player vpon the cithern, vnder the fame & [illegible] of *Eumenes*, whose bastard he was, filled all ASIA with warre & rebellion, by reason the people rose in his fauour. Again *Mithridates*, after so many losses he had receiued against *Sylla* & *Fimbria*, and after so many armies ouerthrowne by battell & warres, and after so many fa[illegible] Captaines lost and killed, did yet recouer againe, and came to be of power both by sea & land against *Lucullus*. Truly *Hannibal* was no lower brought then *Caius Marius* had bene. For he had a king to his friend, that gaue him entertainement for him and his familie, & made him Admirall of his ships, and generall of his horsemen and footemen in the field. *Marius* also [illegible] vp and downe AFRICA a begging for his liuing, in so much as his enemies at ROME [illegible] ked him to come: & soone after notwithstanding they fell downe at his feete before him, [illegible] they saw they were whipped, murthered, & slaine within ROME by his cõmandement. [illegible] we see no man can say certainely he is meane or great, by reason of the vncertaintie of [illegible] gs to come: cõsidering there is but one death, & change of better life. Some say also, that *Titus* did not this act alone, & of his own authoritie: but that he was sent Ambassadour with *Lucius Scipio* to no other end, but to put *Hannibal* to death, by what meanes soeuer they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not finde any notable thing written of *Titus* worthy of memorie, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he dyed quietly of a naturall death at home in his country.

Looke in Pyrrhus life for the storie at large.

Scipio Africanus clemencie commended.

Talke betwixt Scipio African & Hannibal.

Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.

Aristonicus.

Mithridates.

Marius.

To be meane or great in this life is nothing: but death bringeth the estimation.

THE COMPARISON OF *Titus Quintius Flaminius with Philopœmen.*

T. Quintius benefites vnto Greece.

IT is time now we come to compare them together. Therefore touching the great benefites that came to the GRECIANS, no *Philopœmen*, nor all the other former Captaines are to be com with *Titus*. For all the auncient Captaines almost being GRECI made warres with other GRECIANS: but *Titus* being a ROMA and no GRECIAN, made warres for the liberty of GREECE. W *Philopœmen* was not able to helpe his poore citizens distressed and vexed with warres, he sayled away into CRETA. *Titus* ha ouercome *Philip* king of MACEDON in battell, did restore to libertie all the people and cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And will narrowly examine the battels of either partie: they shall find, that *Philopœmen* being rall of the ACHAIANS, made more GRECIANS to be slaine, then *Titus* did of the MA NIANS, fighting with them for the libertie of the GRECIANS. And for their imperfe the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quicke and so angred, the other was very hard to be pacified. *Titus* left king *Philip* his realme and cr after he had ouercome him, and vsed great clemency towardes the ÆTOLIANS: where

Philopœmen malice.

lopœmen for spite, and malice, tooke townes and villages from his owne natiue country citie, wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, *Titus* co nued a sound friend to them, to whom he had once professed friendship, and done plea vnto: and *Philopœmen*, in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had giuen, a ouerthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For *Philopœmen* when he had the LACEDÆMONIANS great pleasure, did afterwardes rase the wals of their citie, spoiled and destroyed all their country: and lastly, ouerthrew their whole gouernement. meth also by reason of his immoderate choller, he was himselfe cause of his own death, for he made more hast then good speede, to go out of time to set vpon those of MESSINA: and

Titus Quintius wiser then Philopœmen.

as *Titus*, who did all his affaires with wisedome, and euer considered what was best to be But if we looke into the number of battels, and victories: the warre which *Titus* made a *Philip* was ended with two battels. Whereas *Philopœmen* in infinite battels in which he the better, neuer left it doubtfull, but that his skill did euer helpe him the more to victory, the good fortune he had. Moreouer, *Titus* wanne honour by meanes of the power of R when it florished most, and was in best prosperitie: *Philopœmen* made himselfe famous by deedes, when GREECE began to stoupe and fall all together. So that the deedes of the were cõmon to all the ROMAINES: & the deedes of the other, were priuate to himselfe: For *Titus* was generall ouer good and valiant souldiers, that were already trained to his

Quintius commaunded good souldiers: Philopœmen made good souldiers.

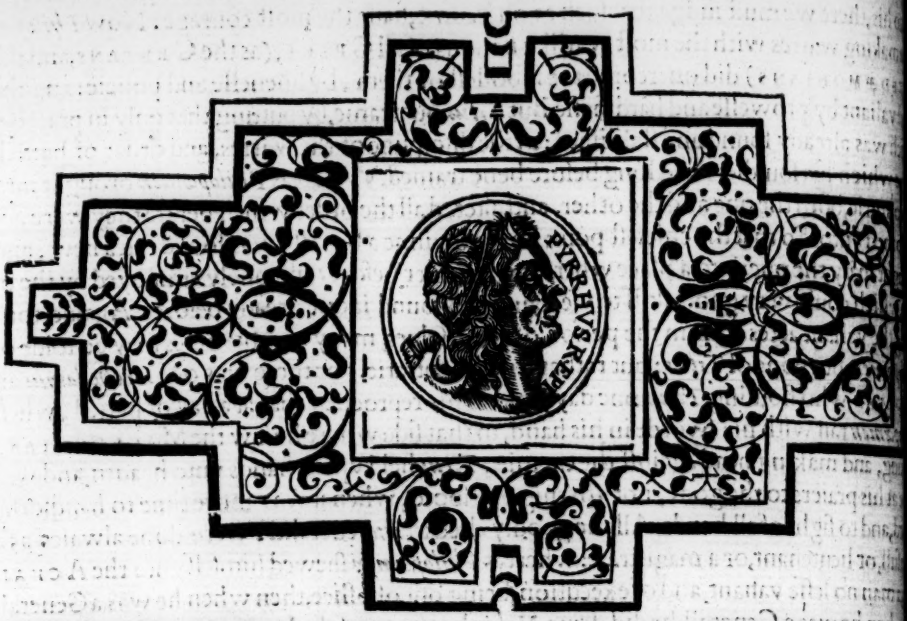
and *Philopœmen* being chosen Generall, did traine his men himselfe, & made them afterwards very expert and valiant, that were but meane and greene souldiers before. And whereas *Philopœmen* had continuall wars with the GRECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it made a certaine proofe of his valiantnesse. For where all other things are answerable to his, there we must iudge that such as ouercome, haue the most courage. Now *Philopœmen* making warres with the most warlike nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS) did ouercome the subtillest of them, by fineneſse and policie: and the most valiant by prowesse and hardinesse. But *Titus* ouercame, by putting that only in practise, which was already found and stablished: as the discipline of the warres, and order of battell, in the which his souldiers had long before bene trained. Whereas *Philopœmen* brought into his countrie, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accustomed vnto. So that the chiefest point how to winne a battell, was found out a new, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neuer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vse it, and had found it out already before. Againe, touching the valiant actes done in the person of themselues, many notable actes may be tolde of *Philopœmen*, but none of *Titus*: but rather to the contrarie. For there was one *Archedamus* an ÆTOLIAN, who flouting *Titus* one day, said in his reproche: that at a day of battell, when *Philopœmen* ran with his sworde in his hand, to that side where he saw the MACEDONIANS fighting, and making head against the enemie, *Titus* held vp his hands vnto heauen, and was busie at his praiers to the gods, not stirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the sword, and to fight of all hands. All the goodly deeds *Titus* euer did, were done alwaies as a Consull, or lieutenant, or a magistrate: whereas *Philopœmen* shewed himself vnto the ACHAIANS, a man no lesse valiant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a General. For when he was a Generall, he did driue *Nabis* the tyrant of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of MESSINA, and deliuered the MESSINIANS out of bondage: and being a priuate man, he kept the gates of the citie of SPARTA, in the face of *Diophanes* (Generall of the ACHAIANS) and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and kept them both from comming in, and therby saued the city from sacking. Thus being borne to command, he knew not onely how to command according to the law, but could commaund the law it selfe vpon necessity, and when the commonwealth required it. For at such a time he would not tary, while the Magistrates which should reuerse him, did giue him authority to commaund, but he tooke it of himselfe, and vsed them when the time serued: esteeming him indeed their Generall, that knew better then they what was to be done, then him whom they chose of themselues. And therefore they do well, that commend *Titus* actes, for his clemencie, and curtesie, vsed to the GRECIANS: but much more the noble and valiant acts of *Philopœmen* vnto the ROMAINES. For it is much easier to pleasure and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and resist the strong. Therefore, sithence we haue throughly examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very harde to iudge altogether the difference that is betwene them. Peraduenture therefore the iudgement would not seeme very ill, if we doe giue the GRECIAN, for discipline of warre, the preheminence and praise of a good Captaine: and to the ROMAINE, for iustice and clemencie, the name and dignity of a most iust and courteous gentleman.

A Generall must not be at his praiers, when he should occupy his sworde.

Quintius clemencie to the Grecians: Philopœmens loue to the Romaines.

The end of Titus Quintius Flaminius life.

THE LIFE OF *Pyrrus.*



Pyrrus kindowred, and beginning of the kingdome of Epirus.

IT is written, that since *Noes* flood, the first king of the THESPIANS, and of the MOLOSSIANS, was *Phaeton*, one of those who with *Pelasgus*, into the realme of EPIRVS. But some say o that *Deucalion*, and his wife *Pyrra* remained there, after they h and founded the temple of Dodone, in the country of the Mo ANS. But howsoeuer it was, a great while after that, *Neoptole* sonne of *Achilles*, bringing thither a great nũber of people wi conquered the country, and after him left a succession of kings, were called after his name, the *Pyrrides*: because that from hi

Pyrrus, redde.

cie he was surnamed *Pyrrus*, as much to say, as redde: and one of his legitimate sonnes he had by *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Cleodes*, the sonne of *Hillus*, was also named by him And this is the cause why *Achilles* is honored as a god in EPIRVS, being called in the guage, *Aspetos*, that is to say, mighty, or very great. But from the first kings of that rac the time of *Tharrytas*, there is no memory nor mention made of them, nor of their pow raigned in the meane time, because they all became very barbarous, and vtterly voide o lity. *Tharrytas* was indeed the first that beautified the cities of his country with the Gr tongue, brought in ciuil lawes and customes, and made his name famous to the poster followed. This *Tharrytas* left a sonne called *Alcetas*, of *Alcetas* came *Arymbas*, of *Arym Troiade* his wife, came *AEacides*, who maried *Phthia*, the daughter of *Menon* THESSA a famous man in the time of the warres surnamed *Lamiacus*, and one that had farre authority then any other of the cõfederats, after *Leosthenes*. This *AEacides* had two d by his wife *Phthia*, to say, *Deidamia* and *Troiade*, and one sonne called *Pyrrus*. In his MOLOSSIANS rebelled, draue him out of his kingdome, and put the crowne into the of the sonnes of *Neoptolemus*. Wherupon all the friends of *AEacides* that could be take generally murthered, & slaine outright. *Androclides* & *Angelus* in the meane time stole

How Pyrrus being an infant was saued

Pyrrus, being yet but a suckling babe (whome his enemies neuertheless egerly sought haue destroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few seruant nurses and necessarie women only to looke to the childe, and giue it sucke: by reason w their flight was much hindred, so as they could go no great iorneis, but that they might be ouertaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the childe into the han

adroclion, *Hippias*, and *Neander*, three lusty young men, whom they trusted with him, and
mmaunded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of MACEDON, called MEGARES: and
y themselues in the meane time, partly by intreaty, and partly by force, made staye of those
t followed them till night. So as with much a do hauing driuen them back, they ran after
m that caried the childe *Pyrrus*, whom they ouertooke at sunne set. And now, weening
y had bene safe, and out of all daunger: they found it cleane contrarie. For when they came
the riuer vnder the towne walles of MEGARES, they saw it so rough and swift, that it made
m afraide to beholde it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vnpossible to wade
ough, it was so sore risen and troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darknesse
e night made euery thing seeme fearfull vnto them. So as they now that caried the childe,
ught it not good to venter the passage ouer of themselues alone, with the women that ten-
the childe: but hearing certaine countrimen on the other side, they prayed and besought
m in the name of the gods, that they would helpe them to passe ouer the childe, shewing
w vnto them a farre off. But the countrimen by reason of the roaring of the riuer vnder-
de them not. Thus they continued a long space, the one crying, the other listning, yet
ld they not vnderstand one an other, till at the last one of the company bethought himselfe
ill of a peece of the barke of an oke, and vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle,
hard fortune and necessitie of the childe. Which he tied to a stone to giue it weight, and so
w it ouer to the other side of the riuer: other say that he did prick the barke through with
point of a dart which he cast ouer. The countrimen on the other side of the riuer, hauing
d what was written, and vnderstanding thereby the present danger the childe was in: felled
wne trees in all the hast they could possibly, bound them together, and so passed ouer the
er. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed ouer, and tooke the childe, was
led *Achilles*: the residue of the countrimen passed ouer also, and tooke the other that came
h the childe, and conueyed them ouer as they came first to hand. And thus hauing escaped
e hands, by easie iorneis they came at the length vnto *Glaucias* king of ILLYRIA, whom they
nd in his house sitting by his wife: and laide downe the childe in the middest of the flower
ore him. The king hereupon staied a long time without vttering any one word, waihging
h himselfe what was best to be done: because of the feare he had of *Cassander*, a mortall
emy of *AEacides*. In the meane time, the childe *Pyrrus* creeping of all foure, tooke holde of
kings gowne, and scrawled vp by that, and so got vp on his feete against the kings knees.
e first, the king laughed to see the childe: but after it pitied him again: because the childe
ked like an humble suter that came to seeke sanctuarie in his armes. Other say that *Pyrrus*
e not to *Glaucias*, but vnto the alter of the familiar gods, alongst the which he got vp on
s feete, and embraced it with both his hands. Which *Glaucias* imagining to be done by gods
uidence, presently deliuered the childe to his wife, gaue her the charge of him, and willed
r to see him brought vp with his owne. Shortly after, his enemies sent to demaund the
ilde of him: and moreouer, *Cassander* caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to de-
er the childe *Pyrrus* into his hands. Howbeit *Glaucias* would neuer graunt thereunto, but
turarily, when *Pyrrus* was come to twelue yeares olde, brought him into his country of E-
ys with an army, and stablished him king of the realme againe. *Pyrrus* had a great maiesty
his countenance, but yet indeed mor e fearefull then friendly. He had also no teeth in his
per iawe that stood distinctly one from an other, but one whole bone throughout his
mme, marked a litle at the top onely, with certaine riftes in the place where the teeth should
deuided. Men held opinion also, that he did heale them that were sicke of the splene, by
crificing a white cocke, and touching the place of the spleene on the left side of them that
were sicke, softly with his right foote, they lying on their backes: and there was not so poore
or simple a man that craued this remedie of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he
crificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also that the great
oe of his right foote had some secret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had
orne all parts of his body, and consumed it to ashes: his great toe was whole, and had no hurt
e all. But of that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was seauenteene yeares of age,
thinking himselfe sure enough of his kingdome, it chanced him to make a iorney into ILLY-

Megares a citty of Macedon.

Glaucias king of Illyria.

Pyrrus countenance and teeth.

Pyrrus healed them that were sicke of the splene.

The fire could not burne Pyrrus great toe.

RIA, where he maried one of *Glaucias* daughters, with whom he had bene brought vp. But his backe was no sooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled againe against him, & drawe his friends & seruants, and destroied all his goods, and yeelded themselues vnto his aduersarie *Neoptolemus*. King *Pyrrus* hauing thus lost his kingdome, and seeing himselfe forsaken on all sides, went to *Demetrius* (*Antigonus* sonne) that had maried his sister *Deidamia*, who in her young age was assured to *Alexander*, the sonne of *Alexander* the great, and of *Roxane*, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked end, *Demetrius* the maried her being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was striken neere to the citie of HIPSVS, where all the kings fought together, *Pyrrus* being then but a young man, & with *Demetrius*, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valiantest prince amongst them all. Furthermore, when *Demetrius* was ouercome, and had lost the battell: *Pyrrus* neuer forsooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of Grecie which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*, *Pyrrus* was sent an hostage for *Demetrius* into the realme of ÆGYPT, where he made *Ptolomie* know (both in hunting and in other exercises of his person) that he was very strong, harde, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiuing that *Berenice* among all king *Ptolomies* wiues, was best beloued and esteemed of her husband, both for her vertue and wisedome: he began to entertaine and honour her aboue all the rest. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himselfe towards the great (by whom he might winne benefit) and knew also how to creepe into their credit: and in like manner was he a great scorner and despiser of such as were his inferiours. Moreouer, for that he was found maruellous honorable and of faire condition, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the husband of *Antigona*, the daughter of Queene *Berenice*, whom she had by *Phillip*, before she was maried vnto *Ptolomie*. From thenceforth growing through the alliance of that mariage, more and more into estimation and fauour by meanes of his wife *Antigona*, who shewed herself very vertuous and louing towards him: he found meanes in the end, to get both men & money to returne againe into the realme of EPIRVS, and to conquer it: so was he then very well receiued of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to *Neoptolemus*, because he had both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstanding, *Pyrrus* fearing least *Neoptolemus* would repaire vnto some of the other kings, to seeke aide against him, thought good to make peace with him. Wherupon it was agreed betweene them, that they should both together be kings of EPIRVS. But in processe of time, some of their men secretly made strife againe betweene them, and set them at defiance one with an other: and the chiefest cause as it is said that angered *Pyrrus* most, grew vpon this. The kings of EPIRVS had an ancient custome of great antiquity, after they had made solemne sacrifice vnto *Iupiter Martiall*, in a certaine place in the prouince of MOLOSSIDE, called PASSARON) to take their othe, & to be sworne to the EPIROTES, that they would raigne well and iustly, according to the lawes and ordinances of the countrie; and to receiue the subiects othes interchangeably also, that they would defend and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like maner. This ceremony was done in the presence of both the kings, and they with their friends did both giue and receiue presents each of other. At this meeting and solemnitie, among other, one *Gelon* a most faithfull seruant and assured friend vnto *Neoptolemus*, who besides great shewes of friendship and honour he did vnto *Pyrrus*, gaue him two paire of draught oxen, which *Myrtilus* a cupbearer of *Pyrrus* being present, and seeing, did craue of his maister. But *Pyrrus* denyed to giue them vnto him, whereat *Myrtilus* was very angrie. *Gelon* perceiuing that *Myrtilus* was angrie, prayed him to sup with him that night. Now some say, he sought to abuse *Myrtilus*, because he was faire and young: and began to perswade him after supper to take part with *Neoptolemus*, and to poison *Pyrrus*. *Myrtilus* made as though he were willing to giue eare to this perswasion, and to be well pleased withall. But in the meane time he went and tolde his maister of it, by whose commaundement he made *Alexicrates*, *Pyrrus* chiefe cupbearer, to talke with *Gelon* about this practise, as though he had also giuen his consent to it, and was willing to be partaker of the enterprise. This did *Pyrrus* to haue two witnesses, to proue the pretended poysoning of him. Thus *Gelon* being finely deceiued, and

Pyrrus realme taken from him in his absence.

Pyrrus valiantnesse at the battell of Hipsus.

Pyrrus behauiour.

Pyrrus maried to Antigona the daughter of Philip king of Macedon, and of his wife Berenice.

Pyrrus restored to his kingdome againe.

Pyrrus deuideth the realm of Epirus with Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus also with him, both imagining they had cunningly spunne the thred of their treason: *Neoptolemus* was so glad of it, that he could not keepe it to himselfe, but told it to certaine of his friends. And on a time going to be merry with his sister, he could not keepe it in, but must be prating of it to her, supposing no body had heard him but her selfe, because there was no liuing creature neere them, sauing *Pharnaxetta Samons* wife, the kings chiefe heardman of all his beasts, and yet she was laide vpon a little bed by, and turned towards the wall: so that she seemed as though she had slept. But hauing heard all their talke, and no body mistrusting her the next morning she went to *Antigona* king *Pyrrus* wife, and told her euery word what she had heard *Neoptolemus* say to his sister. *Pyrrus* hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time. But hauing made sacrifice vnto the gods, he bad *Neoptolemus* to supper to his house, where he slue him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefest men of the realme did beare him, who wished him to dispatche *Neoptolemus*, and not to content himselfe with a peece of EPIRVS only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great things: and for this cause therefore, this suspition falling out in the meane while, he preuented *Neoptolemus*, and slue him first. And furthermore, remébring the pleasures he had receiued of *Ptolomie* and *Berenice*, he named his first sonne by his wife *Antigona*, *Ptolomie*, and hauing built a city in the PRESCQVE, an Ile of EPIRVS, did name it BERENICIDA. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined with himselfe how to winne that which lay neerest vnto him: and so tooke occasion by this meanes, first to set foote into the Empire of MACEDON. The eldest sonne of *Cassander*, called *Antipater*, put his owne mother *Thessalonica* to death, and draue his brother *Alexander* out of his owne country, who sent to *Demetrius* for helpe, and called in *Pyrrus* also to his aide. *Demetrius* being troubled with other matters, could not so quickly go thither. And *Pyrrus* being arriued there, demaunded for his charge susteined, the citie of NYMPHEA, with all the sea coastes of MACEDON: and besides all that, certaine landes also that were not belonging to the auncient crowne and reuenues of the kings of MACEDON, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. All these, the young king *Alexander* hauing vnto him, he tooke possession thereof, and put good garrisons into the same in his owne name: and conquering the rest of MACEDON in the name of *Alexander*, put his brother *Antipater* to great distresse. In the meane time king *Lysimachus* lacked no good will to helpe *Antipater* with his force, but being busied in other matters, had not the meane to do it. Howbeit knowing very well that *Pyrrus* in acknowledging the great pleasures he had receiued of *Ptolomie*, would denie him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit letters to him in *Ptolomies* name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leaue off the warres begun against *Antipater*, and to take of him towards the defraying of his charges, the summe of three hundred talents. *Pyrrus* opening the letters, knew straight that this was but a fetche and deuise of *Lysimachus*. For king *Ptolomies* common manner of greeting of him, which he vsed at the beginning of his letters, was not in them obserued: To my sonne *Pyrrus*, health. But in those counterfeit was, king *Ptolomie*, vnto king *Pyrrus*, health. Whereupon he presently pronounced *Lysimachus* for a naughty man: neuertheless, afterwards he made peace with *Antipater*, and they met together at a day appointed, to be sworne vpon the sacrifices vnto the articles of peace. There were three beasts brought to be sacrificed, a goate, a bull, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downe dead of himselfe before he was touched, whereat all the standers by fell a laughing. But there was a Soothsaier, one *Theodotus*, that perswaded *Pyrrus* not to sweare: saying, that this signe and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings with sodaine death. For which cause *Pyrrus* concluded no peace. Now *Alexanders* warres being ended, *Demetrius* notwithstanding came to him, knowing well enough at his coming that *Alexander* had no more neede of his aide, and that he did it onely but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but the one began to mistrust the other, and to spie all the wayes they could to intrap each other: but *Demetrius* embracing the first occasion offered, preuented *Alexander*, and slue him, being a young man, and proclaimed himselfe king of MACEDON in his roome. Now *Demetrius* had certaine quarrels before against *Pyrrus*, because he had ouerrun the country of THESSALIE: and furthermore, greedy couetousnesse to haue the

Pyrrus slue Neoptolemus.

Berenicida, a city of Epirus in the Ile of Prescque.

Pyrrus first iourney into Macedon.

King Lysimachus craft to deceiue Pyrrus.

Theodotus iudgement, a Soothsayer.

Pyrrus quarrell and warre with Demetrius.

more (which is a common vice with princes and noble men) made, that being so neere neighbours, the one stoode in feare and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the death of *Deidamia*. But now that they both occupied all MACEDON betweene them, and were to make diuision of one selfe kingdome. Now Hay began the matter and occasion of quarrell, to grow the greater betweene them. Whereupon *Demetrius* went with his armie to set vpon the AETOLIANS, and hauing conquered the country, left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there with a great armie: and himselfe in person in the meane time, marched against *Pyrrus*, and *Pyrrus* against him other side against him. They both missed of meeting, and *Demetrius* going on further on one side, entred into the realme of EPIRVS, and brought a great spoile away with him. *Pyrrus* on the other side marched on, till he came to the place where *Pantauchus* was. To whom he gaue battell, and it was valiantly fought out betweene the souldiers of either party, but especially betweene the two Generals. For doubtlesse, *Pantauchus* was the valiantest Captaine, stoutest man, and of the greatest experience in armes, of all the Captaines and souldiers *Demetrius* had. Whereupon, *Pantauchus* trusting in his strength and courage, aduanced himself forwards, and lustely chalenged the combat of *Pyrrus*. *Pyrrus* on the other side being inferior to no king in valiantesse, nor in desire to win honour, as he that would ascribe vnto himself the glory of *Achilles*, more for the imitation of his valiancie, then for that he was descended of his bloud: passed through the middest of the battell vnto the first rancke, to buckle with *Pantauchus*. Thus they began to charge one an other, first with their dartes, and then coming nearer, fought with their swords, not only artificially, but also with great force and furie: vntill such time as *Pyrrus* was hurte in one place, and he hurt *Pantauchus* in two. The one neere vnto his throte and the other in his legge: so as in the ende *Pyrrus* made him turne his backe, and threw him to the ground, but neuertheless killed him not. For, so soone as he was downe, his men tooke him, and caried him away. But the EPIROTES encoraged by the victorie of their king, and the admiration of his valiantnesse, stuck too it so lustily, that in the end they brake the battell of the MACEDONIAN footmen: & hauing put them to flight, followed them so liuely, that they slue a great number of them, and tooke fiue thousand prisoners. This ouerthrowe did not so much fill the hearts of the MACEDONIANS with anger, for the losse they had receiued, nor with the hate conceiued against *Pyrrus*: as it wanne *Pyrrus* great fame and honour, making his courage and valiantnesse to be wondred at of all such as were present at the battell that saw him fight, and how he laide about him. For they thought that they saw in his face the very life and agilitie of *Alexander* the great, and the right shadowe as it were shewing the force and fury of *Alexander* himselfe in that fight. And where other kings do onely counterfeit *Alexander* the great in his purple garments, and in numbers of souldiers and gardes about their persons, and in a certaine fashion and bowing of their necks a litle, and vttering his speech with an high voice: *Pyrrus* onely was like vnto him, and followed him in his marshall deeds and valiant actes. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlike discipline, the bookes he wrote himselfe thereof, doe amply prooue and make manifest. Furthermore, they reporte, that king *Antigonus* being asked, whome he thought to be the greatest Captaine: made aunswer, *Pyrrus*, so farre forth as he might liue to be olde, speaking only of the captaines of his time. But *Hanniball* generally said, *Pyrrus* was the greatest Captaine of experience and skill in warres of all other, *Scipio* the second, and himselfe the third: as we haue written in the life of *Scipio*. So it seemeth that *Pyrrus* gaue his whole life and studie to the discipline of warres, as that which indeed was princely and meete for a king, making no reckoning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they report that hauing at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the best player of flute, *Python* or *Cephesias*: whereunto he aunswered, that *Polyperchon* in his opinion was the best Captaine, as if he would haue said, that was the onely thing a prince should seeke for, which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle & familiar with his friends, easie to forgiue when any had offended him, and maruellous desirous to requite and acknowledge any curtesie or pleasure by him receiued. And that was the cause why he did very patiently take the death of *AEropus*, not so much for his death (which he knew was a common thing to euery liuing creature) as for that he was angry with himselfe he had deferred the

Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenant in AEtolia.

Pyrrus fight, with Pantauchus.

Pyrrus victorie of Pantauchus.

Pyrrus likened to Alexander the great.

Pyrrus skill in warlike discipline.

Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.

Pyrrus wise aunswer.

Pyrrus goodnesse and curtesie.

so long that time it selfe had cut him off from all occasion and meanes to requite the curtesies he had receiued of him. True it is that money lent, may be repaied againe vnto the heires of the lender: but yet it grieueth an honest nature, when he can not recompence the good will of the lender, of whom he hath receiued the good turne. Another time *Pyrrus* being in the city of AMBRACIA, there were certain of his friends that gaue him counsel to put a naughty man out of the city, that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he aunswered, it is better (quoth he) to keepe him here still, speaking ill of vs but to a few: then driuing him away, to make him speake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youths were brought before him on a time, who making merry together, drinking freely, were bold with the king to speake their pleasure of him in very vnduetifull sort. So, *Pyrrus* asking them whether it was true they sayed so or no: it is true, and it please your grace, sayed one of them, we sayed it in deede; and had not our wine failed vs, we had spoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of *Antigona*, hee maried many wiues to encrease his power withall, and to get more friendes. For hee maried the daughter of *Autoleon* king of PAEONIA, and *Birrenna* the daughter of *Bardillis*, king of ILLYRIA: and *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, tyrant of SYRACVSA, that brought him for her dower the Ile of GORPHVE, which her father had taken. By *Antigona* his first wife, he had a sonne called *Ptolomie*: By *Lanassa*, an other called *Alexander*: and by *Birrenna*, an other (the yongest of all) called *Helenus*: all which though they were naturall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought vp by him in wars, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradle. They write, that one of his sonnes being but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leaue his kingdome: *Pyrrus* aunswered the boy, to him that hath the sharpest sword. That was much like the tragicall curse wherewith *Oedipus* cursed his children.

Pyrrus wiues and children.

Let them (for me) deuide, both goods, yea rents and land:
VVith trenchaunt sword, and blouddy blowes, by force of mighty hand.

So cruell, hatefull, and beastly is the nature of ambition and desire of rule: But after this battell, *Pyrrus* returned home againe to his country, full of honour and glory, his heart highly lifted, and his mind throughly contented. And as at his returne the EPIROTES his subiects called him an Eagle, he aunswered them: if I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your winges are the winges that haue raised mee vp. Shortly after, being aduertised that *Demetrius* was fallen sicke, and in great daunger of death, he sodainely went into MACEDON, to inuade it, and to make prey thereof: howbeit he had in deede almost taken the whole land, and made him selfe Lord of all without stroke striken. For he came as farre as the city BEROEA, and found no resistance: but rather to the contrary, many of the country willingly came to his campe, and submitted them selues. The daunger *Demetrius* was in to loose his life, did moue him more: then the disease and sickenes of his body. And on the other side, his friends, seruaunts, and Captaines, hauing gathered a great number of men of warre together in a maruellous short time, marched with great speede towards *Pyrrus*, being earnestly set to do some exploite against him: who being come into MACEDON but to make a road and to spoile vpon them, would not tary them, but fled, and flying, lost part of his men, because the MACEDONIANS followed him hard, & set vpon him by the way. But now, though they had driuen *Pyrrus* thus easily out of MACEDON, *Demetrius* for al that did not make light accompt of him: but pretending greater thinges, (as to recouer the landes and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of fiue hundred saile which he put to sea) would not stand to make warres against *Pyrrus*, neither yet leaue the MACEDONIANS (whilest he was absent) so dangerous a neighbour, and so ill to deale withall. But lacking leysure to make warres with *Pyrrus*, concluded a peace with him, to the end he might with the more liberty set vpon the other kings. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Pyrrus*, the other kinges and princes began to finde out *Demetrius* intent, and why he had made so great preparation: and being afrayed thereof, wrote vnto *Pyrrus* by their Ambassadors, how they wondred how he could let go such oportunity and occasion, and to tary til *Demetrius* might with better leysure make warres vpon him. And why he chose rather to tary & fight with him for the aulters, temples, and sepulchers of the MOLOSSIANS, when he should be

Certaine witty sayings of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus called an Eagle.

Pyrrus inuadeth Macedon.

Demetrius agony both by land and sea.

of greater power, and haue no wars elsewhere to trouble him: then now that he might driue him out of MACEDON, hauing so many things in hand, and being troubled as he was other places. And considering also that very lately he had taken one of his wiues from him with the city of CORPHVE. For *Lanassa* misliking, that *Pyrrus* loued his other wiues better then her, (they being of a barbarous natiõ) got her vnto CORPHVE: & desiring to marry another king, sent for *Demetrius*, knowing that he of all other kings would soonest be wonne thereunto. Whereupon *Demetrius* went thither, and maried her, and left a garrison in the city of CORPHVE. Now these other kings that did aduertise *Pyrrus* in this sort, them selues trouble *Demetrius* in the meane while: who tracted time, and yet went on with his purpose on notwithstanding. For on the one side *Ptolomy* entred GREECE with a great army, where he caused the cities to reuolt against him. And *Lysimachus* on the other side also into high MACEDON by the countrey of THRACIA, burnt and spoiled all as he went: also arming him selfe with them, went vnto the city of BERROEA, imagining (as also fell out) that *Demetrius* going against *Lysimachus*, would leaue all the low country of MACEDON naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfe same night that *Pyrrus* departed, imagined that king *Alexander* the great did cal him, and also that he went vnto him, and him sicke in his bed, of whom he had very good wordes and entertainement: in so much promised to helpe him throughly. And *Pyrrus* imagined also that he was so bold to demand of him againe: how (my Lord) can you helpe me, that lie sicke in your bed? and that *Alexander* made answer: with my name onely. And that moreouer he so dainely therewithall got his horse Nisea, & rode before *Pyrrus* to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dream, which made him bolde, and furthermore encouraged him to goe on with his enterprise: which occasion, marching forward with all speede, in few daies he ended his entended iourney to the city of BERROEA, which so dainely he tooke at his first comming to it: the most of his army he layed in garrison there, the residue hee sent away vnder the conduct of his captaines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence of, and hearing also an ill rumor that ranne in his campe amongst the MACEDONIANS, not lead them any further, for feare least (when hee should come neare to *Lysimachus* MACEDONIAN king by nation, and a prince esteemed for a famous captaine) they would shrinke from him, and take *Lysimachus* part: for this cause therefore he turned againe very sodaine against *Pyrrus*, as against a strange prince, and ill beloued of the MACEDONIANS: when he came to encampe neare him, many comming from BERROEA into his campe, abroad the praises of *Pyrrus*, saying, that he was a noble prince, inuincible in wars, and courteously intreated all those he tooke to his party: and amongest those, there were others were no natural MACEDONIANS born, but set on by *Pyrrus*, and fained themselues to be MACEDONIANS, who gaue out, that now occasion was offered to set them at liberty, from *Demetrius* proud and stately rule, and to take king *Pyrrus* part, that was a curteous prince, and that loued souldiers and men of war. These words made the most part of *Demetrius* army doubtfull, insomuch as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to see if they could finde out *Pyrrus* to yeeld themselues vnto him. He had at that present left off his head peece: by means of, perceiuing he was not knowen, he put it on againe, and then they knew him afar off the sight of his goodly faire plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the top of creast. Whereupon there came a great number of MACEDONIANS to his part, as vnto soueraigne Lord and king, and required the watch word of him. Other put garlandes of boughs about their heads, because they saw his men crowned after that sort. And so so bold also, as to goe to *Demetrius* him selfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he should very well and wisely to giue place to fortune, and referre all vnto *Pyrrus*. *Demetrius* hereof seeing his campe in such vprore, was so amased, that he knew not what way to take, but away secretly, disguised in a thred bare cloke, and a hoode on his head to keepe him from knowledge. *Pyrrus* forthwith seazed vppon his campe, tooke all that hee found, and was presently proclaimed in the field, king of MACEDON. *Lysimachus* on thother side, came straight after him, and sayed that hee had holpen to chase *Demetrius* out of his realme, and therefore claimed halfe the kingdome with him. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* not trusting the MACEDONIANS

Demetrius maried Lanassa Pyrrus wife.

Pyrrus dream.

Pyrrus second iourney into Macedon.

Pyrrus praises.

How Pyrrus ware his head peece.

Pyrrus proclaimed king of Macedon.

too farre as yet, but rather standing in doubt of their faith: graunted *Lysimachus* his desire, and thereupon deuided all the cities and prouinces of the realme of MACEDON betweene them. This partition was profitable for them both at that present, and stoode then to good purpose to pacifie the warre, that otherwise might sodainly haue risen betweene them. But shortly after, they found that this partition was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and dissention betweene them. For they whose auarice and insatiable greedy appetite, neither the sea, the mountaines, nor the vnhabitable desertes could containe, nor yet the confines that separate ASIA from EVROPE determine: how should they bee content with their owne, without vsurping others, when their frontiers ioyne so neare together, that nothing deuideth them? Sure it is not possible. For to say truely, they are willingly together by the eares, hauing these two cursed things rooted in them: that they continually seeke occasion how to surprise each other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in appearance they vse these two tearmes of peace and warres, as they doe money: vsing it as they thinke good, not according to right and iustice, but for their priuate profite. And truely they are men of farre greater honesty, that make open warre, and auow it: then those that disguise and colour the delay of their wicked purpose, by the holy name of iustice or friendship. Which *Pyrrus* did truly then verefie. For desiring to keepe *Demetrius* down from rising another time, and that he should not requite againe as escaped from a long daungerous disease: hee went to helpe the GRECIANS against him, and was at ATHENS, where they suffered him to come into the castle, and doe sacrifice there vnto the goddesse *Minerua*. But comming out of the castle againe the same day, hee told the ATHENIANS he was greatly beholding vnto them for their curtesie, and the great trust they had reposed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gaue them counsell, neuer to suffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their citie, if they were wise, nor once open their gates vnto thē. So, after that he had made peace with *Demetrius*, who within short time being gone to make warres in ASIA, *Pyrrus* yet once againe (perswaded thereunto by *Lysimachus*) caused all THESSALY to rise against him, & went himselfe to set vpon those garrisons which *Demetrius* had left in the cities of GREECE, liking better to continue the MACEDONIANS in warre, then to leaue them in peace: besides that, himselfe also was of such a nature, as could not long continue in peace. *Demetrius* thus in the end being vtterly ouerthrowen in SYRIA, *Lysimachus* seeing him selfe free from feare on that side, and being at good leysure, as hauing nothing to trouble him otherwaies: went straight to make warre vpon *Pyrrus*, who then remained neare vnto the city of EDESSA, and meeting by the way with the conuoy of victuals cōming towards him, set vpon the conducters, and rifled them wholy. By this means, first he distressed *Pyrrus* for want of victuals: then he corrupted the princes of MACEDON with letters and messengers, declaring vnto them, what shame they sustained to haue made a stranger their king (whose ancestors had euer bene their vassals & subiects) and to haue turned all those out of MACEDON, that had bene familiar friendes of king *Alexander* the great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were won by these perswasions, which also feared *Pyrrus*, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPIROTES, and other his confederates: and so lost MACEDON by the selfe same meanes hee wanne it. Kings and princes therefore must not blame priuate men, though they chaunge and alter sometime for their profit: for therein they doe but follow the example of princes, who teach them all disloyaltie, treason, and infidelity, iudging him most worthy of gaine, that least obserueth iustice and equity. So *Pyrrus* being come home againe to his kingdome of EPIRVS, hauing MACEDON altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and in deede he had good occasiones to liue peaceably at home, without any trouble, if hee could haue contented himselfe only with the soueraignty ouer his owne naturall subiects. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, hee could not tell how to spend his time, and by peace he should pine away for sorrow, as *Homer* sayed of *Achilles*:

He languished and pinde by taking ease and rest:
And in the warres where trauaile was, he liked euer best.

And thus seeking matter of new trouble, fortune presented him this occasion. About this time, the ROMAINS by chaunce made war with the TARENTINES, who could neither beare

Macedon deuided betweene Pyrrus and Lysimachus.

Couetousnesse hath no end.

Peace, and warre, vsed like money.

Pyrrus aided the Grecians against Demetrius.

Lysimachus maketh warre with Pyrrus.

their force, nor yet deuise how to pacifie the same, by reason of the rashnesse, folly, and w
nesse of their gouernours, who perswaded them to make *Pyrrus* their Generall, an
for him for to conduct these warres: because he was lesse troubled at that time, then any
other kings about them, and was esteemed of euery man also to bee a noble souldier, a
mous Captaine. The elders and wise men of the city, vtterly misliked that counsell: but
of them were put to silence, through the noise and fury of the people, who cried for w
Some other seeing them checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this manner, wo
more repaire to their common assemblies. Among the rest, there was one *Meton*, an
worshipfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people should conclude
sell, the decree for the calling in of *Pyrrus*: all the people of TARENTVM being assembl
set in the Theater, this *Meton* put an olde withered garlande of flowers vpon his hea
carying a torch in his hand as though he had bene drunke, and hauing a woman mis
fore him playing on a pipe, went daunsing in this goodly aray through the midde
whole assembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in euery hurly burly of peo
will be maisters them selues, and where no good order is kept) some of them clapp
hands, other burst out in a laughter, and euery man suffered him to doe what he lust
all cried out to the woman minstrell, to play on and spare not, and to *Meton* him self
should sing, and come forward. So *Meton* made shew as though hee prepared him self
it: and when they had giuen silence to heare him sing, he spake vnto them with a lou
in this manner. My Lordes of TARENTVM, yee doe well sure, not to forbid them to
to be merry that are so disposed, whilest they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wise, euery
also (as many as you be) will take your liberty whilest you may enioy it. For when kin
rus shall be in this city, you shall liue I warrant you after an other sort, and not as yee no
These words of *Meton* moued many of the TARENTINES, and sodainely there ran a
through all the assembly, that he had sayd truely. But they that had offended the R
fearing if peace were made, that they should be deliuered into their handes, they cha
people, asking them if they were such fooles, as would abide to be mocked and play
to their teeth: and with those words all ranne vpon *Meton*, and draue him out of the T
The decree thus confirmed by voices of the people, they sent Ambassadours into E
cary presents vnto king *Pyrrus*, not only from the TARENTINES, but from other Gr
also that dwelt in ITALIE, saying that they stood in neede of a wise and skilfull Capt
was reputed famous in martiall discipline. And as to the rest, for numbers of good so
they had men enough in ITALIE, and were able to bring an army into the field, of
CANIANS, the MESSAPIANS, the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thousand
and three hundred thousand footemen being all assembled together. These words of th
bassadors did not only lift vp *Pyrrus* heart, but made the EPIROTES also maruellous d
to go this iourney. There was in king *Pyrrus* court one *Cineas* THESSALIAN, a man o
vnderstanding, and that had bene *Demosthenes* the orators scholler, who seemed to be
ly man of al other in his time in common reputation, to be most eloquent, following th
lie image and shadow of *Demosthenes* passing eloquence. This *Cineas*, *Pyrrus* euer cou
about him, and sent him Ambassador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he w
Euripides wordes:

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty handes may doe,
So much can skill of eloquence, atchieue and conquer to.

And therefore *Pyrrus* would often say, that *Cineas* had wonne him moe townes wit
loquence, then he himselfe had done by the sword: for which he did greatly honor and
him in all his chiefe affaires. *Cineas* perceiuing that *Pyrrus* was maruellously bent to th
of ITALIE, finding him one day at leysure, discoursed with him in this sort. It is repor
it please your maiesty, that the ROMAINS are very good men of war, and that they co
many valiant and warlike nations: if it please the goddes we doe ouercome them, what
fit shall we haue of that victory? *Pyrrus* aunswered him againe, thou doest aske me a qu
that is manifest of it selfe. For when we haue once ouercome the ROMAINES, there c
ther GRECIAN nor barbarous city in all the countrey withstand vs, but we shall straigh

The Tarentines hauing war with the Romaines, determine to make king Pyrrus their Generall.

Meton counterfeating the foole, wisely perswaded the Tarentines not to send for Pyrrus.

Tarentum a city in Italy.

Metons counsell to the Tarentines.

The Tarentines send Ambassadors to Pyrrus.

Cineas the orator, a Thessalian borne, and attending in Pyrrus court.

Cineas graue talke with Pyrrus, to moderat his ambitious minde.

ver all the reſt of ITALIE with eaſe: whoſe greatneſſe, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then thy ſelfe. *Cineas* pawſing a while, replied: and when we haue taken ITALIE, what ſhall we do then? *Pyrrus* not finding his meaning yet, ſaid vnto him. SICILIA as thou knoweſt is hard adioyning to it, and doth as it were offer it ſelfe vnto vs, and is a maruellous populous and rich land, and eaſie to be taken: for all the cities within the Iland are one againſt another, hauing no head that gouerns them, ſince *Agathocles* died, more then oratours onely that are their counſellers, who will ſoone be wonne. In deede it is likely which your grace ſpeaketh, ſaith *Cineas*: but when we haue won SICILIA, ſhall then our wars take end? If the goddes were pleaſed, ſayd *Pyrrus*, that victory were atchieued: the way were then broad open for vs to attain great conqueſts. For who would not afterwards go into AFRICKE, and ſo to CARTHAGE, which alſo will be an eaſie conqueſt, ſince *Agathocles* ſecretly flying from SYRACVSA, and hauing paſſed the ſeas with a few ſhips, had almoſt taken it? And that once conqueſted, it is moſt certaine there durſt not one of all our enemies that now do daily vexe and trouble vs, lift vp their heades or handes againſt vs. No ſurely, ſayed *Cineas*: for it is a cleare caſe, that with ſo great a power we may eaſily recouer the realme of MACEDON againe, and commaund all GREECE beſides, without let of any. But when we haue all in our handes: what ſhall we doe in the end? Then *Pyrrus* laughing, told him againe: we will then (good *Cineas*) be merry, and take our eaſe, and make feaſts euery day, and be as merry one with an other as we can poſſible. *Cineas* hauing brought him to that point, ſayed againe to him: my Lord, what hindreth vs now to be quiet, & merry together, ſith we enioy that preſently without further trauell and trouble, which we will now go ſeeke for abroad, with ſuch ſheading of bloud, and ſo manifeſt danger: and yet we know not whether euer we ſhall attain vnto it, after we haue both troubled, and cauſed other to ſuffer infinit ſorrows and troubles. Theſe laſt words of *Cineas*, did rather offend *Pyrrus*, then make him to alter his minde: for he was not ignoraunt of the happie ſtate he ſhould thereby forgoe, yet could he not leaue off the hope of that hee did ſo much deſire. So he ſent *Cineas* before vnto the TARENTINES, with three thouſand footemen: and afterwardes the TARENTINES hauing ſent him great ſtore of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all ſortes of paſſengers, he ſhipped into them twenty Elephantes, three thouſand horſemen, and twenty thouſand footemen, with fiue hundred bowmen and ſlings. All things being ready, he wayed anckers, and hoyſed ſailes, and was no ſooner in the maine ſea, but the north winde blew very roughly, out of ſeaſon, and draue him to leeward: Notwithſtanding, the ſhip which he was in himſelfe, by great toile of the pilots and mariners turning to winde-ward, and with much a do, and marueilous daunger recouered the coaſt of ITALIE. Howbeit the reſt of his fleete were violently diſperſed here and there, whereof ſome of them failing their courſe into ITALIE, were caſt into the ſeas of LIBYA, and SICILIA. The other not able to recouer the point of APVLIA, were benighted, and the ſea being high wrought, by violence driuen them vpon the ſhore, and againſt the rockes, and made ſhipwrackes of them, the Admirall onely reſerued, which through her ſtrength, and the greatneſſe of her burden, reſiſted the force of the ſea that moſt violently beat againſt her. But afterwards, the wind turning & comming from the land, the ſea cruelly raking ouer the height of her forecaſtell: in fine brought her in manifeſt perill of opening, and ſplitting, and in daunger to be driuen from the coaſt, hoiſing her out againe to the mercy of the windes, which chaunged euery hower. Wherefore *Pyrrus* caſting the perill euery way, thought beſt to leape into the ſea. After him forthwith leapt his gard, his ſeruaunts, and other his familiar friends, venturing their liues to ſaue him. But the darkenes of the night, and rage of the waues (which the ſhore breaking, forced to rebound backe vpon them) with the great noiſe alſo, did ſo hinder their ſwimming: that it was euen day before they could recouer any land; and yet was it by meanes that the winde ſtaied. As for *Pyrrus*, he was ſo ſea beaten, and wearied with the waues, that he was able to do no more though of him ſelfe he had ſo great a heart, and ſtout a courage, as was able to ouercome any perill. Moreouer, the MESSAPIONS (vpon whoſe coaſt the ſhot me had caſt him) ran out to helpe him, and diligently labored in all they could poſſible to ſaue him, and receiued alſo ſome of his ſhippes that had ſcaped, in which were a few horſemen, about two thouſand footemen, and two Elephants. With this ſmall force, *Pyrrus* marched on his iourney to go

Pyrrus iudgement of orators corruption.

A daungerous thing to withſtand the Princes minde.

Pyrrus iorney into Italy.

Pyrrus danger by tempeſt on the ſea.

Pyrrus caſt on ſhore vpon the countrey of the Meſſapij.

by land vnto TARENTVM: and *Cineas* being aduertised of his comming, went with his men to meete him. Now when he was come to TARENTVM, at the first he would do nothing by force, nor against the good will of the inhabitantes: vntill such time as his shippes that had escaped the daungers of the sea, were all arriued, and the greatest part of his army come together againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, seeing that the people of TARENTVM could neither saue them selues, nor be saued by any other, without straight order and compulsion, because they made their reckoning that *Pyrrus* should fight for them, & in the meane time they would not stirre out of their houses from bathing them selues, from banqueting & making good chere: first of all he caused all the parkes and places of shew to be shut vp, where they were wont to walke and disport them selues, in any kind of exercise, and as they were wont to talke of wars as it were in pastime, and to fight with words, but not to come to the blowes. And further he forbad all feastings, mummeries, and such other like pleasures, as at that time were out of season. He trained them out also to exercise their weapons, and shewed himself very seuere in musters, not pardoning any whose names were billed to serue in the warres: somuch as there were many (which vnacquainted with such rough handling & gouernment) forsooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to haue liberty to liue at their pleasure. Furthermore, *Pyrrus* hauing intelligence that *Leuinus* the ROMAINE Cōsull came against him with a great puisant army, and that he was already entred into the land of LVCANIA, where he destroied and spoiled all the countrey before him: albeit the TARENTINES aide of their confederats, was not as yet come, hee thought it a great shame to suffer his enemies approch neare him, and therefore taking that small number he had, brought them into the field against *Leuinus*. Howbeit he sent a herauld before to the ROMAINS, to vnderstand of them, if (before they entred into this war) they could be content the controuersies they had with all the GRECIANS dwelling in ITALY, might be decided by iustice, and therein to refer them selues to arbiterment, who of himselfe would vndertake the pacification of them. Whereunto the Cōsull *Leuinus* made answere, that the ROMAINES would neuer allow him for a iudge, nor did they feare him for an enemy. Wherefore *Pyrrus* going on still, came to lodge in the plaine which is betweene the cities of PANDOSIA, and of HERACLEA: and hauing newes brought him that the ROMAINS were encamped very neare vnto him on the other side of the riuer Siris, he tooke his horse, and rode to the riuers side to view their campe. So hauing throughly considered the forme, the situation, and the order of the same, the manner of charging, watch, and all their fashions of doing; he wondered much thereat. And speaking to *Megacles* one of his familiars about him, he said: this order *Megacles* (quoth he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarously done, but we shall shortly proue their force. After he had thus taken his view, he beganne to be more carefull then he was before, and purposed not to fight till the whole aide of their confederates were come together, leauing men at the riuer side Siris, to keepe the passage, if the enemies ventured to passe ouer as they did in deede. For they made hast to preuent the aide that *Pyrrus* looked for, and passed their footemen ouer vpon a bridge, and their horsemen at diuerse fordes of the riuer: insomuch as the GRECIANS for feare least they should be compassed in behinde, drew backe. *Pyrrus* aduertised thereof, and nothing troubled therewithall, commaunded the Captaines of his footemen presently to put their bandes in battell ray, and not to sturre till they knew his pleasure: and hee himself in the meanetime marched on with three thousand horse, in hope to finde the ROMAINES by the riuer side, as yet out of order, and vtterly vnprouided. But when he saw a far off a great number of footemen with their targettes ranged in battell, on this side the riuer, and the horsemen marching towards him in very good order: he caused his men to ioyne close together, and himselfe first beganne the charge, being easie to bee knowen from other, if it had been more but his passing rich glistering armour and furniture, and withall, for that his valiant deedes gaue manifest proofe of his well deserued fame and renowne. For, though he valiantly bestirred his hands and body both repulsing them, he encountered with all in fight yet he forgate not himselfe, nor neglected the iudgement and foresight, which should neuer be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though hee had not fought at all, quietly and discreetly gaue order for euery thing, riding to and fro, to defend and encourage his men in those places

Pyrrus being receiued of the Tarentines reformed their vaine voluptuous life.

Martiall discipline.

Leuinus Consul sent against Pyrrus.

Pyrrus campeth in the plaine, betweene Pandosia and Heraclea. Siris fl.

Pyrrus battell.

Pyrrus first conflict with the Romaines.

Pyrrus wisedom and foresight in battell.

where he saw them in most distresse. But euen in the hottest of the battell, *Leonatus* MACEDONIAN spyed an ITALIAN a man of armes, that followed *Pyrrus* vppe and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hand with him, to set vpon him. Wherefore he said to *Pyrrus*: my Lord doe you not see that barbarous man there vpon a baye horse with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he ment to doe some notable feate and mischiefe with his owne handes: for his eye is neuer off you, but waiteth only vpon you, being sharpe set to deale with your selfe & none other, and therfore take heede of him. *Pyrrus* answered him, it is impossible *Leonatus*, for a man to auoide his destinie: but neither he, nor any other ITALIAN whatsoeuer, shall haue any ioy to deale with me. And as they were talking thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his speare in the middest, and setting spurs to his horse, charged vpon *Pyrrus*, and ranne his horse through and through with the same. *Leonatus* at the selfe same instant slue the ITALIANS horse in the like manner, so as both their horses fell dead to the ground. Howbeit *Pyrrus* men that were about him, saued him presently, and slew the ITALIAN in the field, although he fought it out right valiantly. The ITALIANS name was *Oplacus*, borne in the citie of FERENTVM, and was Captaine of a band of men of armes. This mischance made king *Pyrrus* looke the better to himselfe afterwardes, and seeing his horsemen giue backe, sent presently to hasten his footemen forwarde, whom he straight set in order of battell: and shifting his armour and cloke to one of his familiars called *Megacles*, and being hidden as it were in *Meglaces* armor, returned againe to the battell against the ROMAINES, who valiantly assailed him, so that the victorie depended long in doubt. For it is said, that both the one side and the other did chase, and was chased, aboue seauen times in that conflict. The changing of the kings armour serued very well for the safetie of his owne person, howbeit it was like to haue marred all, and to haue made him loose the field. For many of his enemies set vpon *Megacles* that ware the kings armour: and the partie that slue him dead, and threw him starke on the ground, was one *Dexias* by name, who quickly snatched off his head peece, tooke away his cloake, and ranne to *Leuinus* the Consull, crying out alowde, that he had slaine *Pyrrus*, and withall shewed foorth the spoiles he supposed to haue taken from him. Which being caried about through all the bands, & openly shewed from hand to hand, made the ROMAINES maruellous ioyfull, and the GRECIANS to the contrary, both afeard and right sorowfull: vntill such time as *Pyrrus* hearing of it, went and passed alongst all his bands bare headed, and his face, holding vp his hand to his souldiers, and giuing them to vnderstande with his owne voice, that it was himselfe. The elephants in the ende were they indeed that wanne the field, and did most distresse the ROMAINES: for, their horses seeing them a farre off, were afraide, and durst not abide them, but caried their masters backe in despight of them. *Pyrrus* at the sight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horsemen to giue a charge vpon them while they were in this disorder, and that so lustily, as they made the ROMAINES flie, and suffered great slaughter. For *Dionysius* writeth, that there died few lesse, then fifteene thousand ROMAINES at that battell. But *Hieronymus* speaketh onely of seuen thousand. And of *Pyrrus* *Dionysius* writeth, there were slaine thirteene thousand. But *Hieronymus* sayth lesse then fifteene thousand: howbeit they were all of the best men of his army, and those whom most he loued. King *Pyrrus* presently hereupon also tooke the ROMAINES campe, which they forsooke, and wan many of their cities from their alliance, spoiled, and ouercame much of their country. Insomuch as he came within sixe and thirty mile of ROME, whither came to his aid, the confederats of the TARENTINES, the LVCANIANS, & the SAMNITES, whom he rebuked because they came too late to the battell. Howbeit a man might easily see in his face, that he was not a litle glad and proud to haue ouerthrowen so great an army of the ROMAINES with his own men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On the other side, the ROMAINS harts were so great, that they would not depose *Leuinus* from his Consulshippe, notwithstanding the losse he had receiued: and *Caius Fabricius* sayed openly, that they were not the EPIROTES that had ouercome the ROMAINES, but *Pyrrus* had ouercome *Leuinus*: meaning thereby that this ouerthrow chaunced vnto them, more through the subtilty and wise conduction of the Generall, then through the valiant feates and worthinesse of his army. And hereuppon he speedily supplied their legions againe that were diminished, with other new souldiers

Pyrrus changed his armor and cloake.

Megacles slaine taken for Pyrrus.

Pyrrus victory of Leuinus the Consull.

in the dead mens place, and leauied a freſh force beſides, ſpeaking brauely and fiercely of this warre, like men whoſe hearts were nothing appauled. Whereat *Pyrrus* marueilling much, thought good firſt to ſend to the ROMAINES, to proue if they would giue any eare to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the citie of ROME was no eaſie matter to compaſſe, or attaine, with that ſtrength he preſently had: and alſo that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valiant victory. And hereupon he ſent *Cineas* to ROME, who ſpake with the chiefeſt of the citie, and offered preſents to them and their wiues, in the behalfe of the king his maſter. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receiue any at his handes, but anſwered all with one voice: that if the peace might be generall to all, they all priuately would be at the kings commaundement, and would be glad of his friendſhip. Moreouer, when *Cineas* had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had deliuered them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor ſhewed any affection to giue eare vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their priſoners home againe without ranſome, that had beene taken at the battell, and promiſed alſo to aide them in the conqueſt of ITALIE, requiring no other recompence at their handes, ſauing their goodwils only to his maſter, & aſſurance for the TARENTINES, that they ſhould not be annoyed for anie thing paſt, without demaund of other matter. Neuertheleſſe in the end, when they had heard theſe offers, many of the Senatours yeelded, and were willing to make peace: alledging that they had already loſt a great battell, and how they looked for greater, when the force of the confederates of ITALIE ſhould ioyne together with king *Pyrrus* power. But *Appius Claudius*, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor deale in matters of ſtate at all by reaſon of his age, and partly becauſe he was blinde: when he vnderſtood of king *Pyrrus* offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the city, how the Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulations of peace propounded by *Cineas*, he could not abide, but cauſed his ſeruants to cary him in his chaire vpon their armes vnto the Senate doore, his ſonnes, and ſonnes in lawe taking him in their armes, caried him ſo into the Senate houſe. The Senate made ſilence to honour the comming in of ſo notable and worthy a perſonage: and he ſo ſoone as they had ſet him in his ſeate, began to ſpeake in this ſorte. Hitherto vnto with great impatience (my Lords of ROME) haue I borne the loſſe of my ſight, but now I would I were alſo as deafe as I am blinde, that I might not (as I doe) heare the reports of your diſhonourable conſultations determined vpon in Senate, which tende to ſubuerte the glorious fame and reputation of ROME. What is now become of all your great and mighty bragges you blazed abroad through the whole worlde? That if *Alexander* the great himſelfe had come into ITALIE, in the time that our fathers had bin in the flower of their age, and we in the prime of our youth, they would not haue ſaide euery where that he was altogether vincible, as now at this preſent they do: but either he ſhould haue left his body ſlaine here in battell, or at the leaſtwiſe haue bene driuen to flie, and by his death or flying ſhould greatly haue enlarged the renowme and glory of ROME. You plainely ſhew it nowe, that all the words ſpoken then, were but vaine & arrogant vaunts of fooliſh pride. Conſidering that ye tremble for fear of the MOLOSSIANS & CHAONIANS, who were euer a prey to the MACEDONIANS: and that ye are afraid of *Pyrrus* alſo, who all his life time ſerued and followed on the gard vnto *Alexander* the great, and now is come to make wars in theſe parts, not to aide the GRECIANS inhabiting in ITALY, but to flie from his enemies there about his own countrie, offering you to conquer all the reſt of ITALIE with an army, wherewith he was nothing able to keepe a ſmall part of MACEDON only for him ſelfe. And therefore you muſt not perſuade your ſelues, that in making peace with him, you ſhall thereby be rid of him: but rather you draw others to come & ſet vpon you beſides. For they will vtterly deſpiſe you, when they ſhall heare ye are ſo eaſily ouercome, and that you haue ſuffered *Pyrrus* to eſcape your hands before you made him feele the iuſt reward of his bolde preſumptuous attempt vpon you. Againe rying with him for a further hier, this aduantage ouer you, that he hath giuen a great ouerthrow on both to the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After that *Appius* had tolde this tale vnto the Senate, euery one through the whole aſſembly altered rather warre then peace. They diſpatched *Cineas* away thereupon with this anſwer,

Cineas ſent Ambaſſador to Rome. The noble mind of the Romaines.

Appius Claudius diſſwaded the Romaines from making peace with Pyrrus.

Appius Claudius oration to the Senate.

if *Pyrrus* ſought the ROMAINES friendſhippe, he muſt firſt depart out of ITALIE, and then ſende vnto them to treate of peace: but ſo long as he remained there with his armie, the ROMAINES would make warres vpon him, with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had ouerthrowen and ſlaine tenne thouſand ſuch Captaines as *Leuinus* was. They ſay that *Cineas*, during the time of his abode at ROME, intreating for this peace, did curiouſly labour to conſider and vnderſtand the manners, order, and life of the ROMAINES, and their common weale, diſcourſing thereof with the chiefeſt men of the citie: and how afterwards he made ample report of the ſame vnto *Pyrrus*, and tolde him amongeſt other things, that the Senate appeared to him, a councell-houſe of many kings. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they ſhould fight againſt ſuch a ſerpent, as that which was in olde time in the mariſhes of LERNE, of which, when they had cut off one heade ſeuen other came vp in the place: becauſe the Conſull *Leuinus* had now leuied an other armie, twiſe as great as the firſt was, and had left at ROME alſo, many times as many good able men to carie armor. After this, there were ſent Ambaſſadors from ROME vnto *Pyrrus*, and amongſt other, *Caius Fabricius* touching the ſtate of the priſoners. *Cineas* tolde the king his maſter, that this *Fabricius* was one of the greateſt men of account in all ROME, a right honeſt man, a good Captaine, and a very valiant man of his handes, yet poore in deede he was notwithſtanding. *Pyrrus* taking him ſecretly a ſide, made very much of him, and amongſt other things, offered him both golde and ſiluer, praying him to take it, not for any diſhoneſt reſpect he ment towards him, but onely for a pledge of the goodwill and friendſhip that ſhould be betweene them. *Fabricius* would none of his gift: ſo *Pyrrus* left him for that time. Notwithſtanding the next morning thinking to feare him, becauſe he had neuer ſeene elephant before, *Pyrrus* commaunded his men, that when they ſawe *Fabricius* and him talking together, they ſhould bring one of his greateſt elephants, and ſet him harde by them, behinde a hanging: which being done at a certaine ſigne by *Pyrrus* giuen, ſodainly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his truncke was ouer *Fabricius* head, and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. *Fabricius* ſoftly giuing backe, nothing afraide, laughed and ſaid to *Pyrrus* ſmiling: neither did your golde (oh king) yeſterday moue me, nor your elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whileſt they were at ſupper, falling in talke of diuerſe matters, ſpecially touching the ſtate of GREECE, and the Philoſophers there: *Cineas* by chance ſpake of EPICVRVS, and rehearſed the opinions of the EPICVRIANS touching the gods and gouernment of the commonwealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleaſure, how they fled from all office and publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: how they maintained that the gods were immortall, neither mooued with pitty nor anger, & led an idle life full of all pleaſures and delightes, without taking any regarde of mens doings. But as he ſtill continued this diſcourſe, *Fabricius* cried out aloude, and ſaid: the goddes grant that *Pyrrus* and the SAMNITES were of ſuch opinions, as long as they had warres againſt vs. *Pyrrus* marſelling much at the conſtancy and magnanimity of this man, was more deſirous a great deale to haue peace with the ROMAINES, then before. And priuately prayed *Fabricius* very earneſtly, that he would treate for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remain with him, ſaying: that he would giue him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongſt all his friends. Whereunto *Fabricius* aunſwered him ſoftly: that were not good (oh king) for your ſelfe, quoth he: for your men that preſently doe honor and eſteeme you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather chooſe me for their king, then your ſelfe. Such was *Fabricius* talke, whoſe wordes *Pyrrus* tooke not in ill part, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyrant would haue bene: but did him ſelfe report to his friends and familiars the noble minde hee found in him, and deliuered him vppon his faith only, all the ROMAINE priſoners: to the end that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet ſee their friendes, and keepe the feaſt of Saturne with them, and then to ſend them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate eſtabliſhed by decree, vppon paine of death to all ſuch as ſhould not performe the ſame accordingly. Afterwardes *Fabricius* was choſen Conſull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought him a letter from king *Pyrrus* Phiſitian, written with his owne handes: in which the Phiſitian offered to poiſon his maſter, ſo he would promiſe him a good reward, for

The maieſtie of the Senate at Rome.

Caius Fabricius, Ambaſſador to Pyrrus.

Caius Fabricius a noble Captaine, but very poore.

Fabricius refuſed king Pyrrus gifts.

The opinion of the Epicurians touching felicitie.

King Pyrrus Phiſitian writeth to Fabricius, and offereth to poyſon his maiſter.

ending the warres without further danger. *Fabricius* detesting the wickednesse of the Phisitian, and hauing made *Q. AEmylius* his colleague and fellowe Consull also, to abhorre the same: wrote a letter vnto *Pyrrus*, and bad him take heede, for there were that ment to poyson him. The contents of his letter were these: *Caius Fabricius*, and *Quintus AEmylius* Consuls of ROME, vnto king *Pyrrus* greeting. You haue (oh king) made vnfortunate choise, both of your friends and of your enemies, as shall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter which one of yours hath written vnto vs: for you make warres with iust and honest men, and do your selfe truste altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hereof therefore we haue thought good to aduertise you, not in respect to pleasure you, but for feare least the misfortune of your death might make vs vniustly to be accused: imagining that by trecherie of treason, we haue sought to end this warre, as though by valiantnesse we could not otherwise atchieue it. *Pyrrus* hauing read this letter, and proued the contentes thereof true, executed the Phisitian as he had deserued: and to requite the aduertisement of the Consuls, he sent *Fabricius* and the ROMAINES their prisoners, without paying of ransome, and sent *Cineas* againe vnto them, to proue if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit, the ROMAINES, because they would neither receiue pleasure of their enemies, and least of all reward, for that they consented not vnto so wicked a deede did not onely refuse to take their prisoners of free gift, but they sent him againe so many SAMNITES, and TARENTINES. And furthermore, for peace and his friendship, they would haue no care to it, before the warres were ended, and that he had sent away his armie againe by sea into his kingdome of EPIRVS. Wherefore *Pyrrus* seeing no remedie, but that he must needes fight an other battell, after he had somewhat refreshed his armie, drewe towards the citie of ASCVLVM, where he fought the second time with the ROMAINES: and was brought into maruellous ill ground for horsemen, by a very swift running riuer, from whence came many brookes and deepe marishes, insomuch as his elephants could haue no space nor ground to ioine with the battell of the footmen, by reason wherof there was a great number of men hurt and slaine on both sides. And in the end, the battell being fought out all day long, the darke night did seuere them: but the next morning, *Pyrrus* to winne the aduantage to fight in the plaine field, where he might preuaile with the force of his elephants, sent first certaine of his bandes to seize vpon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy hauing brought the ROMAINES into the plaine field, he thrust in amongst his elephants store of shot, and slingmen, and then made his army marche (being very well set in order) with great furie against his enemies. They missing the other dayes turnings and places of aduantage were now compelled to fight all on a front in the plaine field: and striuing to breake into the battell of *Pyrrus* footemen before the elephants came, they desperately preased in vpon their enemies pikes with their swordes, not caring for their owne persons what became of them, but only looked to kill and destroy their enemies. In the end notwithstanding, after the battell had holden out very long, the ROMAINES lost it, and they first beganne to breake and flie on that side where *Pyrrus* was, by reason of the great force and fury of his charge, and more more through the violence of the Elephants: against which, the ROMAINES valiantnesse and courage could ought preuaile, but that they were driuen to giue them place (much like the rage of surging waues, or terrible trembling of the earth) rather then tary to bee troden vnder feete, and ouerthrowen by them, whom they were not able to hurt againe, but be by them most grieuously martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothing eased. The chase was not long, because they fled but into their campe: and *Hieronymus* the historiographer writeth that there died sixe thousand men of the ROMAINES, and of *Pyrrus* part about three thousand fiue hundred and fiue, as the kings owne Chronicles doe witnesse. Neuertheless, Dionysius makes no mention of two battels giuen neare vnto the citty of ASCVLVM, nor that the ROMAINES were certainely ouerthrowen: howbeit he confirmeth that there was one battell only that continued vntil sunne set, and that they scarcely seuered also when night was come. *Pyrrus* being hurt on the arme with a speare, and his cariage robbed and spoiled by the SAMNITES besides. And further, that there died in this battell, aboue fifteene thousand men as well of *Pyrrus* side, as of the ROMAINES part: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retire. And some say, that it was at that time *Pyrrus* aunswered one, who reioyced

Fabricius letter to Pyrrus, aduertising him of his Phisitians treason.

Pyrrus sendeth the Romaines their prisoners without ransome.

Pyrrus second battell with the Romaines, by the city of Asculum.

Pyrrus victory of the Romains

The writers agree not about Pyrrus battell.

him for the victorie they had wonne: if we win an other of the price, quoth he, we are vtterly vndone. For indeed then had he loſt the moſt part of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his friendes and Captaines in manner euery one, or at the leaſt there lacked litle of it: and beſides that, he had no meanes to ſupply them with other from thence, and perceiued alſo that the confederates he had in ITALIE, beganne to waxe colde. Where the ROMAINES to the contrary, did eaſily renew their army with freſh ſouldiers, which they cauſed to come from ROME as neede required (much like vnto a liuely ſpring, the head whereof they find at home in their country) and they fainted not at all for any loſſes they receiued, but rather were they ſo much the more hotly bent, ſtoutly determining to abide out the warres, what euer betide. And thus whileſt *Pyrrus* was troubled in this ſort, new hopes and new enterpriſes were offred vnto him, that made him doubtfull what to do. For euen at a clap came Ambaſſadors to him out of SICILIA, offering to put into his hands, the cities of SYRACVSA, of AGRIGENTVM, and of the LEONTINES, & beſeeching him to aide them to driue the CARTHAGINIANS out of the Ile, thereby to deliuer them from all the tyrants. And on the other ſide alſo, newes was brought him from GREECE, how *Ptolomie* ſurnamed the lightning, was ſlaine, and all his army ouerthrowen in battell againſt the GAVLES, and that now he ſhould come in good houre for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a king. Then he curſed his hard fortune that preſented him all at once, ſuch ſundry occaſions to doe great things: and as if both enterpriſes had bene already in his hande, he made his accompt that of neceſſitie he muſt looſe one of them. So, long debating the matter with him ſelfe, which of the two wayes he ſhould conclude vpon: in the ende he reſolued, that by the warres of SICILIA, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, conſidering that AFRICKE was not farre from them. Wherefore, diſpoſing himſelfe that way, he ſent *Cineas* thither immediatly to make his way, and to ſpeake to the townes and cities of the countrie as he was wont to do: & in the meanetime left a ſtrong garriſon in the city of TARENTVM, to keepe it at his deuotion, wherewith the TARENTINES were very angry. For they made requeſt vnto him, either to remaine in their countrie to maintaine wars with them againſt the ROMAINS, (which was their meaning why they ſent for him) or elſe if he would needs go, at the leaſtwiſe to leaue their city in as good ſtate as he found it. But he aunſwered them againe very roughly, that they ſhould ſpeake no more to him in it, and that they ſhould not chooſe but tary his occaſion. And with his aunſwer tooke ſhip, and ſailed towardes SICILIA: where ſo ſoone as he was arriued, he found all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingly put themſelues into his hands. And there neceſſitie of battell was offered him to employ his armie, nothing at the beginning durſt ſtand before him. For, with thirtie thouſand footemen, two thouſand fiue hundred horſemen, and two hundred ſaile which he brought with him, he draue the CARTHAGINIANS before him, and conquered all the country vnder their obedience. Nowe at that time, the city of ERIX was the ſtrongeſt place they had: and there were a great number of good ſouldiers within to defend it. *Pyrrus* determined to proue the aſſault of it, and when his army was ready to giue the charge, he armed him ſelfe at all peeces from toppe to toe, and approching the walles, vowed vnto *Hercules* to giue him a ſolemne ſacrifice, with a feaſt of common ioyes, ſo that he would graunt him grace to ſhew him ſelfe vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting in SICILIA, worthy of the noble anceſters from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his handes. This vow ended, he ſtraight made the trumpettes ſound to the aſſault, and cauſed the barbarous people that were on the wals, to retire with force of his ſhot. Then when the ſcaling ladders were ſet vp, him ſelfe was the firſt that mounted on the walle, where he found diuerſe of the barbarous people that reſiſted him. But ſome he threw ouer the wals on either ſide of him, and with his ſword ſlew many dead about him, him ſelfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the heart to looke him in the face, his countenaunce was ſo terrible. And this doth proue that *Homer* ſpake wiſely, and like a man of experience, when he ſayed: that valiantneſſe onely amongeſt all other morall vertues is that, which hath ſometimes certaine furious motions and diuine prouocations, which makes a man beſides him ſelfe. So the city being taken, he honorably performed his vowed ſacrifice to *Hercules*, & kept feaſt of all kindes and ſorts of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that

Ambaſſadors out of Sicilia, to pray aide of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus iorney into Sicilia.

Pyrrus wanne the city of Erix in Sicilia.

Homer of valiantnes.

time about MESSINA, called the MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the GRECIANS thereabouts, making many of them pay taxe & tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good souldiers, and had their name also of *Mars*, because they were martiall men, and giuen to armes. *Pyrrus* led his army against them, and ouerthrewe them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did leauy and exact the taxe, and rased many of their fortresses. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his friendship, offering him shippes and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a short aunswere, that there was but one way to make peace and loue betwene them, to forsake SICILIA altogether, and to be contented to make *Mare Libycum* the border betwixt GRECE and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his handes, did set him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into SICILIA, aspiring first of all vnto the conquest of LIBYA. Now, to passe him ouer thither he had ships enough, but he lacked owers and mariners wherefore when he would presse them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of SICILIA, and in anger compelled, and seuerely punished them, that would not obey his commaundement. This he did not at his first comming, but contrarily had wonne all their good wils, speaking more courteously to them then any other did, & shewing that he trusted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But sodainely being altered from a popular prince vnto a violent tyrant, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worst of all, vnfaithfull and ingratefull: neuertheless, though they receiued great hurt by him, yet they suffered it, and granted him any needfull thing he did demaund. But when they saw he began to mistrust *Thænon* and *Sostratus*, the two chiefe Captaines of SYRACVSA, and they who first caused him to come into SICILIA, who also at his first arriuall deliuered the city of SYRACVSA into his hands, & had bin his chiefe aiders in helping him to compasse that he had done in SICILIA: when I say they saw he would no more cary them with him, nor leaue them behinde him for the mistrust he had of them, and that *Sostratus* fled from him, and absented himselfe, fearing least *Pyrrus* would do him some mischiefe: and that *Pyrrus* moreouer, had slaine *Thænon* to death, mistrusting that he would also haue done him some harme. Then all things fell out against *Pyrrus*, not one after an other, nor by litle and litle, but all together at once: for stant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe some of them conspirate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to set vpon him. And when all SICILIA was thus bent against him, he receiued letters from the SAMNITES & TARENTINES, by which they aduertised him, how they had much a doe to defende themselues within their cities and strong holdes, and that they were wholly driuen out of the field: wherefore they earnestly besought him speedily to come to their aide. This newes came happily to him, to cloake his flying, that he might say it was not for despaire of good successe in SICILIA that he went his way: but true it was indeed, that when he saw he could no longer keep it, then a shippe could stand still among the waues, hee sought some honest shadow to cloke his departing. And that surely was the cause why he returned againe into ITALIE. Nevertheless, at his departure out of SICILE, they say that looking backe vpon the Ile, he said to them that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my friends, doe we leaue to the ROMAINS and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight the one with the other? And verily so it fell out shortly after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous people conspiring together against *Pyrrus*, the CARTHAGINIANS on the one side watching his passage, gaue him battell on the sea, in the very straight it selfe of MESSINA, where he lost many of his ships, and fled with the rest, & so to the coast of ITALIE. And there the MAMERTINES on the other side, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteene thousand fighting men: durst not present him battell in the field, but taried for him in certaine straights of the mountaines, and in very hard places, and set vpon his rereward, and disordered all his army. They slew two of his elephants, and put off a great number of his rereward, so as he was compelled him selfe in person to come to his vangard, to helpe them against the barbarous people, which were lusty valiant men, and old trained souldiers. And there *Pyrrus* caught a blow on his head with a sword, and was in great danger: insomuch as he was forced to retire out of the preasse and fight, which did much the more encorage his enemies. Among which there was one more aduenturous

The Mamertines why so called.

Pyrrus cruelne in Sicilia.

The Samnites and Tarentines sent for Pyrrus to returne into Italie.

Pyrrus return into Italy out of Sicile.

Pyrrus hurt on his head with a sword.

the reſt, a goodly man of perſonage, fayre armed in white armour, who aduauncing himſelfe farre before his company, cried out to the king with a bold and fierce voice, and chalenged him to fight with him if he were aliue. *Pyrrus* being mad as it were with this brauery, turned againe with his gard, in ſpight of his men, hurte as he was. And beſides that, he was all on a fire with choller, and his face al bloody and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous villaine that had chalenged him: and gaue him ſuch a blow on his head with al his force & power, that what by the ſtrength of his arme, & through the goodnes of the temper and mettle of the ſword, the blow claue his head right in the middeſt, downe to the ſhoulders: ſo that his heade being thus deuided, the one parte fell on the one ſhoulder, & the other part on the other. This matter ſodainely ſtayed the barbarous people, and kept them from going any further, they were ſo afrayde and amaſed both to ſee ſo great a blow with ones hande, and it made them thinke indeede that *Pyrrus* was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. *Pyrrus* holding on his iorney, arriued at the length in the city of TARENTVM, with twenty thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſe. And with theſe (ioyning therto the choiceſt picked men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the field to ſeeke out he ROMAINES, who had their camp within the territories of the SAMNITES, which were thē in very hard ſtate. For their hartes were killed, becauſe that in many battels & encounters with the ROMAINES, they were euer ouerthrowen. They were very angry beſides with *Pyrrus*, for that he had forſaken them, to go his voyage vnto SICILIA, by reaſon whereof there came no great number of ſouldiers into his campe. But notwithſtanding, he deuided all his ſtrength into two partes, whereof he ſent the one part into LVCANIA, to occupy one of the ROMAINE Conſulles that was there, to the end he ſhould not come to ayde his companion: and with the other part he went himſelfe againſt *Manius Curius*, who lay in a very ſtrange place of aduantage neere to the cittie of BENEVENTO, attending the aide that ſhould come to him out of LVCANIA, beſides alſo that the Soothſayers (by the ſignes and tokens of the birdes and ſacrifices) did counſell him not to ſtur from thence. *Pyrrus* to the contrary, deſiring to fight with *Manius* before his ayde came vnto him, which he looked for out of LVCANIA, took with him the beſt ſouldiers he had in al his army, and the warlikeſt elephants, and marched away in the night, ſuppoſing to ſteale vpon *Manius* on the ſodaine, and giue an aſſault vnto his campe. Now *Pyrrus* hauing a long way to go, and through a woddy country, his lights and torches failed him, by reaſon whereof many of his ſouldiers loſt their way, and they loſt a great deale of time alſo, before they could again be gathered together: ſo as in this ſpace the night was ſpent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceiued plainely how he came downe the hils. This at the firſt ſight made thē muſe a while, and put them in a litle feare: neuertheleſſe *Manius* hauing had the ſignes of the ſacrifices fauorable, and ſeing that occaſion did preſſe him to it, went out into the field, and ſet vpon the vowarde of his enemies, and made them turne their backes. The which feared all the reſt in ſuch wiſe, that there were ſlaine a great number of them in the field, and certaine elephantes alſo taken. This victory made *Manius Curius* leaue his ſtrength, and come into the plaine field, where he ſet his men in battel ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on the one ſide: but on the other he was repulſed by violence of the elephants, and compelled to draw backe into his own campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to garde it. So when he ſaw them vpon the rampers of his campe al armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they commig freſh out of places of aduantage, to charge vpon the elephantes, compelled them in a very ſhort time to turne their backes, & flie through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble, and diſorder: ſo as in the end, the whole victory fell vpon the ROMAINES ſide, and conſequently by meanes of that victory, followed the greatnes and power of their Empire. For the ROMAINES being growen more couragious by this battel and hauing increaſed their force, and wonne the reputation of men vnconquerable: immediatly after conquered all ITALIE beſides, and ſoone after that, all SICILIA. To this end as you ſee, came king *Pyrrus* vaine hope he had to conquer ITALIE & SICILIA, after he had ſpent ſixe yeres continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, & his army conſumed. Notwithſtāding, his noble courage remained alwaies inuincible, what loſſes ſoeuer he

Pyrrus with a blow of his ſword claue his enemies head in the middeſt, & layed it on his ſhoulders.

Manius Curius Conſull.

Pyrrus third battell with the Romaines.

Pyrrus ouerthrowen by Manius Curius in battell.

had ſuſtained: and moreouer whileſt he liued, he was euer eſteemed the chiefeſt of all the kings & princes in his time, as well for his experience and ſufficiency in warres, as alſo for the valiantnes and hardines of his perſon. But what he wanne by famous deeds, he loſt by vaine hopes: deſiring ſo earneſtly that which he had not, as he forgot to keepe that which he had. Wherefore *Antigonus* compared him vnto a dice player that caſteth well but cannot vſe his lucke. Now hauing brought backe againe with him into EPIRVS, eight thouſand footemen, and fiue hundreth horſemen, and being without money to pay them, he deuiſed with himſelfe to ſeeke out ſome new warre to entertaine thoſe ſouldiers, and keepe them together. Wherefore vpon a new aide of certaine GAVLES being come vnto him, he entred into the realme of MACEDON (which *Antigonus*, *Demetrius* ſonne held at that time) with intent onely to make a forrey, and to get ſome ſpoile in the country. But when he ſawe that he had taken diuerſe holdes, and moreouer, that two thouſand men of warre of the country came and yeelded themſelues vnto him: he beganne to hope of better ſucceſſe, then at the firſt he looked for. For vpon that hope he marched againſt king *Antigonus* ſelfe, whom he met in a very ſtraight valley, and at his firſt cõming, gaue ſuch a luſty charge vpon his rereward, that he put all *Antigonus* army in great diſorder. For *Antigonus* had placed the GAVLES in the rereward of his army to cloſe it in, which were a conuenient number, and did valiantly defend the firſt charge: and the skirmiſh was ſo hotte, that the moſt of them were ſlaine. After them, the leaders of the elephants perceiuing they were enuironed on euery ſide, yeelded themſelues and their beaſtes. *Pyrrus* ſeing his power to be now increaſed, with ſuch a ſupply, truſting more to his good fortune, then any good reaſon might moue him: thruſt further into the battell of the MACEDONIANS, who were all afraide, and troubled for the ouerthrow of their rereward, ſo as they would not once baſe their pikes, nor fight againſt him. He in his part holding vp his hand, and calling the Captaines of the bands by their names, ſtraightwayes made all the footmen of *Antigonus* turne wholly to his ſide: who flying ſaued himſelfe with a fewe horſemen, and kept certaine of the cities in his realme vpon the ſea coaſt. But *Pyrrus* in all his proſperitie iudging nothing more to redound to his honour and glory, then the ouerthrow of the GAVLES, layed aſide their goodlieſt and richeſt ſpoyles, and offred the ſame in the temple of *Minerua Itonida*, with this inſcription.

Pyrrus compared to a dyce player.

Pyrrus returne into Epirus out of Italie.

Pyrrus victory of Antigonus king of Macedon.

Antigonus flieth from king Pyrrus.

VVhen Pyrrus had ſubdude, the puiſant Gaules in fields,
He cauſed of their ſpoyles to make, theſe targets, armes and ſhields:
The which he hanged vp, in temple all on high,
Before Minerua (goddeſſe heere) in ſigne of victory.
VVhen he had ouercome, the whole and hugie hoaſt,
The which Antigonus did bring, into his countries coaſt.
Ne maruell ſhould it ſeeme, though victory be wonne,
Since valiantnes brings victory, and euermore hath done:
And valiantnes alwaies, hath conſtantly kept place,
From age to age, and time to time, in AEcus his race.

Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of MACEDON yeelded vnto him: but when he had the citie of ÆGES in his power, he vſed the inhabitants thereof very hardly, & ſpecially becauſe he left a great garriſõ of the GAVLES there which he had in pay. This nation is extreame couetous, as then they ſhewed themſelues: for they ſpared not to breake vp the tombes wherein the kings of MACEDON lay buried there, tooke away all the gold & ſiluer they could finde, and afterwards with great inſolency caſt out their bones into the open winde. *Pyrrus* was tolde it, but he lightly paſſed it ouer, and made no reckoning of it: either becauſe he deferred it till another time, by reaſon of the warres he had then in hande: or for that he durſt not medle with puniſhing of theſe barbarous people at that time. But whatſoeuer the matter was, the MACEDONIANS were very angry with *Pyrrus*, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, hauing not yet made all things ſure in MACEDON, not being fully poſſeſt of the ſame: new toyes and hope came into his head, and mocking *Antigonus* ſaid he was a mad man to go apparelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloke might become him like a priuate man. Now, *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA being come to procure him

The couetouſnes of the Gaules.

bring his army into the coũtry of LACEDÆMON, *Pyrrus* was very willing to it. This *Cleonymus* was of the blud royall of SPARTA, but because he was a cruel man & would do al things by authority, they loued him not at SPARTA, nor trusted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, & made *Areus* king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell *Cleonymus* had against the cõmon wealth of SPARTA: but besides that, he had another priuate quarrell, which grew vpon this cause. In his old yeares, *Cleonymus* had maried a faire yoũg lady called *Chelidonide*, which was also of the blood royall, & the daughter of *Leotychides*. This lady being fallen extreamely in loue with *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* sonne, a goodly yong gentleman, and in his lusty youth, she greatly vexed and dishonored her husband *Cleonymus*, who was ouer heade and eares in loue and ielousie with her: for there was not one in all SPARTA, but planely knew that his wife made none account of him. And thus his home sorrowes, being ioyned with his outward common grieues, euen for spight, desiring a reuenge, in choller he went to procure *Pyrrus* to come vnto SPARTA, to restore him againe to his kingdome. Hereupon he brought him into LACEDÆMONIA forthwith, with fiue & twenty thousand footmen, two thousand horse, and foure and twenty elephantes: by which preparation, though by nothing else, the world might plainely see, that *Pyrrus* came with a minde not to restore *Cleonymus* againe vnto SPARTA, but of intẽt to conquer for himselfe (if he could) all the coũtrie of PELOPONNESVS. For in words he denied it to the LACEDÆMONIANS themselues, who sent Ambãssadors vnto him, when he was in the city of MEGALOPOLIS, where he told them that he was come into PELOPONNESVS, to set the townes and cities at libertie which *Antigonus* kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to send his young sonnes into SPARTA (so they would be contẽted) to the end they might be trained after the LACONIAN manner, and from their youth haue this aduantage aboue all other kings, to haue beene well brought vp. But fayning these things, and abusing those that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the coast of LACONIA, into the which he was no sooner entred, but he began to spoyle and wast the whole country. And when the Ambassadors of SPARTA reproued and found fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in such sort, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them answer: no more haue you your selues vsed to proclaime that, which you purposed to do to others. Then one of the Ambassadors called *Mandricidas*: replied again vnto him in the LACONIAN tongue. If thou be a god, thou wilt doe vs no hurte, because we haue not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou shalt meete with another that shalbe better then thy selfe. Then he marched directly to SPARTA, where *Cleonymus* gaue him counsell euen at the first, to assault it. But he would not so do fearing (as they sayed) that if he did it by night, his souldiers would sacke the city: and sayed it should be time enough to assault it the next day at broad day light, because there were but few men within the town, and beside they were very ill prouided. And furthermore, king *Areus* himselfe was not there, but gone into CRETA to aide the GORTYNIANS, who had warres in his owne country. And doubtles, that only was the sauing of SPARTA from taking, that they made no reckning to assault it hotly: because they thought it was not able to make resistance. For *Pyrrus* camped before the towne, throughly perswaded with himselfe, that he should finde none to fight with him: and *Cleonymus* friends and seruantes also did prepare his lodging there, as if *Pyrrus* should haue come to supper to him, and logded with him. When night was come the LACEDÆMONIANS counselled together, & secretely determined to send away their wiues, and litle children into CRETA. But the women themselues were against it, and there was one among them called *Archidamia*, who went into the Senate house with a sword in her hand, to speak vnto them in the name of all the rest, and sayd, That they did their wiues great wrong, if they thought them so fainte harted, as to liue after SPARTA were destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in councell, that they should cast a trench before the enemies campe, and that at both the endes of the same they should bury cartes in the ground vnto the middest of the wheeles, to the end that being fast set in the ground, they should stay the elephantes, and keepe them from passing further. And when they began to go in hand withall, there came wiues and maydes vnto them, some of them their clothes girt vp round about them, and others all in their smockes, to worke at this trench with the olde men, aduising the

Areus made king of Sparta, and Cleonymus put downe

The cause of Pyrrus inuading Peloponnesus.

Pyrrus straungeme to the Spartans.

Mandricidas stout answer to King Pyrrus. Pyrrus besieged Lacedemon.

The courage of the women of Sparta.

young men that ſhould fight the next morning, to reſt themſelues in the meane while. So the women tooke the third parte of the trench to taske, which was ſixe cubites broade, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundreth foote long as *Philarchus* ſayeth or litle leſſe as *Hyeronimus* writeth. Then when the breake of day appeared, & the enemies remoued to come to the aſſault, the women themſelues fecthed the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, & deliuered them the taske of the trench ready made, which they before had vndertaken, encouraging them valiantly to keepe and defend it, telling them withall, how great a pleaſure it were to ouercome the enemies, fighting in view and ſight of their native country, & what great glory and honor it is to die in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valiantly like an honeſt man, & worthy of the magnanimity of SPARTA. But *Chelidonida* being greatly afraide, had tyed a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to ſtrangle & hang herſelfe rather then to fall into the hands of *Cleonymus*, if by chance the city ſhould come to be taken.

VVomen wrought in the trench.

VVomen encouraged their men to fight.

Pyrrus battell.

Now *Pyrrus* marched in perſon with his battell of footemen, againſt the front of the SPARTANS, who being a great number alſo, did tarry his comming on the other ſide of the trench: the which, beſides that it was very ill to paſſe ouer, did let the ſouldiers alſo to fight ſteadily in order of battell, becauſe the earth being newly caſt vp, did yeeld vnder their feet. Whereupon *Ptolomie* king *Pyrrus* ſonne, paſſing all alongſt the trech ſide with two thouſand GAVLES, all the choice men of the CHAONIANS, aſſayed if he could get ouer to the other ſide at one of the endes of the trench where the cartes were: which being ſet very deepe into the ground and one ioyned vnto another, they did not only hinder the aſſaylants, but the defendants alſo. Howbeit in the end, the GAVLES began to plucke off the wheels of theſe cartes, and to caſt them into the riuer. But *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* ſonne, a young man, ſeing the daunger, paſſed through the city with a troupe of three hundreth luſty youths beſides, & went to incloſe *Ptolomie* behind, before he eſpied him, for that he paſſed a ſecret hollow way till he came euen to giue the charge vpon them: wherby they were enforced to turne their faces towardes him, one rubbing in anothers necke, and ſo in great diſorder were thruſt into the trenches, and vnder the cartes: inſomuch as at the laſt, with much a do, and great bloodſhed, *Acrotatus* and his company draue them backe, and repulſed them. Now the women and old men, that were on the other ſide of the trench, ſaw plainly before their face, how valiantly *Acrotatus* had repulſed the GAVLES. Wherefore after *Acrotatus* had done this exployte, he returned againe through the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare blood: couragiouſly and liuely, for the victory he came newly from. The women of SPARTA thought *Acrotatus* more noble and fayter to behold, then euer he was: ſo that the all thought *Chelidonida* happy to haue ſuch a friend and louer. And there were certaine olde men, that followed him crying after him, go thy way *Acrotatus*, and enioy thy loue *Chelidonida*: beget noble children for her vnto SPARTA. The fight was cruel on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, and many of the SPARTANS fought very valiantly. Howbeit, amongſt other, there was one named *Phillius*, who after he had fought long, and ſlaine many of his enemies with his owne hands, that forced to paſſe ouer the trench: perceiuing that his hart fainted for the great number of wounds he had vpon him, called one of them that were in the rancke next behind him, and giuing him his place, fell downe dead in the armes of his friendes, becauſe his enemies ſhould not haue his bodie. In the ende, the battell hauing continued all the day long, the night did ſeparate them: and *Pyrrus*, being layd in his bed, had this viſion in his ſleepe. He thought he ſtroke the city of LACEDÆMON with lightning, that he vtterly conſumed it: whereat he was ſo reioyſing glad, that euen with the very ioy he awaked. And thereuppon forthwith commaunded his Captaines to make their men ready to the aſſault: and told his dreame vnto his familiars, ſuppoſing that out of doubt it did betoken he ſhould in that approach take the cittie. All they that heard it, beleeued it was ſo, ſauing one *Lyſimachus*: who to the contrary ſayed, that this viſion liked him not, becauſe the places ſmitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawful to enter into them: by reaſon whereof he was alſo afraide, that the gods did ſignifie vnto him, that he ſhould not enter into the cittie of SPARTA. *Pyrrus* anſwered him: that ſayed he, is a matter diſputable to & fro in an open aſſembly of people, for there is no māner of certainty in it. And furthermore, euery man muſt take his weapon in his hand, & ſet this ſentence before his eyes

Acrotatus valiantnes.

Pyrrus dreame.

A right good thing it is, that he would hazard life
In iust defence of masters cause with speare and bloodie knife.

Alluding vnto *Homers* verses, which he wrote for the defence of his country. And saying so, he rose, and at the breake of day led his army vnto the assault. On the other side also, the LACEDÆMONINS with a maruellous courage and magnanimity, far greater thē their force, stirred themselues wonderfully to make resistance, hauing their wiues by them that gaue them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to giue meate & drinke to them that needed, and did also withdrawe those that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewise for their parte, indeuored themselues with all their might to fill vp the trench with wood and other things, which they cast vpon the dead bodies and armours lying in the bottome of the ditch: & the LACEDÆMONIANS again, labored all that they could possible to let them. But in this great broile, one perceiued *Pyrrus* on horse backe to haue lept the trench, past ouer the strength of the cartes, and make force to enter into the city. Where-vpon those that were appointed to defend that part of the trenche, cryed out straight: and the women fell a shrecking, and running as if all had bene lost. And as *Pyrrus* passed further, striking down with his owne hands all that stood before him, a CRETAN shot at him, & stroke his horse through both sides: who leaping out of the preasse for paine of his wound, dying, caried *Pyrrus* away, and threw him vpon the hanging of a steepe hill, where he was in great danger to fall from the toppe. This put all his seruantes and friendes about him in a maruellous feare, and therewithall the LACEDÆMONIANS seing them in this feare and trouble ran immediatly vnto that place, and with force of shotte draue them all out of the trench. After this retyre, *Pyrrus* caused all assault to cease, hoping the LACEDÆMONIANS in the end would yelde, considering there were many of them slaine in the two dayes past, and all the rest in a maner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the city (whether it were to proue the valiantnes of the inhabitants themselues, or at the least to shew what power they were of euen in their greatest need and distresse, whē the LACEDÆMONIANS had small hope left) brought one *Aristeas Phocian* from CORINTH, one of king *Antigonus* Captains with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and straight after him, as soone as he was entred, king *Pyrrus* arriued also on the other side frō CRETA, & two thousand souldiers with him. So the women went home to their houses, making their reckening that they should not neede any more to trouble themselues with warres. They gaue the olde men liberty also to go and rest themselues, who being past all age to fight, for necessities sake yet were driuen to arme themselues, and take weapon in hand: and in order of battell placed the newe-come souldiers in their roomes. *Pyrrus* vnderstanding that new supplies were come, grew to greater stomacke then before, and inforced all that he could to win the town by assault. But in the end, when all his cost he found that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the siege, and went to spoyle all the country about, determining to lye there in garrison all the winter. He could not for all this auoide his destinie. For there rose a sedition in the city of ARGOS betweene two of the chiefest citizens, *Aristeas* and *Aristippus*: and because *Aristeas* thought that king *Antigonus* did fauor his enemie *Aristippus*, he made haste to send first vnto *Pyrrus*, whose nature and disposition was such, that he did continually heape hope vpon hope, euer taking the present prosperity for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loser, then he sought to recouer himselfe, and to restore his losse by some other newe attemptes. So that either for being conquerour, nor ouercome, he would euer be quiet, but alwayes troubled himself and himselfe also: by reason whereof, he sodainly departed towards ARGOS. But king *Pyrrus* hauing layed ambushes for him in diuerse places, and occupied also the straightest and hardest passages, by the which he was to passe: gaue a charge vpon the GAVLES and MOLOSSIANS, which were in the tayle of his army. Now, the selfesame day *Pyrrus* was warned by a soothsayer, who sacrificing had found the liuer of the sacrificed beast infected: that it betokned the losse of some most neere vnto him. But when he heard the noyse of the charge giuen, he thought not on the warning of the Soothsayer, but commaunded his sonne to take his household seruantes with him, and to go thither: as he himselfe in the meane time with as great haste as he coulde, made the rest of his army march, to get them quickely out of

Pyrrus in danger of his life, at the siege of Sparta.

King Cleomenes arriued to Sparta with newe aide.

Sedition in the city of Argos.

Pyrrus repulsed from Sparta goeth vnto Argos.

this dangerous way. The fray was very horte about *Ptolomie Pyrrus* sonne, for they were all the chiefe men of the LACEDÆMONIANS with whom he had to doe, led by a valiant Captaine, called *Eualcus*. But as he fought valiantly against those that stoode before him, there was a souldier of CRETA called *Oræsus*, borne in the city of APTERA, a mã very ready of hand, and light of foote, who running alongst by him, stroke him such a blow on his side that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince *Ptolomie* being slaine, his company began straight to flye: and the LACEDÆMONIANS followed the chase so hotly, that they tooke no heede of themselues, vntill they saw they were in the plaine field farre from their footmen. Wherfore, *Pyrrus* vnto whom the death of his sonne was newly reported, being on fire with sorrow & passion, turned sodainly vpon them with the men of armes of the MOLOSSIANS, and being the first that came vnto them, made a maruellous slaughter among them. For, notwithstanding that euery where before that time he was terrible and intiincible, hauing his sworde in his hand: yet then he did shew more proofe of his valiantnesse, strength, and courage, then he had euer done before. And when he had sette spurres to his horse against *Eualcus* to close with him: *Eualcus* turned on the one side, and gaue *Pyrrus* such a blowe with his sword, that he missed litle the cutting off his bridle hand: for he cut indeede all the raines of the bridle asunder. But *Pyrrus* straight ran him through the bodie with his speare, and lighting off frõ his horse, he put all the troupe of the LACEDÆMONIANS to the sword that were about the body of *Eualcus*, being all chosen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaines was cause of that losse vnto their country for nothing, considering that the wars against thẽ were ended. But *Pyrrus* hauing now as it were made sacrifice of these poore bodies of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for the soule of his dead sonne, and fought thus wonderfully also, to honour his funerals, conuerting a great part of his sorrow for his death, into anger and wrath against his enemies: he afterwards held on his way directly towards ARGOS. And vnderstanding that king *Antigonus* had already seazed the hils that were ouer the valley, he lodged neere vnto the city of NAVPLIA: and the next morning following sent an herauld vnto *Antigonus*, & sent him defiance, calling him wicked man, and chalenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to trye which of them two should be king. *Antigonus* made him answer that he made warres as much with time as with weapon: & furthermore, that if *Pyrrus* were weary of his life, he had wayes open enough to put himselfe to death. The cittizens of ARGOS also sent Ambassadors vnto them both, to pray them to departe, sith they knew that there was nothing for them to see in the city of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a neuter, & so vnto them both. King *Antigonus* agreed vnto it, and gaue them his sonne for hostage. *Pyrrus* also made them faire promise so to do to, but because he gaue no caution nor sufficient pledge to perform it, they mistrusted him the more. Then there fell out many great & wonderful tokens, as well vnto *Pyrrus*, as vnto the ARGIVES. For *Pyrrus* hauing sacrificed oxen, their heads being stricken off from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and licked vp their owne blood. And within the city of ARGOS, a sister of the temple of *Apollo Lysias*, called *Apollonis* ranne through the streetes, crying out that she saw the city full of murther, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fray, howbeit she vanquished away sodainly and no body knew what became of her. *Pyrrus* then comming hard to the walles of ARGOS in the night & finding one of the gates called Diãperes, opened by *Aristeas*, he put in his GAVLES who possessed the market place, before the citizens knew any thing of it. But because the gate was too low to passe the elephantes through with their towers vpon their backes, they were driuen to take them off, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke and in tumult: by reason whereof they lost much time, so that the citizens in the end perceiued it and ran incontinently vnto the castell of Aspides, & into other strong places of the city. And therewithall, they sent with present speede vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come and help them, and so he did: and after he was come hard to the wals, he remained without with his skowtes, and in the meane time sent his son with his chiefest Captaines into the towne, who brought a great nũber of good souldiers, and men of warres with them. At the same time also arriued *Areus* king of SPARTA, with a thousand of the CRETANS, & most lusty SPARTANS: all which ioyning together, came to giue a charge vpõ the GAVLES that were in the market

Ptolomy king Pyrrus sonne slaine by Oræsus Cretan.

Pyrrus slewe Eualcus.

Antigonus answereth Pyrrus challenge.

Tokens of Pyrrus death.

Pyrrus fight in the city of Argos.

Aspides, the castell in Argos

place,

place, who put them in a maruellous feare and hazard. *Pyrrus* entring on that side also of the citie called Cylarabis, with terrible noise and cries: when he vnderstoode that the GAVLES answered him not lustily and couragiously, he doubted straight that it was the voice of men distressed, and that had their hands full. Wherefore, he came on with speede to relieue them, driuing the horsemen forwardes that marched before him, with great danger and paine, by reason of holes, and sinckes, and water conduites, whereof the citie was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confusion amongst them, as may be thought fighting by night, where no man saw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commaunded, by reason of the great noise they made, straying here and there vp and downe the streetes, the one scattered from the other: neither could the Captaines set their men in order, as well for the darkenesse of the night, as also for the confused tumult that was all the citie ouer, and for that the streetes also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both sides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning whereof, *Pyrrus* perceiued the castle of Alpides, full of armed enemies. And furthermore, sodainly as he was come into the market place, amongst many other goodly common works set out to beautifie the same, he spied the images of a bull and a wolfe in copper, the which fought one with an other. This sight made him afraide, because at that present he remembred a prophecie that had bene told him, that his end and death should be when he saw a wolfe and a bull fight together. The ARGIVES report, that these images were set vp in the market place, for the remembrance of a certaine chance that had happened in their countrie. For when *Danaus* came thither first, by the way called *Pyramia* (as one would say, land sowen with corne) in the country of THYREATIDE, he saw as he went, a wolfe fight with a bull: whereupon he staied to see what the ende of their fight would come to, supposing the case in himselfe, that the wolfe was of his side, because that being a stranger as he was, he came to set vpon the naturall inhabitants of the countrie. The wolfe in the end obtained the victorie: wherefore *Danaus* making his prayer vnto *Apollo Lyceus*, followed on his enterprise, and had so good successe, that he draue *Gelanor* out of ARGOS, who at that time was king of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cause why they say these images of the wolfe & bull were set vp in the market place of ARGOS. *Pyrrus* being halfe discouraged with the sight of them, and also because nothing fell out well according to his expectation, thought best to retire: but fearing the straightnesse of the gates of the citie, he sent vnto his sonne *Helenus*, whom he had left without the citie with the greatest part of his force and armie, commanding him to ouerthrow a peece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receiue them, if their enemies by chance did hinder their comming out. But the messenger whom he sent, was so hastie and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him going out, that he did not well vnderstand what *Pyrrus* said vnto him, but reported his message quite contrarie. Whereupon the young prince *Helenus* taking the best souldiers he had with him, and the rest of his Elephants, entered into the citie to helpe his father, who was now comming backe: and so long as he had roome to fight at ease, retyring still, he valiantly repulsed those that set vpon him, turning his face oft vnto them. But when hee was driuen vnto the streete that went from the market place to the gate of the citie, he was kept in with his owne men that entered at the same gate to helpe him. But they could not heare when *Pyrrus* cried out, and bad them go backe, the noise was so great: and though the first had heard him, and would haue gone backe, yet they that were behind, and did still thrust forward into the prease, did not permit them. Besides this moreouer, the biggest of all the Elephantes by misfortune fell downe ouerthwart the gate, where he grinding his teeth did hinder those also, that would haue come out and giuen backe. Furthermore, another of the Elephants that were entred before into the citie, called Nicon (as much to say, as conquering) seeking his gouernour that was striken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes: ranne vpon them that came backe vpon him, ouerthrowing friends and foes one in an others necke, till at the length hauing found the bodie of his master slaine, he lift him vp from the ground with his troncke, and carying him vpon his two tushes, returned backe with great furie, treading all vnder feete that stoode in his way. Thus euery man being thronged and crowded vp together in this sort, there was not one that could helpe himselfe: for it seemed to be a masse & heape of a multitude,

A bull and wolfe in copper, set vp in the citie of Argos fighting together.

Danaus wanne the citie of Argos from king Gelanor.

Apollo Lyceus.

Gelanor king of the Argiues.

Helenus Pyrrus sonne.

The strange loue of an Elephant to his keeper.

and one whole bodie ſhut together, which ſometime thruſt forwarde, and ſometime gaue backe, as the ſway went. They fought not ſo much againſt their enemies, who ſet vpon them behinde: but they did themſelues more hurt then their enemies did. For if any drewe out his ſworde, or baſed his pike, he could neither ſcabarde the one againe, nor lift vp the other, but thruſt it full vpon his owne fellowes that came in to helpe them, and ſo killed themſelues one thruſting vpon an other. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeeing his people thus troubled and harried to and fro, tooke his crowne from his head which he ware vpon his helmet, that made him knowen of his men a farre off, & gaue it vnto one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and truſting then to the goodneſſe of his horſe, flew vpon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pike, but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherefore *Pyrrus* ſet vpon him that had hurt him, who was an ARGIAN borne, a man of meane condition, and a poore old womans ſonne, whoſe mother at that preſent time was gotten vp to the toppe of the tyles of a houſe, as all other women of the citie were, to ſee the fight. And ſhe perceiuing that it was her ſonne whom *Pyrrus* came vpon, was ſo afrighted to ſee him in that danger, that ſhe tooke a tyle, and with both her handes caſt it vpon *Pyrrus*. The tyle falling off from his head by reaſon of his head peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, and brake his neck bone aſunder: wherewith he was ſodainely ſo benummed, that he loſt his ſight with the blow, and the raines of his bridle fell out of his hande, and himſelfe fell from his horſe to the ground, by the *cynnias* tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the leaſt the common people. Vntill the laſt there came one *Zopyrus* that was in pay with *Antigonus*, and two or three other ſouldiers alſo that ran ſtraight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, or ever as he was comming againe to himſelfe out of this traunce. This *Zopyrus* drewe out a Sparthian ſworde he wore by his ſide, to ſtrike off his head. But *Pyrrus* caſt ſuch a grimme countenance vpon him betwene his eyes that made him ſo afraid, and his hand ſo to ſhake therewith: that being thus amazed, he did not ſtrike him right in the place where he ſhould haue cut off his head, but killed him vnder his mouth about his chinne, ſo that he was a great while ere he could cut off his head. The matter was ſtraight blowen abroad among ſtdiuerſe: whereupon *Alcyoneus* the king *Antigonus* ſon, running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he preſently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar friendes, and *Pyrrus* head before him. *Antigonus* looking vpon it, when he knew it, laide vpon his ſonne with his ſtaffe, and called him cruell murderer, and vnnaturall barbarous beaſt: and ſo hiding his eyes with his cloke, wept for pitie, remembring the fortune of his grandfather *Antigonus*, and of his father *Demetrius*) and then cauſed *Pyrrus* head and bodie to be honorably burned and buried. Afterwards *Alcyoneus* meeting *Helenus* (king *Pyrrus* ſonne) in very poore ſtate, and vp with a poore ſhort cloke: vſed him very courteouſly with gentle words, and brought him to his father. *Antigonus* ſeeing his ſonne bringing of him, ſaide vnto him: this part now (ſonne) is better then the firſt, and pleaſeth me a great deale more. But yet thou haſt not done as thou ſhouldeſt for thou ſhouldeſt haue taken from him his beggerly cloke he weareth, which doth more ſhame vs that are the gainers, then him that is the looſer. After he had ſpoken theſe wordes, *Antigonus* embraced *Helenus*, and hauing apparelled him in good ſort, ſent him home with honourable conuoy into his Realme of EPYRVS. Furthermore, ceazing all *Pyrrus* campe and army, he courteouſly receiued all his friendes and ſeruantes.

King Pyrrus ſlaine with a tyle throwen by a woman.

Alcyoneus king Antigonus ſon.

Antigonus curteſie towards Pyrrus bodie and friends.

The end of Pyrrus life.

THE LIFE OF
Caius Marius.

IT is not knowen what was the third name of *Caius Marius*, no more then of *Quintius Sertorius*, who had all SPAYNE in his hands at one time: nor of *Lucius Mummius*, he that destroyed the citie of CORINTHE. For this name of *Achaicus* that was giuen vnto *Mummius*, of *Africanus* vnto *Scipio*: and of *Numidicus* vnto *Metellus*: were all surnames giuen them, by reason of the conquests they wan. By this reason *Posidonius* thinketh to ouercome them that say, that the third name the ROMAINES haue, is their proper name: as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*. For if it fell out so, said he, then it must needes follow that they which haue two names, should haue no proper name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women haue no names: for there is not a woman in ROME that is called by her first name, which *Posidonius* iudgeth to be the proper name of the ROMAINES. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the POMPEIANS, of the MANLIANS, and of the CORNELIANS, like as the HERACLIDES and the PELOPIDES are amongst the GRECIANS: and the other is a surname taken of the deedes, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the bodie, or of some other like accident, as are these surnames, *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, and *Sylla*. Euen as amongest the GRECIANS likewise, *Mnemon*, which signifieth hauing good memory: *Grypos*, hauing a crooked nose: *Callinicos*, conquering. But as for that, the diuersitie of custome would deliuer obiection sufficient to the contrarie, to him that listed. And furthermore, as touching the fauour of *Marius* face, we haue seene an image of his in marble at RAVENNA, a citie of the GAVLES, which doth liuely represent that rough seueritie of nature and maner which they say was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature and giuen to the warres, and hauing followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the ciuill life: when he came to authoritie, he could not bridle his anger and cholericke nature. And they say furthermore, that he neuer learned the Greeke tongue, nor vsed it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockery to studie to learne the tongue, the masters whereof liued in bondage vnder others. After his second triumph, in the dedication of a certaine temple, hee made Greeke plaies to shewe the ROMAINES pastime: and came into the Theater, howbeit he did but sit downe only, and went his way straight. Wherefore me thinkes, that as *Plato* was wont to say oft vnto *Xenocrates* the

Of the names of the Romaines.

Marius fauor.

Marius could no skill of the Greeke tongue.

Platoes saying to Xenocrates.

Philosopher, who was of a curriſh nature, had his head euer occupied, & too ſeuere: *Xenocrates*, my friend, I pray thee do ſacrifice to the *Graces*. So if any man could haue perſwaded *Marius* to haue ſacrificed to the *Muſes*, and to the GRECIAN *Graces*: (that is to ſay, that he had known the Greeke tongue) to ſo many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not ioyned ſo vnfortunate and miſerable an end as he made, through his choler and extreame ambition, at ſuch yeares, and through an vnſatiable couetouſnes, which like boyſterous windes made him to make ſhipwracke of all, in a moſt cruell, bloudy, and vnnatural age. The which is eaſily knowen in reading the diſcourſe of his doings. Firſt of all he was

Marius parents, maners, and countrie.

of a meane houſe, borne of poore parents by father and mother, that got their liuings by ſweat of their browes. His father as himſelfe, was called *Caius*: *Fulcinia* was his mother. And this was the cauſe why he beganne ſo late to haunt the citie, and to learne the ciuilitie and manners of ROME, hauing bene brought vp alwaies before in a litle poore village called CIRCEITON, within the territory of the citie of ARPOS: where he led a hard countrylife, ſtil of thoſe that liued pleaſantly and finely in the cities, but otherwiſe well reformed, and vnto the maners of the ancient ROMAINES. The firſt iourney he made vnto the warres

Marius firſt iourney vnto the warres.

againſt the CELTIBERIANS in SPAYNE, vnder *Scipio* AFRICAN, when he went to beſiege the citie of NVMANTIA: where his captaines in ſhort time found that he was a better ſouldier then any other of his companions. For he did maruellous eaſily receiue the reformation of manners, and the diſcipline of warres, which *Scipio* aduaunced amongeſt his ſouldiers that were ill trained before, and giuen ouer to all pleaſure. And they ſay, that in the ſight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and ſlew him: vpon which occaſion *Scipio* to make him loue him, did offer him many courteſies and pleaſures. But ſpecially one day aboue the reſt, hauing made him ſuppe with him at his table, ſome one after ſupper falling in talke of Captaines that were in ROME at that time: one that ſtood by *Scipio*, asked him (either becauſe in deede he ſtoode in doubt, or elſe for that he would curry fauour with *Scipio*) what other Captaine the ROMAINES ſhould haue after his death, like vnto him. *Scipio* hearing

Scipio Africans iudgement of Marius.

Marius by him, gentlely clapped him vpon his ſhoulder, and ſaid: peraduenture this ſhall be. Thus happily were they both borne, the one to ſhew from his youth that one day he ſhould come to be a great man, and the other alſo for wiſely coniecturing the end, by ſeeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned ſo, that theſe wordes of *Scipio* (by report) aboue all things encouraged *Marius* in a good hope, as if they had bene ſpoken by the oracle of ſome god, and made him bold to deale in matters of ſtate and common wealth: where by meanes of the fauor & countenance *Cæcilius Metellus* gaue him (whoſe houſe his father and he had alwaies followed and honoured) he obtained the office of Tribuneſhip. In this office he preferred a law touching

Marius Tribune of the people. Cotta Conſull.

the manner how to giue the voices in election of the Magiſtrates, which did ſeeme to take from the nobilitie the authority they had in iudgement. And therefore the Conſull *Cotta* ſtepped vp againſt it, and perſwaded the Senate to reſiſt that lawe, and not ſuffer it to be auctoriſed, and therewithall preſently to call *Marius* before them to yeeld a reaſon of his doings. So was it agreed vpon in the Senate. Now *Marius* comming into the Senate, was not abaſhed at any thing, as ſome other young man would haue bene, that had but newly begunne to come into the world as he did, & hauing no other notable calling or qualitie in him, ſauing hautie only to commend him: but taking boldneſſe of himſelfe (as the noble actes he after wards did, gaue ſhew of his valure) he openly threatned the Conſull *Cotta* to ſende him to priſon, if he did not preſently withdrawe the concluſion he had cauſed to be reſolued vpon. The Conſull then turning himſelfe vnto *Cæcilius Metellus*, asked him how he liked it? *Metellus* ſtarting vp, ſpake in the behalfe of the Conſull: and then *Marius* calling a ſergeant out, commanded him to take *Metellus* ſelfe, and to carrie him to priſon. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes, but neuer a one would take his matter in hand: ſo that the Senate when all was done were compelled to call backe the concluſion that before was taken. Then *Marius* returned with great honour into the market place among the aſſembly of the people, cauſed this lawe to paſſe and be authoriſed: and euery man held opinion of him that he would proue a ſtout man and ſuch a one, as would not ſtoupe for any feare, nor ſhrinke for baſhfulnes, but would ſtand for the Senate in fauour of the people. Notwithſtanding, hee ſhortly after changed opinion,

altered the first, by an other act he made. For when an other went about to haue a law made, to distribute corne vnto euery citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently against it, and ouerthrew it: so that thereby he came to be a like honored and esteemed of either partie, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the preiudice of the common wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he sued for the chiefest office of Ædilis. Of the Ædiles there are two sortes: the first is called *Ædilitas Curulis*, so named because of certaine chaires that haue crooked feete, vpon which they sit when they giue audience. The other is of lesse dignitie, and that is called *Ædilitas popularis*: and when they had chosen the first and greater Ædilis at ROME, they presently proceede the same day also in the market place vnto election of the lesser. *Marius* seeing plainely that he was put by the chiefest of the Ædiles, turned againe straight yet to demaund the second: but this was misliked in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too shameles, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one selfe day he had two denials and repulses, which neuer man but him selfe before had. And neuertheles, all this could not cut his combe, but shortly after he sued also for the Prætorshippe, and hee lacked but litle of the deniall of that: yet in the ende, being last of all chosen, he was accused to haue bribed the people, and bought their voices for money. And surely amongest many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of CASSIVS SABACON within the barres where the election is made, running to and fro among them that gaue their voices, because this *Sabacon* was *Marius* very great friend. The matter came before the iudges, and *Sabacon* was examined vpon it. Whereunto he aunswered, that for the great extreame heate he felt, he was very dry, and asked for colde water to drinke, and that this man had brought him some in a potte where he was, howbeit that he went his way as soone as euer he had drunke. This *Sabacon* was afterwardes put out of the Senate by the next Censors, and many iudge that he was worthy of this infamie, for that he was periured in iudgement, or because he was so abiect and giuen to his pleasure. *Caius Herennius* was also called for a witnesse against *Marius*: but he did alleage for his excuse, that the law and custome did dispence with the Patrone, to beare witnes against his follower & client, and he was quit by the iudges. For the ROMAINES do vsually call those Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then them selues into their handes: saying, that *Marius* predecessors, and *Marius* himselfe, had euer bene followers of the house of the HERENNIANS. The iudges receiued his aunswere, and allowed thereof. But *Marius* spake against it, alleaging, that since he had receiued this honor to beare office in the common wealth, he was now growen from this base condition, to be any more a follower of any man: the which was not true in all. For euery office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his posteritie to be vnder the patronage of another, nor doth discharge him from the dutie of honoring them: but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which the lawe doth permit to sit in the crooked chaire called *Curulis*, that is to say, carried vpon a chaire through the citie. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this cause, *Marius* had but ill successe, and that the iudges were against him all they could: yet in the end for all that, at the last hearing of his matter, *Marius*, contrarie to all mens opinions, was discharged, because the iudges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He vied himselfe very orderly in his office of Prætorshippe, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the prouinces by lot, SPAINE fell vnto him, which is beyond the riuer of Bætis: where it is reported that he skowred all the country thereabouts of theeues and robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very cruell and sauage, for the rude, barbarous, and vnciuill manner and fashion of life of the inhabitantes there. For the SPANYARDS were of opinion euen at that time, that it was a goodly thing to liue vpon theft and robberie. At his returne to ROME out of SPAYNE, desiring to deale in matters of the common wealth, he saw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which those that were at that time in credite and authoritie, did carie the people euen as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great account of his constancie and noble minde they found in him, of his great paines and trauell he tooke continually, and of the simplicitie of his life: which were causes to bring him to honour and preferment, insomuch as he maried very highly. For he maried *Iulia*, that was of the noble house of the *Cæsars*, and aunt vnto *Iulius Cæsar*: who afterwardes came to be the

Two sortes of Ædiles.
Ædilitas Curulis.
Ædilitas popularis.

Marius denied to be Ædilis.

Marius chosen Prætor.

Sabacon put off the Senate.
Caius Herennius pleaded in Mariusbehalfe touching the patron and client.

Marius atchiues in Spaine.

The aptitude of Spaniards in old time.
Eloquence and riches raised men to authoritie.
How Marius credit and estimation grew.

chiefeſt man of all the ROMAINES, and who by reaſon of that alliance betwene them ſeemed in ſome things to follow *Marius*, as we haue written in his life. *Marius* was a man of great temperance and patience, as may be iudged by an acte he did, putting him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons. For his ſhankes and legges were full of great ſwollen veines, and being angrie becauſe it was no pleaſant thing to beholde: hee determined to put him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons to be cured. And firſt, laying out one of his legges to the ſurgeon to worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in the like caſe: but patiently abode all the extreame paines a man muſt of neceſſitie feele being cut, without ſturring, groning or ſighing, ſtill keeping his countenance, and ſaid neuer a word. But when the ſurgeon had done with his firſt legge, and would haue gone to the other, he would not giue it him: nay ſaid he, I ſee the cure is not worth the paine I muſt abide. Afterwardes, *Cæcilius Metellus* the Conſull, being appointed to go into AFRICKE to make warre with king *Iugurthe*, tooke *Marius* with him for one of his Lieutenants. *Marius* being there, ſeeing notable good ſeruice to be done, and good occaſion to ſhew his manhood, was not of mind in this voyage to increaſe *Metellus* honour and reputation, as other Lieutenantes did: and thought that it was not *Metellus* that called him forth for his Lieutenant, but fortune her ſelfe that preſented him a fit occaſion to raiſe him to greatneſſe, and (as it were) did leade him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proofe of that he could doe. And for this cauſe therefore, he endeuoured himſelfe to ſhew all the poſſible proofes of valiantneſſe and honour he could. For, the warres being great continually there, he neuer for feare refuſed any attempt or ſeruice, how dangerous or painfull ſoeuer it were, neither diſdained to take any ſeruice in hand, were it neuer ſo litle: but exceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wiſedome and foreſight, in that which was to be done, and ſtriuing with the meaneſt ſouldiers in liuing hardly and painefully, wanne the goodwill and fauour of euery man. For to ſay truly, it is a great comfort and refreſhing to ſouldiers that labour, to haue companions that labour willingly with them. For they thinke, that their company labouring with them, doth in maner take away the compulſion and neceſſitie. Furthermore, it pleaſeth the ROMAINE ſouldier maruellouſly to ſee the Generall eate open of the ſame bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that himſelfe is the firſt man to ſet his hande to any worke when a trench is to be caſt, or their campe to be fortified. For they doe not ſo much eſteeme the Captaines, that honour and reward them: as they doe thoſe that in dangerous attempts labour, and venture their liues with them. And further, they doe farre better loue them that take paines with them, then thoſe that ſuffer them to liue idle by them. *Marius* performing all this, and winning thereby the loue & goodwils of his ſouldiers: he ſtraight filled all LIBYA and the citie of ROME with his glory, ſo that he was in euery mans mouth. For they that were in the campe in AFRICKE, wrote vnto them that were in ROME, that they ſhould neuer ſee the end of theſe warres againſt this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto *Marius*, and choſe him Conſull. Theſe things miſliked *Metellus* very much, but ſpecially the misfortune that came vpon *Turpilius* did maruellouſly trouble him: which fell out in this ſort. *Turpilius* was *Metellus* friend, yea he and all his parentes had followed *Metellus* in this warre, being maſter of the workes in his campe. *Metellus* made him gouernour ouer the citie of VACCA, a goodly great citie: and he vſing the inhabitants of the ſame very gentlely & courteouſly, miſtruſting nothing till he was fallen into the hands of his enemies through their treaſon. For they had brought king *Iugurthe* into their city vnknowen to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the king, and let him goe his way ſafe. And this was the cauſe why they accuſed *Turpilius* of treaſon. *Marius* being one of his iudges in the councell, was not contented to be bitter to him himſelfe, but moued many of the Councell beſides to be againſt him. So that *Metellus* by the voices of the people, was driuen againſt his will to condemne him to ſuffer as a traitor: and ſhortly after, it was found and proued, that *Turpilius* was wrongfully condemned & put to death. To ſay truly, there was not one of the Councell but were very ſory with *Metellus*, who maruelous impatiently tooke the death of the poore innocent. But *Marius* contrarily reioyced, and tooke it vpon him: for he purſued his death, and was not aſhamed to make open vaunts, that he had hanged a halter about *Metellus* necke, to reuenge his friends bloud, whom he guiltleſſe had cauſed to be put to death.

Marius temperance and patience.

Cecilius Metellus conſull.

Marius, Metellus Lieutenant in the warre againſt Iugurthe.

The labour & preſence of the Generall maketh the ſouldiers worke willingly.

Marius the author of Turpilius falſe accuſation and death.

Vacca a great citie.

The cauſe of the ſuppoſed treaſon againſt Turpilius.

Turpilius wrongfully put to death.

Diſſenſion betweene Metellus and Marius.

death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they say, that one day *Metellus* to mocke him withall, sayd vnto him: O good man, thou wilt leaue vs then, & returne to ROME to sue for the Consulship, and canst thou not be contented to tary to be Consull with my sonne? Now his sonne at that time was but a boy. But whatsoeuer the matter ment, *Marius* left him not so, but laboured for leaue all he could possible. And *Metellus* after he had vsed many delayes and excuses, at the length gaue him leaue, twelue dayes onely before the day of election of the Consuls. Wherefore *Marius* made hast, and in two dayes and a night came from the camp to VTICA vpon the sea side, which is a maruellous way from it: and there before he tooke ship, did sacrifices vnto the goddes, and the Soothsayer told him, that the goddes by the signes of his sacrifices, did promise him vncredible prosperitie, and so great, as he himselfe durst not hope after. These wordes made *Marius* hart greater. Whereupon he hoysed sayle, and hauing a prosing good gale of winde in the poope of the ship, passed the saes in foure dayes, and being landed, rode post to ROME. When he was arriued, he went to shew himselfe vnto the people: who were maruellous desirous to see him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accusations which he obiected against *Metellus*, in the end he besought the people to choose him Consull, promising that within few dayes he would either kill, or take king *Iugurthe* prisoner. Whereupō he was chosen Consull without any contradiction. And so soone as he was proclaimed, he began immediatly to leauie men of warre, causing many poore men that had nothing, and many slaues also, to be enrolled against the order of auncient custome: where other Captaines before him did receiue no such manner of men, and did no more suffer vnworthy men to be souldiers, then they did allow of vnworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which euery one of them that were enrolled, left their goods behind them, as a pledge of their good seruice abroad in the warres. Yet this was not the matter that made *Marius* to be most hated, but they were his stout proude wordes, full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offende the noble men in the citie. For he proclaimed it euery where abroad as it were, that his Consulship was a spoyle he had gotten of the effeminate rich noble men through his valiantnesse, and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for seruice of the common wealth, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images and statues of others, were those that recommended him to the people, nor were his strength. And oft times naming *Albinus*, and otherwhile *Scipio*, both noble men, and of great houses, who hauing bene generals of the ROMAINE armie, had very ill fortune in the country of LIBYA: he called them cowardes, and simple souldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their auncesters would rather haue wished to haue left their children that came of them like vnto himselfe, then such as they had bene: considering that they themselues had wonne honour and glory, not for that they were descended of noble bloud, but through their deserued vertue and valiant deedes. Now *Marius* spake not these wordes in a foolish brauery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchase the ill will of the nobilitie for nothing: but the common people being very glad to see him blame and despight the Senate, and measuring alwayes the greatnesse of his courage with his haughty fierce words, they egged him forward still not to spare the nobility, & to reproue the great men, so that he euer held with the communalty. And furthermore, when he was passed ouer again into AFRICKE, it spighted *Metellus* to the hart, because that he hauing ended the warre, that there remained almost no more to take or winne, *Marius* should come in hast to take away the glory and triumph out of his hands, hauing sought to rise & increase in vnthankefulnesse towardes him. He would not come to him therefore, but went an other way, & left the army with *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenants, to deliuer the same vnto him. Howbeit the reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the end vpon *Marius* owne necke. For *Sylla* tooke out of *Marius* hands, the honour of ending this warre: euen as *Marius* had taken it from *Metellus*. But how, and after what sort, I will repeat it in few wordes, because we haue written the particularities more at large in the life of *Sylla*. *Bocchus* king of high NVMIDIA, was father in law vnto king *Iugurthe*, vnto whom he gaue great aide, whilest he made warres with the ROMAINES, because he hated his vnfaithfulnesse, & feared least he would make himselfe greater then he was: but in the end, after *Iugurthe* had fled, and wandered vp and down in euery

Marius first time of being Consull.

Marius offended the nobilitie.

Marius depriued Metellus of the honour of conquering of king Iugurthe.

Bocchus king of Nymidia, deliuereth Iugurthe vnto Sylla.

place, he was constrained of very necessitie to cast his last hope and anicker vpon him, as his final refuge, and so repayre vnto him. King *Bocchus* receiued him rather for shame, because he durst not punish him, then for any loue or good will he bare him: & hauing him in his hands, seemed openly to intreate *Marius* for him, and secretly to write the contrary vnto him. But in the meane time, he practised treason vnder hand, and sent priuely for *Lucius Sylla*, who then was Quæstor (to say, high treasurer) vnder *Marius*, and of whom he had receiued certaine pleasures in those warres. *Sylla* trusting to this barbarous king, went at his sending for to him. But when he was come, king *Bocchus* repented him of his promise, and altered his minde: For hauing many dayes in doubt with himselfe how to resolue, whether he should deliuer king *Iugurthe*, or keepe *Sylla* himselfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended treason, and deliuered king *Iugurthe* aliue into *Syllaes* handes. And this was the first originall cause of the pestilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwardes betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, and was like to haue vtterly ouerthrowen the citie of ROME, and to haue rased the foundation of the empire vnto the ground. For many enuying the glorie of *Marius*, gaue it out euery where that this acte of the taking of king *Iugurthe*, appertained onely vnto *Sylla*: & *Sylla* himselfe caused a ring to be made, which he ware commonly, and had grauen vpon the stone of the same how *Bocchus* deliuered *Iugurthe* into his handes. And afterwardes he made it alwayes his seale to despite *Marius* with all, who was an ambitious and proude man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glorie of his doings: and *Sylla* did it especially at the procurement of enemies and ill willers, who gaue the glorie of the beginning and chiefe exploites of the warre, vnto *Metellus*, and the last and finall conclusion vnto *Sylla*, to the end that the people should not haue *Marius* in so great estimation and good opinion, as they had before. But for this enuie, detraction, and hatred against *Marius*, was soone after extinguished and trodden vnder foote, by reason of the great daunger that fell vpon all ITALIE out of the West: and they neuer spake of it afterwardes, knowing that the common wealth stoode in neede of a good Captaine, and that they began to looke about, and consider who should be that great Pylot, that might saue and preserue it, from so exceeding daungerous storme of warre. For there was not a noble man of all the auntient houses of ROME, that durst vndertake to doe himselfe to demaunde the Consulship: but *Marius* being absent, was chosen Consull the second time. For *Iugurthe* was no sooner taken, but newes came to ROME of the coming downe of the TEVTONS, and of the CIMBRES, the which would not be beleeued at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was said to be in their company, and of the vncredible force and power of armies which was iustified to come also: but afterwards they knew plainly, that the rumour that ranne abroad was lesse, then the truth fell out indeed. For they were three hundred thousand fighting men all armed, who brought with them an other multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandered vp and downe seeking countrys and townes to dwell and liue in, as they heard say the GAVLES had done of old time, who leauing their owne country, came, and had possessed the best part of Italie which they had taken away from the THVSCANS. Now to say truely, no man knew of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no friendship with any other people, as also because they came out of a farre country, as a cloud of people that spread all ouer GAVLE & ITALIE. It was doubted much that they came out of GERMANIE dwelling about the North sea: and this they coniectured by view of the greatnesse of their bodies, and also for that they had darke blew eyes and red, besides that the GRECIANS in their tonings do call theeues and robbers, Cimbri. Other say that Celtica, for the great length and largenesse of the country, stretching it selfe from the coast of the great Ocean sea and from the North parts, drawing towards the mariisses Mœotides, and the East runneth into SCITHIA or TARTARIA PONTICA: and that for neighbourhood these two nations ioyned together, and went out of their country, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many sundry times, marching yearely in the spring further and further into the country. And so by continuance of time, they passed by force of armes through all the firme land of Europe, and that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the diuersitie of their nations, yet all this masse and multitude of people gathered together, were called

Lucius Sylla Quæstor vnder Marius.

The originall cause of the ciuill warres betwixt Marius and Sylla.

The comming into Italie of the Teutons & Cimbres.

The armie of the Teutons and Cimbres 300000. men.

Cimbri.

notwithstanding, the army of the CELTOSCYTHES, as who would say, the CELTOTARTARIANS. Other hold opinió that the natió of the CIMMERIANS, who were knowen in old time for auncient GRECIANS, the one part of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driuē out of their country for some ciuill dissention) were compelled by the TARTARES to passe beyond the marisses Mœotides, into the countrys of ASIA, vnder the conduction of a Captaine called *Ligdamis*. But the residue of them which were a farre greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furthest partes of the earth, adioyning vnto the great Ocean sea, in a darke shadowed country, couered with wonderfull forrests, of such length, and so great and thicke, and the trees so high, that the sunne can haue no power vpon the ground, and they ioyne hard vpon the great forrest of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are vnder such a climate, where the pole is of such a height by the inclination of the circles equidistant, which they call Parallelles, that it is not farre from the point that aunswereth directly to the plummet vpon the head of the inhabitants: and where the nights are equinoctiall. They do deuide all their time in two partes, the which giueth *Homer* occasion to sayne, that when *Vlysses* would call vpon the dead, he went into the country of the CIMMERIANS, as into the country of hell. And this is the cause why they say these barbarous people left their owne countrys to come into ITALIE, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwardes they say (and not without great likelyhood) that they were named CIMBRES: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely coniecture, then by any assured troth of history. And as for the multitude of men, the most part of historiographers do write, that they were rather mo, then lesse then we haue spoken of: and that they were so hardy and valiant, that nothing could stand before them, they did so great things by the strength of their handes where they fought with any, so violently, and so sodainly, that they seemed to be like a lightening fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but scraped together and caried away, all that they found, and ouer head: and there were many ROMAINE Captaines appointed gouernours to keepe that which the ROMAINES held in GAVLE beyond the mountaines, who with great armies were shamefully ouerthrown by them. The cowardlynesse of those, whō they had ouercome, was the chiefest cause that moued them to direct their iourney to ROME. For when they had conquished the first the fought withall, and gotten great richesse also: they were so fleshed by them, that they determined to stay no where before they had destroyed ROME, and sacked ITALIE. The ROMAINES hearing of this out of all parts, sent for *Marius* to giue him the conduction and leading of these warres, and chose him Consull the second time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the law, that did expresly forbid any man to be chosen being absent, and vntill also a certaine time appointed had past betweene the vacation and election, before they could choose him officer twise in one office. Some alledged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulsed them, obiecting to the contrary: that this was not the first time the law had giuen place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that the occasion offered to abrogate the law at that present was no lesse, then former occasions by the which they chose *Scipio* Consull, against the course and time appointed by the law, not for any feare they stood in to lose their owne country, but for the desire they had to destroy the country of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reason whereof the people proceeded to election. And *Marius* bringing home his armie againe out of LIBYA into ITALIE, tooke possession of his Consulship the first day of Ianuary (on which day the ROMAINES begin their yeare) and therewithall made his triūph into the city of ROME, shewing that to the ROMAINES, which they thought neuer to haue seene: and that was, king *Iugurthe* prisoner, who was so subtill a man, and could so well frame himselfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and subtiltie was of so great courage besides, that none of his enemies euer hoped to haue had him aliue. But it is said, that after he was led in this triumph, he fell mad straight vpon it. And the pompe of the triumphe being ended, he was caried into prison, where the sergeants for hast to haue the spoyle of him, tare his apparell by force from off his backe: and because they would take away his rich gold eare rings that hung at his eares, they pulled away with them the typpe of his eare, and then cast him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wits being altogether

Cimmerij.

Marius chosen Consull the second time against the law.

Law must giue place for common benefit.

Marius triumphe into Rome, for king Iugurthe.

troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he sayd: O *Hercules*, how cold are your stoues. He liued there yet six dayes, fighting with hunger, and desiring alwayes to pu long his miserable life vnto the last houre: the which was a iust deserued punishment for his wicked life. In this triumphe were caried (as they say) three thousand and seuen hundred pound weight in gold, & of siluer nigots, fiue thousand seuen hūdred & lxxv. pound weight and more in gold and ready coyne, eight and twentie thousand and seuen hundred crowns. After this triumphe *Marius* caused the Senate to assemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the companie with his triumphing robe, either because he forgot it, or else of a grosse and vnciuill arrogancie: but perceiuing that all the assemblie misliked of it, he tooke it dainly, and tooke his long Consuls gowne, and then returned quickly againe into his place.

How Marius trained his souldiers.

Furthermore *Marius* departing to go to the warres, thought to traine his army by the way and to harden his souldiers vnto labour, causing them to runne euery way, making great iourneys, compelling ech souldier to cary his own furniture, and to prepare him necessaries & victuals to finde himselfe withall: so that euer after they made a prouerbe of it, and called such as were painfull and willing to do that which they were commaunded without grudging, *Marius* moyles. Other notwithstanding, do shew an other cause and beginning of this prouerbe.

Marius moyles.

For they say, that *Scipio* lying at the siege of the city of NVMANTIA, would not only take view of the armour and horses of seruice that were in his armie, but also of the moyles and other beastes of burden, because he would see how they were kept & furnished. So *Marius* brought his horse and moyle to the muster which he kept himselfe, fatte, fayre, and very well liking, and his moyles haire so slike and smooth, and there withall so lusty and trimme, as none of the rest were like vnto them. *Scipio* tooke great pleasure to see these beastes so well kept, and in good plighte: in somuch as he spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon this grew this maner of talke was taken vp euer after, and became a common prouerbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painfull, and giuen to sore labour, making as though they would praise him, they call him *Marius* moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for *Marius* (in mine opinion) that these barbarous people (like in force to the beating backe of the sea) turned their first fury towardes SPAYNE: and that he in the meane space had time and leasure to traine and exercise his souldiers, to make them bold, and withall, himselfe throughly knowen amongest them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to feare nor disobey: then they found his rough commaunding, and sharpe seueritie in punishing as slacke their duetie, both profitable and very necessarie, besides that it was also iust and reasonable. Againe, his great fury, his sharpe wordes, and his fierce lookes, after they had a while bene vsed to them, by litle and litle they seemed nothing so fearefull to them, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleased the souldiers more then all the rest, was his iustice and vpright dealing: whereof they report such an example: *Marius* had a nephew of his in his campe called *Caius Lusius*, who had charge of mē in the army. This *Lusius* was taken for a man of honest man, sauing that he had this fowle vice in him, that he would be sodainly in loue with fayre young boyes: and as at that time he fell in loue with a trimme young stripling, called *Trebonius*, that serued vnder him, and hauing many times lewdly entised him, and neuer could obtaine his purpose, at the last sent for him one night by his seruaunt. The young man would not disobey his Captaine being sent for, but presently went vnto him. When he was entred into his tent, and that his Captaine did striue with all his force to do him villanny: he drew out his sword, and killed him in the place. And this was done when *Marius* was out of the camp: who so soone as he returned, caused the martiall to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he himself began to tell his tale himself, & to name many witnesses, who had both seene & knowen how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him dishonour, and how that he had continually resisted his abhominable motion, and would neuer yeeld himselfe vnto him, for any gift or present he could offer him. Wherefore *Marius* commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vsed to be giuen to them that in a day of battell haue done some valiant deede, and he himselfe did crowne *Trebonius* withall, as one that had done a noble act, and at such a time, as good and

Marius commended for his iustice.

examples were requisite. This iudgement of *Marius* being caried to ROME, stood him to great good purpose towardes the obtaining of his third Consulship: besides also that they looked for the comming backe of these barbarous people about the spring, with whom the ROMAINE souldiers would not fight vnder any other Captaine, then *Marius*. Howbeit they came not so soone againe as they looked for them, but *Marius* passed ouer also the yeare of his third Consulship. So time comming about againe for the election of new Consuls, and his companion also being dead: he was driuen to go himselfe vnto ROME, leauing the charge of his camp in his absence, vnto *Manius Acilius*. At that time there were many noble men that sued for the Consulship: but *Lucius Saturninus* one of the Tribunes, who had the communalty vnder his girdle as he would himselfe, more then any of the other Tribunes, and being wonne vnder hand by *Marius*, made many orations, in the which he perswaded the people to choose *Marius* Consull the fourth time. *Marius* to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying that he would none of it, though the people chose him. Whereupon *Saturninus* called him traytor, crying out, that his refusall in such a danger and time of necessity, was an apparant part to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a grosse packe betwixt *Saturninus* and *Marius*, by such as could see day at a litle hole. Neuertheless, the people considering that their present troubles required *Marius* skill & good fortune in the warres, they made him Consull the fourth time, and ioyned *Catulus Luctatius* Consull with him, a mã that was greatly honored of the nobility, and not misliked also of the common people. *Marius* hearing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, passed ouer the Alpes with great speed, and fortifying his camp by the riuer of Rhone, he brought great prouision of all kiddes of victuals thither with him, least being straighted by lacke thereof, he should be forced to come to battell at any other time, but euen as he would himselfe, and as it should seeme good vnto him. And where before that time the transporting of victuals vnto his camp by sea was very long, and dangerous, and a maruellous great charge besides: he made it very short and easie by this meanes. The mouth of the riuer of Rhone had gathered together so much mudde, and such store of sand, which the waues of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was become very high and deepe: so as the banckes made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and dangerous for great shippes of burden that came from the sea. *Marius* considering this matter, set his men a worke while they had nothing to do, & made them digge a large trench and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great part of the riuer, and caried it to a conuenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulfe, whereby he made able to cary the greatest shippes that were: and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with windes nor waues. The channell carieth yet his name, and is called *Marius* channell or trench. These barbarous people diuided themselues into two armies to passe into ITALIE, so that it fell out to the one part which were the CIMBRES, to go through high GERMANIE, and to force that passage which *Catulus* kept: and vnto the other part, which were the TEVTONS and AMBRONS, to passe through the country of the GENOVAINS by the sea side against *Marius*. Now the CIMBRES hauing the greater compasse to go about, stayed longer, and remained behind: but the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS going their way first, had in few dayes dispatched their iourney they had to go, to bring them to the camp where the ROMAINES lay, vnto whom they presented themselues by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to behold, and their cryes and voyces farre contrary vnto other mens. For they tooke in a maruellous deale of ground in length to camp vpon, and so came forth to find *Marius*, and prouoke him to battell in open field. *Marius* made no reckoning of all their braging defiances, but kept his men together within his camp, taking on terribly with them that would rashly take vpon them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impatience of choller would needs go forth to fight, calling them traytors to their country. For sayd he, we are not come to fight for our priuate glory, neither to winne two triumphes nor victories for our selues: but we must seeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great shower of armes from vs, & this lightning and tempest, that it ouercome not all ITALIE. These wordes he spake vnto the priuate Captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hauiour and quality. But as for the common souldiers, he made them stand vpon the trenches of his camp,

Marius third Consulship.

Manius Acilius Lieutenãt of the armie, vnder Marius.

Lucius Saturninus Tribune.

Marius fourth Consulship with Catulus Luctatius.

Rhodanus fl.

Marius channell.

The Cimbres went through Germanie into Italie.

The Teutons and Ambrons fall vpon Marius to passe into Italie, through the territorie of Genua.

one after an other to behold the enemies, and to acquaint themselues with sight of their
their countenaunce, and marching, and not to be afrayed of their voyces to heare them
which were wonderfull, both straunge and beastly: and also that they might know the
of their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order & ordinary viewing
in time he made the things that seemed fearefull vnto his mẽ at the first sight, to be after
very familiar: so that they made no more wondring at them. For he iudged, the thing
indeede is true, that a rare and new matter neuer seene before, for lacke of iudgement and
derstanding, maketh things vnknowen to vs, more horrible & fearefull then they are: &
contrary, that custome taketh away a great deale of feare, & terrour of those things, which
nature are indeede fearefull. The which was seene then by experience. For they being
acquainted to looke vpon these barbarous people, it did not onely diminish some part
former feare of the ROMAINE souldiers: but furthermore they whetting their choller
fierce vntollerable threates and bragges of these barbarous brutish people, did set their
a fire to fight with them, because they did not only waste & destroy all the country about
but besides that, came to giue assault euen vnto their camp with such a boldnesse, that
MAAINE souldiers could no longer suffer them, and they letted not to speake wordes that
to *Marius* eares himselfe. What cowarlinesse hath *Marius* euer knowen in vs, that he
vs thus frõ fighting, & vnder locke & key as it were, in the gard of porters, as if we were
men? Let vs therefore shew our selues like men, and go aske him if he looke for any other
diers besides our selues to defend ITALIE: and if he haue determined to employ vs as
onely, when he would cast a trench to rid away the mudde, or to turne a riuer contrary
therein hath he onely hitherunto employed vs in great labour, & they are the notable
he hath done in his two Consulships, whereof he maketh his boast vnto them at Ro
he afrayed they should take him, as they did *Carbo* & *Capio*, whom the enemies haue ouer
wen? He must not be afrayed of that: for he is a Captaine of an other manner of valour
putation then they were, and his army much better then theirs was. But howsoeuer it
were it much better in proouing to loose something, then to be idle, & to suffer our
confederates to be destroyed and sacked before our eyes. *Marius* was maruellous glad to
his men complaine thus, and did comfort them, & told them that he did nothing mistrust
courage & valiantnesse: howbeit that through the counsell of certaine prophecies and
of the gods, he did expect time and place fit for victory. For he euer caried a SYRIAN wo
in a litter about with him called *Martha*, with great reuerence, whom they sayd had
rit of propheesie in her: and that he did euer sacrifice vnto the gods by her order, & at such
as she willed him to do it. This SYRIAN woman went first to speake with the Senate
these matters, & did foretell and prognosticate what should follow. But the Senate wo
heare her, and made her to be driuen away. Whereupon she went vnto the women, and
them see proofe of some things she vaunted of, & specially *Marius* wife, at whose feete
set one day in assembly of the common playes, to see the swordplayers fight for life and
for she told her certainly which of them should ouercome. Whereupõ this Lady sent
to her husband *Marius*, who made great reckning of her, and caried her euen in a litter
him whersoeuer he went. She was alwayes at *Marius* sacrifices, apparelled in a gowne
ple in graine, clasped to her with clasps, and held a speare in her hand wound all about
nosegayes, and garlands of flowers tyed on with laces. This manner of gest made many
whether *Marius* shewed this woman openly, beleeuing indeede that she had the gift
phecy: or else that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did beleeue it, to
fayning. But that which *Alexander* the MYNDIAN wrote touching Vultures, is a thing
lyto be wondred at. For he sayd there were two of them followed *Marius* in his warres,
that they euer shewed themselues & missed not, whẽ he should winne any great battell,
they did know them by latin collers they ware about their neckes, which the souldiers
tyed about them, and afterwardes let them go where they would: by reason whereof, they
know the souldiers againe, and it seemed also that they saluted them, and were very glad
they saw them, & perswaded themselues, that it was a signe & token of good lucke to
Many signes & tokens were seene before the battell: howbeit all the rest were ordinary

Martha, a wise woman or propheteſſe.

The attire of Martha in time of sacrifice.

A wonder of the Vultures shewed to Marius.

ſeing that which was reported to be ſeene at TVDERTVM, and AMERIA, two cities of ITA- *Wonders ſeene.*
For they ſay there were ſeene ſpeares and targets in the night, burning like fire in the ele-
which firſt were caried vp and downe here and there, & then met together euen as men
and ſtur that fight one with an other: vntill at the length, the one giuing back, and the
following after, they all vaniſhed away, and conſumed towards the Weſt. About the ſelf
time alſo, there came from the citie of PESSINVNTA, *Batabaces*, the chiefe prieſt of the *Batabaces the prieſt of the mother of the gods.*
mother of the gods, who brought newes, that the goddeſſe had ſpoken to him within
hir ſanctuarie, and told him that the victory of this warre ſhould fall out on the ROMAINES
The Senate beleeued it, and ordained that they ſhould builde a temple vnto that goddeſſe,
her thankes for the victorie which ſhe did promiſe them. *Batabaces* alſo would haue
ered himſelfe vnto the people in open aſſemblie, to tell them as much. But there was one
Pompeius a Tribune that would not ſuffer him to do it, calling him tumbler, or iugler, *Aulus Pompeius Tribune.*
violently thruſt him behinde the pulpit for orations: but the miſchance that fell vpon
afterwards, made them the more to beleeue *Batabaces* words. For *Pompeius* the Tri-
no ſooner came home vnto his houſe, but a great vehement ague tooke him, wherof he
the ſeuenth day after, as all the world could witneſſe. Now the TEVTONS perceiuing
Marius ſtirred not at all out of his campe, they proued to aſſault him: howbeit they were
well receiued with ſhot and ſlings, that after they had loſt certaine of their men, they gaue it
, and determined to go further, perſwading themſelues that they might eaſily paſſe the
without danger. Wherfore truſſing vp all their baggage, they paſſed by *Marius* campe:
which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruellous great mul-
of people, by the length of time which they tooke to paſſe their way. For it is ſaid they *The enemies campe were remouing ſixe daies together.*
paſsing by his campe, ſixe dayes continually together. And as they came raking by the
AINS campe, they asked them in mockery, if they would write or ſend home any thing
their wiues, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all paſſed and
and that they continued on their iorney ſtill, *Marius* alſo raiſed his campe, and went and
ed them faire and ſoftly foote by foote, and euer kept hard at their taile as neere as he
, alwaies fortifying his campe very well, and euer chooſing ſtrong places of ſituation
tage to lodge in, that they might be ſafe in the night time. Thus they marched on in
, vntill they came vnto the citie of AIX, from whence they had not farre to go, but
entred ſtraight into the mountaines of the Alpes. Wherefore *Marius* prepared now to
with them: and choſe out a place that was very ſtrong of ſituation to lodge his campe
howbeit there lacked water. And they ſay he did it of purpoſe, to the ende to quicken his
courage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and tolde him that they ſhould ſtand in
danger to abide maruellous thirſt if they lodged there. Whereunto he made anſwer: *Marius bolde words to his ſouldiers, and their anſwer.*
ing them the riuer that ran hard by the enemies campe, ſaying withall, that they muſt
hither and buie drinke with their bloud. The ſouldiers replied againe: and why then doe
not lead vs thither, whileſt our bloud is yet moiſte? he gently anſwered them againe: be-
the firſt thing we do, we muſt fortifie our campe. The ſouldiers, though they were an-
with him, yet they obeyed him: but the ſlaues hauing neither drinke for themſelues, nor
their cattell, gathered together a great troope of them, and went towards the riuer: ſome
them caryng axes, other hatchets, other ſwords and ſpeares, with their pots to cary water,
mining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwiſe they could not come by it. A
of the barbarous people at the firſt fought with them, becauſe the moſt part of their com-
were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were ſtill in the bathe waſhing them-
, finding in that place many ſprings of hot naturall bathes. Thus the ROMAINES found
of the barbarous people making merry, & taking their pleaſure about theſe bathes, for
great delight they tooke to conſider the pleaſantneſſe of the place: but when they heard
noiſe of them that fought, they began to runne one after an other vnto the place from
ence the noiſe came. Wherfore it was a hard thing for *Marius* any longer to keep the RO-
AINE ſouldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their ſlaues ſhould haue bin
ne of the barbarous people: and moreouer, becauſe the valianteſt ſouldiers of their ene-
s called the AMBRONS (who before had ouercome *Manlius* and *Cæpio*, two ROMAINE

Captaines with their armies, and that made of themselues thirty thousand fighting men [illegible] to armes, being very heauy of their bodies, as hauing filled their bellies well, but otherwise valiant and courageous fellowes, and more liuely then they were wont to be, by reason of the wine they had drunke. They ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither did they crie confusedly, but matching all together in good array, making a noise with their harnesse after one sorte; they oft rehearsed their owne name AMBRONS, AMBRONS, AMBRONS which was, either to call one an other of them, or else to feare the ROMAINS with their name only. The ITALIANS also on the other side, being the first that came downe to fight with were the LIGVRIANS, dwelling vpon the coast of Genoa, who hearing this noise [illegible] of theirs, plainly vnderstanding them: answered them againe with the like noise and crie GVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, saying that it was the true surname of all their [illegible] And so before they ioyned together, this crie was redoubled many a time on either side the Captaines of both parts made their souldiers crie out all together, contending for one against an other, who should crie it out lowdest. This contention of crying, inflamed

Battell betwixt the Ambrons and Marius.

souldiers courages the more. Now the AMBRONS hauing the riuer to passe, were by meanes put out of order, and before they could put themselues in battell ray againe, after had passed the riuer, the LIGVRIANS ran with great furie to set vpon the formost: and them, (to aide the LIGVRIANS that had begun the charge) the ROMAINES themselues also vpon the AMBRONS, comming downe from the places of aduantage vpon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes, and flie. So the great

Marius ouercame the Ambrons.

slaughter they made, fortuned vpon the bancke of the riuer, whereinto they thrust one other in such sorte, that all the riuer ran bloud, being filled with dead bodies. And they could get ouer the riuer againe, and were on the other side, durst not gather together any to stand to defence: so as the ROMAINES slew them, and draue them into their campe, vnto their cariage. Then their women came out against them with swordes and axes in

The mannishnes of the women.

hands, gtinding their teeth: and crying out for sorrow and anger, they charged as well their owne people that fled, as vpon them that chased them: the one as traitors, and the as enemies. Furthermore, they thrust themselues amongest them that fought, and with force to plucke the ROMAINES targets out of their hands, and tooke holde of their swords bare handed, abiding with an inuincible courage to be hacked & mangled with swords. And thus was the first battell giuen (as they say) by the riuers side, rather by vnlooked for, then by any set purpose, or through the generals counsel. Now the ROMAINS after they had ouercome the most parte of the AMBRONS, retiring back by reason they had ouertaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had giuen such an ouerthrow) songs of victory and triumphe, nor make good cheere in their tents one with an other, least of all sleepe: (which is the best and sweetest refreshing for men that haue fought hard) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, because their [illegible] was not trenched and fortified, and because they knew also that there remained almost innumerable thousands of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: besides also, that the AMBRONS that had fled and scaped from the ouerthrow, did howle out all night with lowd cries which were nothing like mens lamentations and sighes, but rather like wilde beasts bellowing and roaring. So that the bellowing of such a great multitude of beastly people, mingled together with threats and wailings, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running water to rebounde againe of the sound and eccho of their cryes maruellously: by reason whereof all the valley that lay betweene both, thundered to heare the horrible and fearefull tremblings. This made the ROMAINE souldiers afeard, and *Marius* himselfe in some doubt: because he looked to haue bene fought withall the same night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not assault them that night, nor the next following, but only prepared themselues vnto battell. And in the meane time *Marius* hauing that there was aboue the place where they were camped, certaine caues and little valleys couered with wood: he secretly sent *Claudius Marcellus* thither with three thousand footmen well armed, and commanded him to keepe close in ambush, vntill he sawe that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set vpon their rereward.

The reſidue of his armie, they ſupped when time came, and after ſupper repoſed themſelues. The next morning at the breake of day, *Marius* brought his men into the fielde out of his campe: where he put them in order of battell, ſending his horſmen before to draw the enemies out to skirmiſh. The TEVTONS ſeeing them come, had not the patience to tary till the ROMAINES were come downe into the plaine field to fight without aduantage, but arming themſelues in haſt, and in a rage, ran vp the hill to the ROMAINES, where they ſtood in battell ray. *Marius* taking good regard to that they did, ſent here and there vnto the priuate Captaines, charging them they ſhould not ſtirre, and onely to temporiſe and forbeare, vntill the enemies came within a ſtones caſt of them: and that they ſhould then throw their dartes at them, and afterwards draw their ſwords, and repulſe the barbarous people with their ſhields. For he did foreſee before, that when they ſhould clime vp againſt the hill (vpon the hanging whereof the ROMAINES had ſet their battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their ordre and rankes could ſtand cloſe together to any effect or purpoſe: becauſe they could not haue ſure footing, nor marche aſſuredly, but would eaſily be throwne backward if they were neuer ſo little repulſed, by reaſon of the hanging of the hill. *Marius* gaue this order vnto his men, and therewithall was himſelfe the firſt man that put it in execution: for he was as trim a warriour, and as valiant a ſouldier, as any man in all his armie: beſides, not one amongſt them all would venture further, & be more bolde then himſelfe. So when the ROMAINES had reſiſted them, and ſtaied them ſodainly going with fury to haue wonne the hill, perceiuing themſelues to be repulſed, they gaue back by litle and litle, vntill they came into the field: and then began the formoſt of them to gather together, and to put themſelues in battell raye vpon the plaine, when ſodainly they heard the noiſe and charging of them that were in the taile of their armie. For *Claudius Marcellus* failed not to take the occaſion when it was offred him, becauſe of the noiſe of the firſt charge comming vp againſt the hils thereabouts, vnder the which he lay in ambuſh, gaue him aduertiſement therof: whereupon he cauſed his men preſently to ſhew, and running with great cries, came to giue a charge vpon thoſe which were in the taile of the barbarous people, putting the hindmoſt to the ſword. They made their fellowes whoſe backs were next vnto them, to turne their faces, & ſo from man to man, till at the length in ſhort time all their battell began to waue in diſorder: and they made no great reſiſtance, when they ſaw they were ſo charged before and behinde, but began ſtraight to flie for life. The ROMAINES following them hard at the heeles, killed and tooke priſoners aboue a hundred thouſand of them, and tooke moreouer their carts, their tents and all their cariage. Which the whole army by conſent agreed to preſent vnto *Marius*, excepting nothing, ſauing that which was imbeaſled and conueied away vnder hand. Now, though this was a maruellous honorable & right profitable preſent, yet they thought it not a recompence ſufficient for that he had deſerued, for the valure he had ſhewed of a famous Captaine in leading of his armie, and for the good order he had vſed in this warre: ſo happy thought they themſelues to haue eſcaped ſo great a danger. Notwithſtanding, ſome writers do not agree, that the ſpoile of the barbarous people was giuen vnto *Marius*: nor that there were alſo ſo great a number of men ſlaine as we haue ſpoken of. For they ſay, that after this battell, the MARSILLIANS did incloſe their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that the bodies being rotten and conſumed vpon the fieldes through the great raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed ſo fat, & ſoke the greaſe ſo deepe in the ſame, that the ſummer following they did beare an vncredible quantitie of all ſorts of frutes. And by this meanes were *Archilocus* words proued true, that arable land doth waxe fat with ſuch rottenneſſe or putrification. And it is ſaid alſo, that ordinary after great battels, there falleth great ſtore of raine. Either it is by meane of ſome god powring downe pure raine water doth purifie, waſh, and clenſe the ground, defiled & polluted with mans bloud: or elſe it happeneth by naturall cauſe. For that the ouerthrow of ſo many dead bodies, and of the bloud ſpilt, engendreth a moiſt, groſſe, and heauy vapoure, which doth thicken the aire (that by nature is changeable, and eaſie to alter) from a very ſmall or litle beginning, vnto an exceeding great change. After this battell, *Marius* cauſed the harneſſe and ſpoiles of the barbarous people to be laid aſide, that were left whole and faire to ſight, to beautifie and enrich the pompe of his triumph. Then he cauſed the reſt to be gathered together on

Marius ſecond battell with the Teutons.

Marius victory of the Teutons and Ambrons.

Much raine followeth after great battels.

a great heape, and laide vpon a ſtake of wood, to make a noble ſacrifice vnto the gods, all his armie being armed about him, crowned with garlands of triumphe, and himſelfe apparelled in a long gowne of purple, according to the cuſtome of the ROMAINES in ſuch a caſe, & holding a torche burning in both his hands, which he firſt lifted vp vnto heauen. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the ſtake of wood, they ſaw ſome of his friends a good way off a horſeback, comming poſt vnto him: then ſodainly there was a great ſilence made of all the aſſembly, euery man deſirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come & lighted off their horſes, they ran ſtraight to embrace *Marius*, and brought him newes that he was choſen Conſull the fifth time: and preſented him the letters ſent him from ROME confirming the ſame. And thus, this new ioy falling out beſides the victorie, the priuate ſouldiers did ſhew the great ioy and pleaſure they tooke in both, with great ſhoutes and beating vpon their harneſſe: and the Captaines alſo, they crowned *Marius* againe with new garlands of laurell which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire vnder the ſtake of wood, and ended his ſacrifice. But that which neuer ſuffereth men quietly to enioy the good hap of any victorie clearely, but in this mortall life doth euer mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortune or ſpight of fatall deſtenie, or elſe the neceſſitie of the naturall cauſes of earthly things: did ſhortly after this great ioy bring newes vnto *Marius*, of his companion *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, who was like a cloude in a faire bright day, and brought the city of ROME againe into a new feare and trouble. For *Catulus* that went againſt the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keepe the ſtraights of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for paſſing: becauſe that in ſo doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his armie into many partes, and had weakened himſelfe very much if he had taken that course. Wherefore comming a litle on this ſide the Alpes towards ITALIE, he planted himſelfe vpon the riuer of Atheſis, and built a bridge vpon it, to paſſe and repaſſe ouer his men when he would, and ſet vp at either end of the bridge two ſtrong fortes well fortified, that he might more commodiouſly helpe the places on the other ſide of the riuer, if the barbarous people by chance would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the ſtraights of the mountaines. Now, theſe barbarous people had ſuch a glory in themſelues, and diſdained their enemies ſo much, that more to ſhew their force and boldneſſe, then of any neceſſity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they ſuffred it to ſnow vpon them being ſtarke naked, and to climbe vp to the top of the mountaines, through great heapes of Iſe and ſnow. And when they were at the very top of all, they laide their long broade targets vnder their bodies, and ſlid all along vpon them, ſliding downe the ſteepe high rockes, that had certaine hanging cliffes of an infinite height. In the ende, they came to campe neere vnto the ROMAINES by the riuer ſide, and conſidered how they might paſſe it ouer: and began to fill it vp, tearing downe (like giants) great hilles of earth which they found thereabouts, brought thither great trees which they pulled vp whole by the roots, threw in great peeces of rockes which they had, and whole towers of earth after them, to ſtop and breake the courſe of the riuer. But beſides all this, they threw great timber into the riuer, which being caried downe the ſtreame, came with ſuch a force, & hit againſt the poſtes of the bridge ſo violently, that they ſhaked the ROMAINES bridge maruellouſlie. Whereupon many of the ſouldiers of the great campe were afraide, and forſaking it, began to retire. But then did *Catulus*, like a perfit good Captaine ſhewe, that he made leſſe account of his owne priuate honour and eſtimation, then he did of the generall honor of all his ſouldiers. For, ſeeing that he could not perſwade his men by any reaſon to tary, and that in this feare they diſlodged in diſorder againſt his will: he himſelfe commanded the ſtanderd bearer of the Eagle to marche on, and ran to the formoſt that were their way, and marched himſelfe before them all, to the intent that the ſhame of this flight ſhould altogether light vpon him, and not vpon his countrie, and that it might appeare the ROMAINES did follow their captaine, & not flie away. The barbarous people therefore aſſayling the forte at the end of the bridge of the riuer of Atheſis, tooke it, and all the men that were in it. And becauſe the ROMAINES defended it like valiant men, and had luſtily ventured their liues to the death for defence of their country: the barbarous people let them go vpon compoſition, which they ſware to keepe faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull after-

Marius the fifth time Conſull.

Atheſis flu.

Catulus Luctatius the Conſull, flieth from the Cimbres.

was taken when they loſt the battell, and caried (as they ſay) into *Catulus Luctatius* houſe, as the chiefeſt thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the country open without any defence, ſcattered here and there, and deſtroyed all where they came. Wherupon the ROMAINES ſent for *Marius* to ROME to go againſt them: and after he was arriued, euerie man thought he ſhould haue entred in triumphe, becauſe alſo the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not do it, either becauſe he would not depriue his ſouldiers and the Captaines that had fought vnder him, of any part of the honour that was due vnto them, they being abſent: or becauſe that he would warrant the people from the preſent danger they were in, by laying aſide the glory of his former victories, into the handes of the good fortune of ROME, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwards, by a more honorable and perfit confirmation of the ſecond. Wherfore, after he had made an oration to the people, and Senate according to the time, he went his way immediatly towards *Catulus Luctatius*, whoſe comming did comfort him much: and ſent alſo for his armie that was yet in GAVLE beyond the mountaines. And after his army was come, he paſſed the riuer of PO, to keepe the barbarous people from hurting ITALIE on this ſide the PO. Now, the CIMBRES ſtill deferred to giue battell becauſe they looked for the TEVTONS, and ſaid: that they maruelled much what they ment to tary ſo long: either becauſe they knew not indeed of their ouerthrow, or elſe for that they would not ſeeme to know it, becauſe they handled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deaths. At the length, they ſent vnto *Marius* to aske him lands and townes ſufficient to keepe them and their brethren. *Marius* asked their Ambaſſadors what brethren they ment. They anſwered, that they were the TEVTONS. Whereat the ſtanders by began to laugh: and *Marius* finely mocked them, ſaying. Care not for thoſe brethren ſaid he, for we haue giuen them ground enough, which they will keep for euer. Theſe Ambaſſadors found his mock ſtraight, and began to reuile and threaten him, that the CIMBRES ſhould preſently make him repent it, and the TEVTONS ſo ſoone as they arriued. Why, ſaid *Marius* vnto them againe, they are come already: and there were no honeſty in you, if you could go your way and not ſalute them, ſince they are your brethren. And as he ſpake theſe wordes, he commanded his men to bring him the kings of the TEVTONS bound and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the SEQVANI. The CIMBRES vnderſtanding this by reporte of their Ambaſſadors, preſently marched towards *Marius*, who ſtirred not at all, but only fortified and kept his campe. They ſay that it was for this battell that *Marius* firſt inuented the new deuiſe he brought in for the darte which the ROMAINES were wonte alwaies to throwe againſt the enemies at the firſt charge. For before, the ſtaffe of the darte was faſtened vnto the iron, and the iron vnto the ſtaffe, with two litle iron pinnes that paſſed through the wood: and then *Marius* left one of the iron pins as it was before, and taking away the other, put a litle thin pinne of wood, eaſie to be broken, in place of the ſame, making it craftely, to the end that when the dart was throwne, and ſtuck in the enemies target, it ſhould not ſtand right forward, but bowe downwards towards the iron, that the wooden pinne being broken, the ſtaffe of the darte ſhould hang downewards, holding yet by the iron pinne running quite through at the point. So *Beorix* king of the CIMBRES, comming neere to *Marius* campe with a ſmall number of horſemen, ſent him defiance, and willed him to appoint a day & place for battell, that they might trie it out, who ſhould be owners of the country. Whereunto *Marius* made aunſwer, that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to counſell with their enemies, of the time and place when they ſhould giue battell: but neuertheleſſe, he would not ſtick to pleaſure the CIMBRES ſo much. And thus they agreed betweene them, that it ſhould be the third day following, in the plaine of Verſelles, which was very commodious for the horſemen of the ROMAINES: and alſo for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, had in his campe twenty thouſand, and three hundred ſouldiers: and *Marius* had in his campe two and thirty thouſand fighting men, which he placed in the two wings of the battell, ſhutting in *Catulus* with his men in the middeſt. As *Sylla* writeth it, who was preſent at the ſame: ſaying, that *Marius* did it of malice, for the hope he had to ouerthrow his enemies with the two

Marius refuſed to enter in triumphe.

Marius goeth towards Catulus Luctatius to helpe him. Po flu.

Marius mocke to the Cimbres.

The Cimbres march againſt Marius.

Marius deuiſe for altering the darte in fight.

Beorix king of the Cimbres.

Two and fiftie thouſand and three hundred men betweene Marius and Caulus.

The Romaines battell.

wings of the battell, to the end that the whole victory should light vpon his two wings, and that *Catulus* and his men in the middest should haue no part therof. For he could not so much as fronte the enemy, becausе that commonly when the fronte of a battell is of such a breadth the two wings that euer stretched out before, and is made like the cressant of a moone, where the middest is thickest and fartherst in. And it is written also in other stories, that *Catulus* himselfe accusing the malice of *Marius*, becausе he did so: spake it to excusе his owne dishonour.

The battell of the Cimbres.

As for the CIMBRES, the troupes of their footemen comming out of their fortes leasurely did put themselues into a squadron, as broad as long, for in euery side they occupied almost thirty furlong: but their horsemen which were fifteene thousand, marched before in sumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heads fashioned like wilde beasts necks, and strange beuers or buffes to the same, and ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers as they had bene wings: which to sight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curasses on their backes, and caried great white targets before them: and for weapons offensiue, euery man had two darts in his hand to bestow a farre off, & when they came to hād strokes, they had great heauy swords, which they fought with all neere hand. But at that time they did not marche directly in rancke against the army of the ROMAINES, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to inclose the ROMAINES betwen them and their footmen that were on the left hand. The ROMAINE Captaines found their policie straight, but they could not keepe their souldiers backe: for there was one that cried the enemies fled, and immediatly all the rest began to runne after. In the meane time, the footmen of the barbarous people that were like to a sea before them, came forwards still: and then *Marius* hauing washed his hands, and lifting them vp to heauen, promised, and vowed a solemne sactifice vnto the gods of a hundred oxen. *Catulus* also made a vowe, lifting vp his hands to heauen in like maner, that he would build a temple vnto fortune for that day: and it is reported, that *Marius* hauing sacrificed, when they shewed him the intrailes of the beast sacrificed: he cried out aloude, the victorie is mine. But when they came to giue the charge *Marius* had a great misfortune happened him, powred vpon him by gods iustice, who turned his craft against himselfe, as *Sylla* writeth: for there rose very credibly so great a dust that both armies lost the sight one of another. And hereupon *Marius* being the first that ranne to begin the charge, and hauing placed his men about him, missed to meete with his enemies and being passed beyonde their battell, wandred a great while vp and downe the field, while the barbarous people fought against *Catulus*. So that the greatest fury of the battel was against *Catulus* and his army: in the which, *Sylla* writeth he was himselfe, and saieth, that the heate and the sun which was full in the CIMBRES faces, did the ROMAINES maruellous pleasure at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard, brought vp to away with colde (because they were borne and bred in a cold country, shadowed altogether with woods and (as we haue said) were to the contrary very tender against the heate, and did melt with sweate against the sunne, and gaped straight for breath, putting their targets before their faces: for it was also in the hart of summer, about the seauen and twentith day of the moneth of Iuly, that this battell was giuen, and this dust also made the ROMAINES the bolder, and kept them that they could not see the innumerable multitude of their enemies farre from them. And euery man running to set vpon them that came against them, they were ioyned together in fight before that the sight of their enemies could make them afraide. And furthermore, they were so good souldiers, and so able to take paines, that how extreame soeuer the heate was, no man was seene sweate nor blow, though they ran at the first to set vpon them: and this hath *Lucretius* himselfe left in writing vnto the praise of his souldiers. So were the most part of the barbarous people, & specially of the best souldiers, slaine in the field. And becausе they should not open nor breake their rancks, the formost rancks were all tied and bound together with girdles, leather thongs, and long chaines of iron: and they that fled, were chased and followed into their campe by the ROMAINES, where they met with horrible and fearefull things to beholde. For, their wiues being vpon the toppe of their cartes, apparelled all in blacke, slue those that fled, without regarde of persons: some their fathers, other their husbands or their brethren, and strangling the litle young babes with their owne hands, they cast them

A dust raised that neither army could see one an other.

The sunne full in the Cimbres faces.

The field fought the 27. of Iuly.

Horrible cruelty of women.

vnder

der the cart wheeles, and betweene the horſe legges, and afterwards ſlue them ſelues. And ey ſay, that there was a woman hanged at the end of a cart ladder, hauing hanged vp two her children by the necks at her heeles. And that the men alſo, for lacke of a tree to hang em ſelues on, tied ſlipping halters about their neckes, vnto the horns and feete of the oxen, d that they did pricke them afterwardes with goades to make them fling and leape ſo long, at dragging them all about, and treading them vnder feete, at the length they killed them. low, though numbers were ſlaine by this meanes, yet were there three ſcore thouſand of thē ken priſoners, and the number of them that were ſlaine, came to twiſe as many moe. In this anner *Marius* ſouldiers ſpoiled the campe of the CIMBRES: but the ſpoiles of dead men at were ſlaine in the field, with their enſignes and trumpettes, were all brought (as it is ſaid) nto *Catulus* campe, which was a plaine teſtimony to ſhew that *Catulus* and his ſouldiers had wonne the field. Strife riſing thus between the ſouldiers of both campes about it, that the mat- might be tried friendly betweene them: they made the Ambaſſadors of PARMA their ar- rators, who were by chāce at that time in the army. *Catulus Luctatius* ſouldiers led the Am- aſſadors to the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, ſhewing them the enemies bodies earſed through with their pikes, which were eaſie to be knowen, becauſe *Catulus* had made em graue his name vpon their pikes. For all this, *Marius* went away with the honor of this reat victory, as well for the firſt battell he wanne alone, when he ouerthrew the TEVTONS nd the AMBRONS: as for his great calling, hauing beene Conſull fiue times. And further- ore, the common people at ROME, called him the third founder of the city of ROME, think- g themſelues now deliuered from as great a danger, as before time they had bene in from the ncient GAVLES. And euery man feaſting at home with his wife and children, offered the beſt ſhes of meat they had to ſupper, vnto the gods, and vnto *Marius*: and would needs haue him one to triumphe for both victories. But he would not in any caſe, but triumphed into the ci- y with *Catulus Luctatius*, meaning to ſhew him ſelfe curteous and moderate in ſo great proſ- erity: and peraduenture alſo fearing *Catulus* ſouldiers, who were in readineſſe and prepared f *Marius* would haue depriued their Captaine of that honor) to let him alſo of his triumph. nd thus you ſee how he paſſed his fifth Conſulſhippe. After that, he made more earneſt ſute or the ſixth Conſulſhip, then euer any other did for his firſt: ſeeking the peoples good willes y all the faire meanes he could to pleaſe them, humbling himſelfe vnto them, not onely more en became his eſtate and calling, but directly alſo againſt his owne nature, counterfeating a urteous populer manner, being cleane contrary to his diſpoſition. His ambition made him ureous to deale in matters of the ſtate concerning the city. For that courage and boldneſſe hich he had in battell againſt the enemy, he loſt it quite when he was in an aſſembly of peo- le in the city: and was eaſily put out of his biaſe, with the firſt blame or praiſe he heard giuen im. And though they report, that on a time when he mad a thouſand CAMERINES free f the city of ROME, becauſe they had done valiant ſeruice in the warres, that there were me that did accuſe him, ſaying, that it was a thing done againſt all law: he anſwered them, at for the noiſe of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithſtanding, it ſeemeth that deede he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an aſſembly of the city. For in time warres, he euer ſtood vpon his reputation and authority, knowing that they had neede him: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, becauſe he would rather be the chiefeſt man then honeſteſt man, he would creepe into the peoples boſomes to get their fauor and goodwil. nd thus through his euil behauiour, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. t he feared not miſtruſted none ſo much, as hee did *Metellus*, for the great vnthankfull part e remembred he had playd him: and the rather alſo, becauſe he knew him to be a iuſt and true aling man, and one that was euer againſt theſe people-pleaſers and flatterers. *Marius* there- re practiſed all the waies he could, to get *Metellus* to be baniſhed ROME. Wherefore, to cō- ſe his intent, he fell in friendſhip with *Glaucia*, and one *Saturninus*, two of the moſt boldeſt, moſt deſperate, and moſt harebraind young men that were in all ROME: who had all the ra- lement of rogues and beggers, and ſuch tumultuous people at their commaundement, by hoſe meanes he made new popular lawes, and cauſed the ſouldiers to be called home out of e wars, and mingled them with the people of the city in common aſſemblies, to trouble and

Priſoners 60. thouſand. Men ſlaine fiue ſcore thouſand.

Might ouer-commeth right.

Metellus againſt people pleaſers.

vexe *Metellus*. Moreouer *Rutilius*, an honeſt and true writer, (howbeit an enemy vnto *Marius*) writeth, that he obtained his ſixth Conſulſhip by corruption of money, which he cauſed to be diſtributed amongſt the tribes of the people: and that he bought it for ready money to put by *Metellus*, and to haue *Valerius Flaccus* not for his fellow and companion in the Conſulſhippe, but rather for a miniſter of his will. There was neuer ROMAINE to whom the people graunted the Conſulſhippe ſixe times, except it were vnto *Valerius Coruinus* only. But for him they ſay that there was fiue and forty yeares betweene his firſt Conſulſhip and the laſt. Whereas *Marius* ſince the firſt yeare of his Conſulſhippe, continued fiue yeares together by good fortune one after an other. But in his laſt Conſulſhip, he wanne him ſelfe great hate and malice, becauſe he did many foule faults to pleaſe *Saturninus* withall: as amongeſt others, when he bare with *Saturninus*, who murdered *Nonius* his competitor in the Tribuneſhip. Afterward when *Saturninus* was choſen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for diſtribution of the landes among the common people, and vnto that law he had ſpecially added one article: that all the Lords of the Senate ſhould come openly to ſweare, that they ſhould keepe and obſerue from point to point that which the people by their voices ſhould decree, and ſhould not denie it in any iotte. But *Marius* in open Senate, made as though hee would withſtand this article, ſaying, that neither he nor any other wiſe man of iudgement would take this oth: for he, if the law be euill, then they ſhould doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force to graunt it, and not of their owne good wils. But he ſpake not that, meaning to do as he did: for it was but a baite he had layed for *Metellus* only, which he could hardly eſcape. For, imagining that to tel a fine lie, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly reconciled with him ſelfe, not to paſſe for any thing he had ſpoken in the Senate. And to the contrary alſo, knowing well enough that *Metellus* was a graue wiſe man, who eſteemed that which is iuſt and true (as *Pindarus* ſaid) is the beginning and foundation of great vertue: he thought he would outreach him, making him affirme before the Senat that he would not ſweare, knowing alſo that the people would hate him deadly, if hee would refuſe afterwardes to ſweare. And ſo in deed it happened. For *Metellus* hauing aſſured them then that he would not ſweare, the Senate brake vp vppon it. And ſhortly after, *Saturninus* the Tribune calling the Senate vnto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to ſweare before the people: *Marius* went further to offer him ſelfe to ſweare. Whereupon the people making ſilence, liſtned attentiuely to heare what he would ſay. But *Marius* not regarding his large promiſe and brags made before the Senate, ſayed then, his necke was not ſo long that he would preiudice the common wealth in a matter of ſo great importance: but that he would ſweare, and obey the law, if it were a law. This ſhifting ſubtilty he added to it, to cloke and couer his ſhame: and when he had ſayd ſo, he tooke his oth. The people ſeeing him ſweare, were maruellous glad, and praiſed him with clapping of their handes: but the nobility hanging downe their heads were diſcontented of him, and were maruellous angry in their hearts with him, that he had ſo cowardly and ſhamefully gone from his word. Thereupon all the Senate tooke their othes, one after another againſt their wils, becauſe they were afrayed of the people. Sauing *Metellus*, whom neither parents nor friendes perſwaſion and intreaty could once moue to ſweare, for any puniſhment that *Saturninus* had impoſed vpon them, which refuſed to take the othe, but continued a man ſtill according to his nature, and would neuer yeelde vnto it, offering to abide any puniſhment rather then to be brought to conſent to a diſhoneſt matter vnbeſeeming his eſtate. And therevpon went out of the aſſembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them that to do euill it was too eaſie a thing: and to doe good without daunger, it was alſo a common matter: but to do well with danger, that was the part of an honeſt and vertuous man. *Saturninus* then commaunded the Conſuls by edict of the people, that they ſhould baniſh *Metellus* by ſound of trumpet, with ſpeciall commaundement, that no man ſhould receiue him, haue fire nor water, nor lodge him priuatly nor openly. The common people, they were ready to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noble men being offended for the iniury they had offred him, gathered together about him to ſaue him, if any would offer violence. *Metellus* him ſelfe was ſo good a man, that he would not any ciuill diſſention ſhould riſe for his ſake: and therefore he abſented him ſelfe from ROME, wherein he did like a

Valerius Flaccus Conſull with Marius the ſixth time.

Valerius Coruinus ſixe times Conſull.

The law Agraria.

An article for the othes of the Senate to confirme what the people ſhould paſſe by voice.

Marius double dealing.

To lie cunningly, Marius taketh for a vertue.

Timorous policy cauſeth periury.

Metellus conſtant in vertue

Metellus wiſe ſaying touching well doing.

Metellus baniſhment.

man. For ſayd he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting them ſelues of the wrong they haue done me, will call me home againe: or elſe things ſtanding as they do now, it ſhall be beſt for me to be furtheſt off. But for his trauaile in his exile, how much he was beloued and honoured, and how ſweetely he paſſed his time ſtudying philoſophy in the city of RHODES, ſhall be declared more at large in his life. Now on the other ſide, *Marius* to recompence the pleaſure *Saturninus* had done him, being driuen to let him haue his will in all things did not foreſee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the common wealth, giuing the bridle to a deſperate man, who euery way, by force, by ſword and murder, plainely ſought to vſurpe tyrannicall power, with the vtter deſtruction and ſubuerſion of the whole common wealth. And ſo bearing reuerence on the one ſide vnto the nobility, and deſiring on the other ſide to gratifie the common people: he plaied a ſhamefull part, and ſhewed him ſelfe a double dealing man. For one night the nobility and chiefeſt citizens comming to his houſe, to perſwade him to bridle *Saturninus* inſolency and boldnes: at the ſelfe ſame time alſo *Saturninus* going thither to ſpeake with him, he cauſed him to be let in at a backe dore, the noble men not being priuy to his comming. And ſo *Marius* telling the nobility, and then *Saturninus* that he was troubled with a loſenes of his body, vnder this pretence whipped vp & down, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing elſe but ſet them further out one againſt an other, then they were before. Neuertheles, the Senat being maruellous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knightes taking part with the Senate, *Marius* in the end was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to ſuppreſſe them that were vppe, and draue them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to yeelde them ſelues at the length, becauſe he had cut off the pipes and conduits by the which the water ranne into the Capitol. By reaſon whereof, they being vnable to continue any longer, called *Marius* vnto them, and yeelded them ſelues to him, vnder the aſſuraunce of the faith of the common people. But although *Marius* did what he could poſsible to his vttermoſt power to ſaue them, he could not preuaile, nor doe them pleaſure: for they were no ſooner come downe into the market place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he hauing now purchaſed him ſelfe the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Cenſors ſhould be choſen, euery man looked that he would haue bene one of the ſuters: howbeit he ſued not for it, for feare of repulſe, but ſuffered others to be choſen of farre leſſe dignity and calling then himſelfe. Wherein notwithſtanding he gloried, ſaying that he would not ſue to be Cenſor, becauſe he would not haue the ill will of many, for examining too ſtraightly their liues and manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale *Metellus* baniſhment, *Marius* did what he could poſsible by word and deed to hinder it: howbeit, ſeeing in the end he could not haue his will, he let it alone. The people hauing thus willingly reuoked *Metellus* baniſhment, *Marius* heart would not ſerue him to ſee *Metellus* returne againe, for the malice he bare him: therefore he tooke the ſeas to goe into CAPPADOCIA and GALATIA, vnder colour to pay certaine ſacrifices to the mother of the gods, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the very cauſe that made him to vndertake this iourney, for he had an other ſecret meaning in him. For his nature not being framed to liue in peace, and to gouerne ciuil matters, and hauing attained to his greatnes by armes, and ſuppoſing that his glory and authority conſumed and decaſed altogether liuing idlely in peace: he ſought to deuiſe new occaſion of warres; hoping that he could ſtirre vp the kinges of ASIA, and ſpecially *Mithridates* (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make warres againſt the ROMAINES) that he could then vndoubtedly without let of any man be choſen Generall to make wars with him, and withall alſo, that by that meanes he ſhould haue occaſion to fill the city of ROME with new triumphs, and his houſe with the ſpoiles of the great kingdome of PONTE, and with the riches of the king. Now *Mithridates* diſpoſing him ſelfe to entertaine *Marius*, with all the honor & curteſies he could poſsibly ſhew him: *Marius* in the end notwithſtāding would not once giue him a good looke, nor a curteous word again, but churliſhly ſayd vnto *Mithridates* at his departure from him. Thou muſt determine one of theſe two, king *Mithridates*: either to make thy ſelfe ſtronger then the ROMAINES, or elſe to looke to doe what they command thee, without reſiſtance. Theſe wordes amaſed *Mithridates*, who had heard ſay be-

Marius double dealing betweene the nobility and people.

Marius procureth ſedition at Rome.

No truſt to the faith of the common people.

Metellus returne from baniſhment.

Marius iorney into Cappadocia and Galatia.

Marius proud wordes to Mithridates.

fore that the ROMAINES would speake their minds freely: howbeit he neuer saw nor proued it before, vntill that time. After *Marius* was returned vnto ROME, he built a house neare vnto the market place, because he would not (as he said him self) that such as came vnto him should trouble them selues in going farre to bring him home to his house: or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that diuerse would come to salute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit that was not the cause in deede, but the only cause was, for that hee had no naturall grace nor ciuility to entertaine men curteously that came vnto him, and that he lacked learning and eloquence besides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, then they did of an old rusty harnesse or implement that was good for nothing, but for the warres only. And for all other that professed armes as him selfe did, nothing grieued him so much to be called forward to office and state before him selfe, as *Sylla* did. Insomuch he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the noble men did all what they could to prefer *Sylla*, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that *Syllaes* first rising and preferment grew, by the quarrels and contentions he had with him. And specially when *Bocchus* king of NVMIDIA was proclaimed by the Senate, a friend and confederate of the ROMAINES people: he offred vp statues of victories, carying tokens of triumph, into the temple of the Capitoll, and placed neare vnto them also, an image of gold of king *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered by his own hands vnto *Sylla*. And this made *Marius* starke madde for spite and iealousie, and could not abide that an other should take vppon him the glory of his doings: insomuch as he determined to plucke those images downe, and to cary them away by force. *Sylla* on the other side stomached *Marius*, and would not suffer him to take thē out of the place where they were: so that this ciuill sedition had taken present effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betweene, and restrained them for a time. For the best souldiers and most warlike people of all ITALIE, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the ROMAINES, and had wellneare ouerthrowen their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force, and power, and well armed: but their Captaines also, for valantnes and skill, did in manner equall the worthines of the ROMAINES. For this war fell out wonderfully, by reason of the cruelty and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne *Sylla* as much fame and reputation, as did *Marius* shame and dishonor. For he shewed him selfe very could and slow in all his enterprises, still delaying time, eyther because age had mortified his actiue heate, and killed the quick ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then aboue three score and fiue yeare olde: or else as he sayd him selfe, because he was waxen gouty, and had ache in his vaines and sinewes, that he could not well stir his body, and that for shame, because he would not tary behinde in this warre, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were slaine sixe thousand of their enemies: and so long as the warres endured, he neuer gaue them aduantage of him, but patiently suffered them sometime to intrench him, and to mocke him, and giue him vile wordes, and challenging him out to fight, and yet all this would not prouoke him. It is said also, that *Pompeius Silo*, who was the chiefest Captaine of reputation & authority the enemies had, said vnto *Marius* on a time: if thou be *Marius*, so great a Captaine as they say thou art, leaue thy camp, and come out to battell. Nay, said *Marius* to him againe: if thou be a great Captaine, plucke me out by the eares, and compell mee to come to battell. An other time when the enemies gaue them occasion to giue a great charge vpon them with aduantage: the ROMAINES were so fainthearted and durst not set vpon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were ashamed, *Marius* caused his men to assemble, and spake vnto them in this sort. I cannot tell which of the two I should recken most cowards: you your selues, or your enemies: for they dare not once see your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was constrained to resigne his charge, being able to serue no longer for the weakenesse and debilitie of his body. Now, all the rebels of ITALY being put downe, many at ROME (by the orators meanes) did sue to haue the charge of the warres against *Mithridates*: and among them, a Tribune of the people called *Sulpitius*, (a very bold and rash man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred *Marius*, and perswaded them to giue him the charge of these wars, with title and authority of vice Consull. The people thereupon were deuided in two partes: for the one

The cause of the dissention betwixt Marius and Sylla.

The war of the confederates.

Siloes flout challenge and Marius answere.

goode for *Marius*, and the other would haue *Sylla* take the charge, saying, that *Marius* was to thinke now vpon the hote bathes at Baies, to looke to cure his old body, brought lowe with new me and age, as him selfe sayd. For *Marius* had a goodly stately house in those partes neare vnto the mount of Misene, which was farre more fine and curiously furnished, then became a Captaine that had beene in so many foughten battels and dangers. They say that *Crassus* afterwardes bought that fine house for the summe of seuen thousand fiue hundred crownes, and shortly after also, *Lucullus* bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thousand crownes; so so great excesse was vanity and curiosity growen in very short time at ROME. Notwithstanding all this, *Marius* too ambitiously striuing like a passioned yong man against the weakenes and debility of his age, neuer missed day but he would be in the field of *Mars*, to exercise him selfe among the young men, shewing his body disposed and ready to handle all kinde of weapons, and to ride horses: albeit that in his later time, he had no great health of body, because he was very heauy and fat. There were that liked that passing well in him, and went of purpose into the field to see what paines he tooke, striuing to excell the rest. Howbeit those of the better sort were very sory to see his auarice and ambition, considering specially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane person a great estate, that he could not now containe his prosperity within reasonable boundes, nor content him selfe to be esteemed and honoured, quietly enioying all he had wonne, and which at that present he did possesse: but as if he had beene very poore and needy, after he had received such great honor and triumphes, would yet carry out his age so stoutly, euen into CAPPADOCIA, and vnto the realme of PONT, to goe fight there against *Archelaus*, and *Neoptolemus*, Lieutenants of king *Mithridates*. In deede he alleaged some reasons to excuse him selfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he sayd that he desired in person to bring vp his sonne in exercise of armes, and to teach him the discipline of warres. That discouered the secret hidden plague, which of long time hath lurked in ROME, *Marius* specially hauing now met with a fit instrument, and minister to destroy the common wealth, which was, the insolent and rash *Sulpitius*: who altogether followed *Saturninus* doings, sauing that he was found too cowardly and faint hearted in all his enterprises, and for that did *Marius* iustly reproue him. But *Sulpitius*, because he would not dally nor delay time, had euer sixe hundred young gentlemen of the order of knights, whom he vsed as his gard about him, and called them the gard against the Senate. And one day as the Consuls kept their common assembly in the market place, *Sulpitius* coming in armed vpon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Consuls sonnes being taken tardy, was slaine. *Sylla* being the other Consull, and perceiuing that he was followed hard at hand vnto *Marius* house, ranne into the same against the opinion of all the world: whereof they that ranne after him not being aware, passed by the house. And it is reported that *Marius* him selfe conuayed *Sylla* safely out at a backe dore, and that he being scaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* him selfe in his commentaries doth not say, that he was saued in *Marius* house when he fled: but that he was brought thither to giue his consent vnto a matter which *Sulpitius* would haue forced him vnto against his will, presenting him naked swordes on euery side. And he writeth also, that being thus forcibly brought vnto *Marius* house, he was kept there in this feare, vntill such time as returning into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adiornement of iustice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done, *Sulpitius* then being the stronger, caused the commission and charge of this war against *Mithridates* to be assigned vnto *Marius* by the voice of the people. Therfore *Marius* giuing order for his departure, sent two of his Colonels before to take the army of *Sylla*: who hauing won his souldiers hearts before, and stirred them vp against *Marius*, brought them on with them directly towardes ROME, being no lesse then fiue and thirty thousand fighting men: who meeting vpon the Captaines *Marius* had sent vnto them, slew them in the field. In reuenge whereof, *Marius* againe in ROME put many of *Syllaes* friends and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by sound of trumpet, to all slaues and bondmen that would take armes for him: but there were neuer but three only that offered them selues. Whereupon, hauing made a litle resistaunce vnto *Sylla* when he came into ROME, he was soone after compelled to

Mons Misenum.

Marius ambition.

Sulpitius gard of sixe hundred knights.

Sulpitius boldnesse.

Marius sedition.

Marius flieth from Rome.

runne his way. *Marius* was no sooner out of the city, but they that were in his company forsaking him, dispersed them selues here and there being darke night: and *Marius* himself got to a house of his in the countrey, called Salonium, and sent his sonne to one of his father in law *Mutius* farmes not farre from thence, to make some prouision for victuals. But *Marius* the meane time, went before to Ostia, where one of his friends *Numerius* had prepared for him a shippe, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not tarying for his sonne, and hoyted vp sayle, hauing onely *Granius* his wiues sonne with him. In the meane time the younger *Marius* staying at his father in law *Mutius* farme, staied so long in getting of prouision, in trussing of it vp, and carying it away, that broad day light had like to haue discouered him: for the enemies had aduertisement whither he was gone, whereupon certaine horsemen were sent thither speedily to haue found him: But the keeper of the house hauing an inckling of their comming, and preuenting them also before they came, sodainely yoked his oxen to the cart which he loaded with beanes, and hidde his younger *Marius* vnder the same. And pricking the oxen forward with his goade, set out, and met them as he went towards the city, and deliuered *Marius* in this sort into his wiues house: and there taking such thinges as hee needed, when night following came, went towardes the sea, and tooke ship, finding one crosse sailed by.

Marius the sonne flieth into Africke.

towards Africke. *Marius* the father saying on still, had a very good winde to passe longest the coast of Italy: notwithstanding, being afrayed of one *Geminius*, a chiefe man of Terracine, who hated him to the death, he gaue the mariners warning thereof before and willed them to take heede of landing at Terracine. The mariners were very willing to obey him, but the winde stoode full against them comming from the maine, which raised great storme, and they feared much that their vessell which was but a bote, would not beare the seas, besides that he him selfe was very sicke in his stomacke, and sore sea beaten: notwithstanding, at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recouered the coast against the city of Circees. In the meane time, the storme increased still, and their victuals failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp and down not knowing what to doe, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in such cases of extremity, they thought it alwaies the best safety for them, to flie from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they saw not: for if the sea were their enemy, the land was so likewise. To meete with men, they were afrayed: and not to meete with them on the other side lacking victuals, was in deede the greater danger. Neuerthelesse, in the end they met with heard men that could giue them nothing to eate, but knowing *Marius*, warned him to get him out of the way as soone as hee could possible, because it was not long since there passed by a great troupe of horsemen that sought him al about. And thus being brought vnto such perplexity, that he knew not where to bestow him selfe, and specially for his poore men he had in his company were almost starued for hunger: he got out of the high way notwithstanding, and sought out a very thicke wodde where he passed all that night in sorrow, and the next morning being compelled by necessity, determined yet to employ his body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandered on alongest the sea coast, still comforting them that followed him the best he could, and praying them not to despaire, but to commit them selues to him, euen vntill the last hope, trusting in certaine prophecies which the Southsayers had told him of long time before. For when hee was but very young, and dwelling in the countrey, he gathered vp in the lap of his gowne, the ayrie of an Eagle, in the which were seuen young Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the Southsayers what that ment. They answered, that their sonne one day should be one of the greatest men in the world, and that out of doubt hee should obtaine seuen times in his life the chiefest office and dignity in his country. And for that matter, it is sayed that so in deede it came to passe. Others holde opinion, that such as were about *Marius* at that time, in that present place, and elsewhere, during the time of his flying, they hearing him tell this tale, beleeued it, and afterwards put it downe in writing, as a true thing, although of troth it is both false and fayned. For they say, that the Eagle neuer getteth but two young ones: by reason whereof it is manifest fayned also, that the Poet *Musæus* hath lyed: in that which hee hath written in these verses.

Marius found an ayrie of Eagles.

The Eagle layes three egges, and two she hatcheth forth:
But yet she bringeth vp but one, that any thing is worth.

How mary egs the Eagle laieth.

Howsoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Marius* many times during the time of his flying said, that he was assured he should come vnto the seuenth Consulship. When they were come neere vnto the citie of MINTVRNES, about a two mile and a halfe from it, they might perceiue a troupe of horsemen comming by the sea side, and two shippes on the sea that fell vppon the coast by good happe. Wherefore they all beganne to runne (so long as they had breath and strength) towardes the sea, into the which they threwe themselues, and got by swimming vnto one of the shippes where *Granius* was: and they crossed ouer vnto the Ile that is right against it called ENARIA. Now for *Marius*, who was heauie and sicke of bodie, two of his seruants holpe to holde him vp alwaies aboue water, with the greatest paine and difficultie in the worlde: and at the last they laboured so throughly, that they put him into the other shippe the selfe same present, when the horsemen came vnto the sea side, who cried out aloude to the mariners to land againe, or else throwe *Marius* ouer borde, and then to goe where they would. *Marius* on the other side humbly besought them with teares, not so to doe: whereby the masters of the ship in a short space were in many mindes whether to doe it, or not to doe it. In the ende notwithstanding, they answered the horsemen they would not throwe him ouer borde: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soone as they were gone, the masters of the shippe changing minde, drewe towardes lande, and cast ancker about the mouth of the riuer of Liris, where it leaueth her banckes, and maketh great marisses: & there they tolde *Marius* he should do well to goe a land to eate somewhat, and refresh his sea sicke bodie, till the winde serued them to make saile, which doubtlesse saide they, will be at a certaine houre when the sea winde falles and becomes calme, and that there riseth a tide winde from the lande, ingendred by the vapours of the marisses, which will serue the turne very well to the seas againe. *Marius* following their counsell, and thinking they had meant good faith, was set a lande vpon the riuers bancke: and there laide him downe vpon the grasse, nothing suspecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners presently taking their shippe againe, and hoysing vp their anckers sailed straight away, and fled: iudging it no honestie for them to haue deliuered *Marius* into the handes of his enemies; nor safetie for themselues to haue saued him. *Marius* finding himselfe all alone, & forsaken of euery man, lay on the ground a great while, and said neuer a word: yet at the length taking heart a litle to him, got vp once againe on his feete, and painefully wandred vp and downe, where was neither way nor path at all, ouerthwart deepe marisses and great ditches full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore olde mans cotage, dwelling there in those marisses, and falling at his feete, besought him to helpe to saue and succour a poore afflicted man, with promise that one day he would giue him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present danger wherein he was. The olde man whether for that he had knowen *Marius* afore time, or that seeing him (by coniecture only) iudged him to be some great personage, told him that he ment but to lie downe and rest himselfe a litle, his poore cabine would serue that turne reasonably well: but if he mente to wander thus, to fly his enemies that followed him, he would rather bring him into a more secret place, and farther off from noise. *Marius* praied him that he would do so much for him: and the good man brought him into the marish, vnto a lowe place by the riuers side, where he made him lie downe, and then couered him with a great pile of reede and bent, and other such light things as could not hurt him. He had not long lien there, but he heard a great noyse comming towardes the cabin of the poore old man: for Geminius of TERRACINE had sent men all about to seeke for him, whereof some by chance came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatned him that he had receiued and hidden an enemie of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing that, rose out of the place where the old man had hide him, and stripping himselfe starke naked, went into a part of the marish where the water was full of myre and mudde, and there was founde of those that searched for him: who taking him out of the slime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of MINTVRNES, and deliuered him there into the gouernours hands. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALIE, that they should apprehend *Marius*, and kill him where-

Liris fl.

Marius set a land, and forsaken of the mariners.

Marius hidden in the marish.

Marius taken.

soeuer they found him. Notwithstanding, the gouernours and magistrates of MINTVRNE thought good first to consult thereupon amongest themselues, & in the meane time they de uered him into the safe custody of a woman called *Fannia*, whom they thought to haue bee a bitter enemie of his, for an old grudge she had to him, which was this. *Fannia* sometime ha a husband called *Tinnius*, whom she was willing to leaue for that they could not agree, and re quited her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husband againe saide, she ha plaide the whore. The matter was brought before *Marius* in his sixth Consulship, who ha giuen iudgement vpon it. Both parties being heard, and the law prosecuted on either side, it was found that this *Fannia* was a naughtie woman of her bodie, & that her husband knew it well enough before he maried her, yet tooke her with her faultes, and long time liued with her. Wherefore *Marius* being angry with them both, gaue sentence that the husband should repay backe her dower, and that for her naughtie life, she should pay foure farthings. This notwithstanding, when *Fannia* saw *Marius*, she grudged him not for that, and least of all had any reuenging minde in her towardes him; but contrarily did comfort and helpe him what she could with that she had. *Marius* thanked her maruellously for it, & bad her hope well: because he met with good lucke as he was comming to her house, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neere to *Fanniaes* house, her dore being open, there came a asse running out to go drinke at a conduit not farre from thence: and meeting *Marius* by the way, looked vpon him with a liuely ioyfull countenance, first of all stopping sodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out aloud, and to leape and skippe by him. Whereupon *Marius* straight coniecturing with himselfe, said, that the goddes did signifie vnto him that he should saue himselfe sooner by water then by lande: because that the asse leauing him, came to drinke and cared not to eate. So when he had tolde *Fannia* this tale, he desired to rest, and praied them to let him alone, and to shut the chamber dore to him. But the magistrates of the citie hauing consulted together about him, in the ende resolued they must determine no longer time, but dispatch him out of the way presently. Now when they were agreed vpon it, they could not finde a man in the citie that durst take vpon him to kill him: but a man of armes of the GAVLES; or one of the CIMBRES (for we finde both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his sword drawen in his hand. Now, that place of the chamber wherein *Marius* lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he saw two burning flames come out of *Marius* eyes, and heard a voice out of that darke corner saying vnto him: O fellowe, thou, dareste thou come to kill *Caius Marius*? The barbarous GAVLE hearing these wordes, ranne out of the chamber presently, casting his sword in the middest of the flower, and crying out these wordes onely: I can not kill *Caius Marius*. This made the MINTVRNIANS afraide in the citie at the first, but afterwards it moued them to compassion. So they were angry with themselues, and did repent them that they conuented the counsell to so cruell and vnkinde a deede, against one that had preserued all ITALIE: and denie him aide in so extreame necessitie, it was too great a sinne. Therefore let vs let him go, saide they to themselues, where he will, and suffer him take his fortune appointed him where: and let vs pray to the goddes to pardon this offence of ours, to haue thrust *Marius* naked & beggerly out of our citie. For these considerations, the MINTVRNIANS went all together to *Marius* where he was, and stoode about him, determining to see him safely conducted vnto the sea side. Now though euery man was readie and willing to pleasure him, some with one thing, some with an other, and that they did hasten him all they could possible, yet they were a good while a going thither: because there was a wodde called Matica, that lay right in their way betwene their city & the sea coast which they greatly reuerence, and thinke it a scriledge to carie any thing out of that wodde, that was once brought into it. On the other side, to leaue to goe through this wodde, and to compasse it rounde about, it would aske a maruellous long time. So they standing all in doubt what they should doe, one of the auncientest men of the citie spake a loud vnto them, and said: that there was no way forbidden them that went about to saue *Marius* life. Then *Marius* himselfe being the formost man, tooke vp some of the fardels which they caried with him, to pleasure him in the ship, went through the wodde. All other things necessary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwill

Fanniaes courtesie vnto Marius.

One hiered to kill Marius.

The Minturnians suffered Marius to goe his way with safetie.

Marica Sylua.

and specially the shippe which one *Bellæus* had ordained for him: he caused all this storie to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke shippe. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune caried him into the Ile of ENARIA, where he found *Granius* and some other of his friendes, with whom he tooke sea againe, and pointed towardes AFRICKE. But lacking water, they were compelled to land in SICILIA, in the territorie of the citie of ERIX: where by chance there lay a ROMAINE Quæstor, who kept that coast. *Marius* being landed there, scaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he slew sixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So *Marius* getting him thence with all speede, crossed the seas, vntill he arriued in the Ile of MENYNGE, where he first vnderstood that his sonne was saued with *Cethegus*, and that they were both together gone to *Hiempsall* king of the NVMIDIANS to beseech him of aide. This gaue him a litle courage, & made him bold to passe out of that Ile, into the coast of CARTHAGE. Now at that time, *Sextilius* a ROMAINE Prætor was gouernour of AFRICKE, vnto whom *Marius* had neuer done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that for pity onely he might perhaps haue helpe at his hand. Howbeit he was no sooner landed with a fewe of his men, but a sergeant came straight and said vnto him: *Sextilius*, Prætor and gouernour of LIBYA, doth forbid thee to land in all this prouince: otherwise he telleth thee, that he will obey the Senates commandement, and pursue thee as an enemie of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing this commaundement, was so angrie and sorie both, that he could not readily tell what answere to make him, and paused a good while, and said neuer a word, still eying the sergeant with a grimme looke: vntill he asked him what answere he would make to the Prætors commandement. *Marius* then fetching a deepe sigh from his heart, gaue him this answere. Thou shalt tell *Sextilius*, that thou hast seene *Caius Marius* banished out of his country, sitting amongest the ruines of the citie of CARTHAGE. By this answere, he wisely laide the example of the ruine and destruction of that great citie of CARTHAGE, before *Sextilius* eyes, and the change of his fortune: to warne *Sextilius* that the like might fall vppon him. In the meane time, *Hiempsall* king of the NVMIDIANS, not knowing how to resolue, did honorably intreat young *Marius* and his companie. But when they were willing to goe their way, he alwaies found new occasion to stay them, and was very glad to see that he started not for any opportunitie or good occasion that was offered: notwithstanding, there fortuned a happie meane vnto them, whereby they saued themselues. And this it was. This *Marius* the younger being a faire complexioned young man, it pitied one of the kings concubines to see him so hardly dealt withal. This pitie of hers was a shadow to cloke the loue she bare him: but *Marius* would not hearken at the first to her intisementes, and refused her. Yet in the ende, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and considering that she did all things for their auaile, more diligently and louingly then she would haue done, if she had not ment further matter vnto him, then onely to enioy the pleasure of him: he then accepted her loue and kindnesse, so as at the length shee taught him a way howe to flie, and saue himselfe and his friendes. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had imbraced and saluted eech other, going alongst the sea side, they found two scorpions fighting together. *Marius* tooke this for an ill signe: whereupon they quickly tooke a fisher boat, & went into the Ile of CERCINA, which is no great distance off from firme lande. They had no sooner hoised vp anker, but they saw the horsemen which king *Hiempsall* had sent vnto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greatest dangers that *Marius* euer escaped. In the meane time there was newes at ROME, that *Sylla* made warre against king *Mithridates* Lieutenants: and furthermore, that the Consuls being vp in armes the one against the other, *Octauius* hadde the battell, and being the stronger, had driuen out *Cinna* who fought to haue vsurped tyrannicall power, and had made *Cornelius Merula* Consull in his place: and that *Cinna* on the other side leauied men out of other partes of ITALIE, and made warres vpon them that were at ROME. *Marius* hearing of this dissention, thought good to returne as soone as he could possible into ITALIE. And assembling certaine horsemen of the nation of the MAVRVSIANS in AFRICKE, and certaine ITALIANS that had saued themselues there, vnto the number of a thousand men in all: he tooke sea, and landed in a hauen of THVSCANE called TELAMON,

Marius the elder flieth into Africke.

Marius wise answere of fortunes inconstancie.

Marius the younger escapeth Hiempsals handes.

Cinna driuen out of Rome by Octauius.

and being landed, proclaimed by ſound of trompet, libertie to all ſlaues and bondmen that would come to him. So the labourers, heardmen and neateheardes of all that march, for the onely name and reputation of *Marius*, ranne to the ſea ſide from all partes: of the which he hauing choſen out the ſtouteſt and luſtieſt of them, wanne them ſo by faire wordes, that hauing gathered a great companie together in fewe daies, he made fortie ſaile of them. Furthermore, knowing that *Octauius* was a maruellous honeſt man, that would haue no authoritie otherwiſe then law and reaſon would: and that *Cinna* to the contrarie was ſuſpected of *Sylla*, that he ſought to bring in change and innouation to the common wealth, he determined to ioyne his force with *Cinna*. So *Marius* ſent firſt vnto *Cinna*, to let him vnderſtande that he would obey him as Conſull, and be readie to doe all that he ſhould commaund him. Cinna receiued him, and gaue him the title and authoritie of Viceconſull, and ſent him ſergeants carie axes and roddes before him, with all other ſignes of publicke authoritie. But *Marius* refuſed them, and ſaide, that pompe became not his miſerable fortune: for hee euer wente in poore threede-bare gowne, and had let his haire grow ſtill after he was baniſhed, being aboue threeſcore and tenne yeares olde, and had a ſober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that ſaw him. But vnder all this counterfaite pitie of his, he neuer changed his natural looke, which was euer more fearefull and terrible then otherwiſe. And where he ſpake but litle, and went very demurely and ſoberly, that ſhewed rather a cankered courage within him then a mind humbled by his baniſhment. Thus when he had ſaluted *Cinna*, and ſpoken to the ſouldiers: he then beganne to ſet things abroach, and made a wonderfull change in few daies. For firſt of all, with his ſhips he cut off all the victuals by ſea, and robbed the marchants that caried corne and other victuals to ROME: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he was maſter purueyor for all neceſſarie prouiſion and victuals. After this he went alongſt the coaſt, and tooke all the cities vpon the ſea ſide, and at the length wanne OSTIA alſo by treaſon, put the moſt part of them in the towne to the ſword, and ſpoyled all their goods: and afterwards making a bridge vpon the riuer of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to haue any manner of prouiſion by ſea. That done, he went directly towards ROME with his armie, where firſt he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through *Octauius* fault: who ouerthrewe himſelfe in his doinges, not much for lacke of reaſonable skill of warres, as through his vnprofitable curioſitie and fineſſe in obſeruing the law. For when diuerſe did perſwade him to ſet the bondmen at liberty, and take armes for defence of the common wealth: he anſwered, that he would neuer giue men the law and priuiledge of a ROMAINE citizen, hauing driuen *Caius Marius* out of Rome to maintaine the authoritie of the law. But when *Cæcilius Metellus* was come to Rome, ſonne of that *Metellus Numidicus*, that hauing begunne the warres in LIBYA againſt *Iugurthe*, was put out by *Marius*: the ſouldiers forſooke *Octauius* immediatly, and came to him, becauſe they tooke him to be a better Captaine, and deſired alſo to haue a leader that could tell how to commaund them to ſaue the citie, and the common wealth. For they preſſed to fight valiantly, and perſwaded themſelues that they ſhould ouercome their enemies, that they had a skilfull and valiant Captaine that could order them. *Metellus* miſliking their offer, commanded them in anger to returne againe vnto the Conſull: but they for ſpight went vnto their enemies. *Metellus* on the other ſide, ſeeing no good order taken in the citie to reſiſt the enemies, got him out of ROME. But *Octauius* being perſwaded by certaine Scothſaiers and CHALDEAN ſacrificers, who promiſed him all ſhould goe well with him, tarried ſtill in ROME. For that man being otherwiſe, as wiſe as any ROMAINE of his time, and one that liued as vprightly in his Conſulſhippe, not caried away with flattering tales, and one alſo that followed the auncient orders and cuſtomes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any part therof: me thinkes yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the Scothſaiers, wiſemen, and aſtronomers, more then men skilfull in armes and gouernment. Wherefore, before that *Marius* himſelfe came into the citie, *Octauius* was by force pluckt out of the pulpit for orations, and ſlaine preſently by *Marius* ſouldiers, whom he had ſent before into the citie. And it is ſaid alſo, that when he was ſlaine, they found a figure of a CHALDEAN prophecie in his boſome: and here is to be noted a great contrarietie in theſe two notable men, *Octauius* and *Marius*. The firſt loſt his life by truſting to ſoothſaying, and the other

Marius ioyneth force with Cinna.

Octauius negligence in defence of the citie of Rome, againſt Cinna and Marius.

Octauius too much giuen to Scothſaiers.

Octauius vertue and imperfection.

Octauius ſlaine by Marius ſouldiers.

A great contrarietie in aſtronomie.

prospered, & rose againe, because he did not despise the arte of diuination. The state of ROME standing then in this manner, the Senate consulting together, sent Ambassadors vnto *Cinna* and *Marius*, to pray them to come peaceably into ROME, and not to embrue their hands with the bloud of their citizens. *Cinna* sitting in his chaire as Consull, gaue them audience, & made them a very reasonable and courteous answere. *Marius* standing by him spake neuer a word: but shewed by his sower looke that he would straight fill ROME with murder and bloud. So when the Ambassadors were gone, *Cinna* came into ROME enuironned with a great number of souldiers: but *Marius* staied sodainely at the gate, speaking partly in anger, and partly in mockerie, that he was a banished man, and driuen out of his country by law. And therefore if they would haue him come into ROME againe, they should first by a contrary decree abolish and reuoke that of his banishment, as if he had bene a religious obseruer of the lawes, and as though ROME had at that present enioyed their freedome and libertie. Thus he made the people assemble in the market place to proceede to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to giue their voices, disguising the matter no longer, and shewing plainely that he ment not to be lawfully called home againe from exile: he came into ROME with a guard about him, of the veriest rascals, & most shameless slaues, called the BARDIOEIANS, who came to him from all parts: and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinckling of his eye, or at a nodde of his head made to them, slew many men through his commaundement, and at the length slew *Antharius* a Senator (that had bene Prætor) at *Marius* feete with their swordes, because only that *Marius* did not salute him when he came one day to speake with him. After this murther, they continued killing all them that *Marius* did not salute, and speake vnto: for that was the verie signe he had giuen them, to kill them openly in the streetes before euery man, so that his very friendes were afeard of being murthered, when they came to salute him. Thus being a great number of men slaine, *Cinna* in the end beganne to be satisfied, and to appease his anger. But *Marius* anger and vnsatiable desire of reuenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him neuer so litle: and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skoutes & spies to hunt them out that hid themselues and fled. Then experience taught them, that no friende is faithfull, nor to be trusted, if fortune especially frowne neuer so litle: for there were very fewe that did not betray their friendes that fled to them for succour. And therefore doe *Cornutus* seruants so much the more deserue praise, who hauing secretly hidden their master in his house, did hang the dead body of some common person by the necke, and hauing put a golde ring on his finger, they shewed him to the BARDIOEIANS, *Marius* guard, and buried him in steede of their owne master, without suspition of any man that it was a fained thing: and so *Cornutus* being hidden by his seruants, was safely conueyed into the country of GAVLE. *Marke Antony* the Orator had also found out a faithfull friende, yet was he vnfortunate. This faithfull friend of his, was a poore simple man, who hauing receiued one of the chiefest men of ROME into his house to keepe him close there: he being desirous to make him the best chere he could with that litle he had, sent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetch wine, and tasting the wine more curiously then he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer asked him why the new ordinarie wine would not serue him, but he must needes haue of the best and dearest: the foolish fellow simply answered him (telling him as his familiar friend) that his master did hide *Marke Anthony*, who was hidden very secretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his wine, & his backe turned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne vnto *Marius*, who was set to supper whē he came. The drawer being brought vnto him, promised him to deliuer *Marke Antonie* into his handes. *Marius* hearing that, was so iocond, that he cried out and clapt his handes together for ioy: and would haue risen from the borde, and gone thither himselfe in person; had not his friendes kept him backe. But he sent *Annius* one of his Captaines thither with a certaine number of souldiers, and commaunded them to bring him his heade quickely. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had brought them to, *Annius* taried beneath at the dore, and the souldiers went vp the staiers into the chamber, and finding *Anthony* there, they beganne to encourage one an other to kill him, for not one of them hauing the heart to lay handes vppon him. For *Anthonies* tongue was as

Cinna and Marius entry into Rome.

Bardiæi. Marius caused great murther in Rome.

Marius cruelties.

Small trust of friendes in aduersitie.

The faithfulnes of Cornutus seruants to their master.

M. Antonius the Orator, betrayed by a tauerner.

The force of eloquence.

sweete as a Syrene, and had such an excellent grace in speaking, that when he began to speake vnto the souldiers, and to pray them to saue his life: there was not one of them so hard harted, as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewards, fell a weeping. *Annius* perceiuing they taried long, and came not downe, went himselfe vp into the chamber, and found *Anthonie* talking to his souldiers, and them weeping, his sweete eloquent tongue had so melted their heartes: but rating them, ranne furiously vpon him, and

Catulus Luctatius killed himselfe.

strake off his head with his owne handes. And *Catulus Luctatius* also, that had bene Consull with *Marius*, and had triumphed ouer the CIMBRES with him, seeing himselfe in this perill, set men to intreat *Marius* for him: but his answere was euer, he must needes die. So *Catulus* locked himselfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the smoke thereof choked himselfe. Now after their heads were cut off, they threw out the naked bodies into the streetes, and trodde them vnder their feete: the which was not onely a pitifull, but a fearefull sight to all that sawe them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that gricued the people so much, as the horrible leachery and abhominable cruelties of this guard of the BARDIÆIANS, who comming into mens houses by force, after they had slaine the masters, defiled their young children, and rauished their wiues and maides, and no man would once reproue their cruelties, leacherie, and vnsatiable auarice: vntill *Cinna* and *Sotorius* in the end set vpon them as they slept in their campe, and slew them euery one. But

The Bardiæians slaine of their Captaines for their cruelties.

this extremitie, as if all things had bene restored vnto their first estate, newes came again from all parts to ROME, that *Sylla* hauing ended his warre against king *Mithridates*, and recouered the prouinces which he had vsurped: returned into ITALY with a great power. This caused these euils and vnspeakeable miseries to cease a litle, because the wicked doers of the same, looked they should haue warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereupon *Marius*

Marius seuenth Consulship.

was chosen Consull the seuenth time. He going out of his house openly the first day of Ianarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take possession of his Consulshippe: caused one *Sextius Lucinus* to be throwen downe headlong from the rock Tarpeian, which seemed to be a great signe and certaine token of the euils and miseries, that fell out afterwardes the selfe same yeare vpon them of their faction, and vnto all the citie beside. But *Marius* being sore broken with his former troubles, and his minde oppressed with extreame sorow and griefe, could not now at this last time of neede plucke vp his heart to him againe, when he came to thinke of the new toward warre that threatned him, and of the dangers, griefes, and troubles he should enter into, more great and perilous then any he had passed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he beganne to thinke of it, considering that he had to fight, not with *Octauius*, nor with *Merula*, Captaines of a companie of rebels gathered together: but with a noble *Sylla*, that had driuen him out of ROME before, and now came now from driuing the puisant king *Mithridates*, vnto the furthest part of the realme of PONT, and of the sea Euxinum. Thus, deepely waighing and considering the same, and specially when he looked backe vpon his long time of banishment, how vacabondlike he wandered vp and downe in other countries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had passed, and the sundry dangers he fell so often into, being pursued still by sea and by lande: it grieued him to the heart, and made him so vnquiet, that hee could not sleepe in the night, or if he slept, had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voice burring in his eares.

Marius thoughts and feare.

A Lyons very denne, is dreadfull to behold,
Though he himselfe be gone abroad, and be not there in hold.

But fearing most of all that he should no more sleepe and take his rest, he gaue himselfe to make vnreasonable banquets, and to drinke more then his yeares could beare, seeking to win sleepe by this meanes, to auoide care the better. But at the length there came one from the

Deuise to win sleepe.

that gaue him certaine intelligence of all: and that was an increase of a new feare vnto him. And thus he being now extreamely troubled, partly for feare of the thing to come, and partly also for the ouer heauie burden of his present ill, there needed but litle more aggrauation to fall into the disease whereof he died, which was a pleurisie: as *Posidonius* the Philosopher writeth, who saith plainely that he went into his chamber when he was sicke, and spake no

him about matters of his Ambaſſade, for the which he came to ROME. Yet an other hiſtoriographer *Caius Piſo* writeth, that *Marius* walking one day after ſupper with his friendes, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and againſt him: concluding, that it is no wiſe mans part to truſt her any more. So when he had done, he tooke his leaue of them, and layed him downe vpon his bed, where he lay ſicke ſeuen dayes together, and on the ſeuenth day dyed. Some write that his ambition appeared plainly, by a ſtrange raging that tooke him in his head during his ſickneſſe. For he thought that he made warres with *Mithridates*, & ſhewed in his bed all his geſtures and mouings of his body, as if he had bene in a battell, crying the ſelfe ſame cryes out aloud, which he was wont to crie whē he was in the extremeſt fight. The deſire he had to haue take this charge in hand againſt *Mithridates*, was ſo deepely ſetled in his minde through extreme ambition & drouſie that poſſeſt him: that being then three ſcore and ten yeare old, after he had bene the firſt man that euer was choſen ſeuen times Conſull in ROME, and alſo after that he had gotten world of goods and richeſſe together that might haue ſufficed many kings: yet for all this he dyed for ſorrow, lamenting his hard fortune, as if he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had deſired. But this was cleane contrary vnto that the wiſe *Plato* did, when he drew neare to his death. For he gaue God thankes for his fatall end & good fortune. Firſt, for that he had made him a reaſonable man, and no brute beaſt: ſecondly, a Greeke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in *Socrates* time. It is reported alſo, that one *Antipater* of THARSIS, calling to minde a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forget among other things, to tell of the happy nauigation he made, comming from his country vnto ATHENS: which did witneſſe that he put vp in the ſyle of his good accounts for a ſingular great grace, all fauour fortune had ſhewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memorie, being the only and moſt aſſured treaſure a man can haue, to keepe thoſe giftes that nature or fortune do beſtow vpon him. But contrariwiſe vnthankefull fooles vnto God and nature both, do forget with time the memory of their former benefites, and laying vp nothing, nor keeping it in perpetuall memory, are alwayes voyde of goodes and full of hope, gaping ſtill for things to come and leauing in the meane time the things preſent, though reaſon perſwades them the contrary. For fortune may eaſily let them haue the thing to come, but ſhe can not take that from them which is already paſt: and yet they vtterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging vnto them, and become alwayes of that which is vncertaine. And ſure it chaunceth to them by great reaſon. For, hauing gathered outward goods together, and locking them vp before they haue built & layd a ſure grounded foundation of reaſon through good learning: they can not afterwards fill or quench their vnſatiable greedy couetous minde. Thus ended *Marius* his life, the ſeuenth day of his ſeuenth Conſulſhip, whereof all the citie of ROME was not a litle glad, and tooke hart againe vnto them, ſuppoſing they had then bene deliuered from a bloudy cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their coſt, that they had changed an old maiſter taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: ſuch extreme vnnaturall cruelties, & murthers did *Marius* the younger cōmit, after the death of his father *Marius*, murthering in manner all the chiefeſt noble men of ROME. At the firſt, they tooke him for a valiant and hardy young man, whereupon they named him the ſonne of *Mars*: but ſhortly after his deedes did ſhew the contrary, and then they called him the ſonne of *Venus*. In the end he was ſhut in, and beſieged by *Sylla* in the citie of PERVSIA, where he did what he could poſsible to ſaue his life, but all was in vaine: and laſtly, ſeeing no way to eſcape, the citie being taken, he ſlue himſelfe with his owne handes.

Marius the fathers death.

Marius mad ambition.

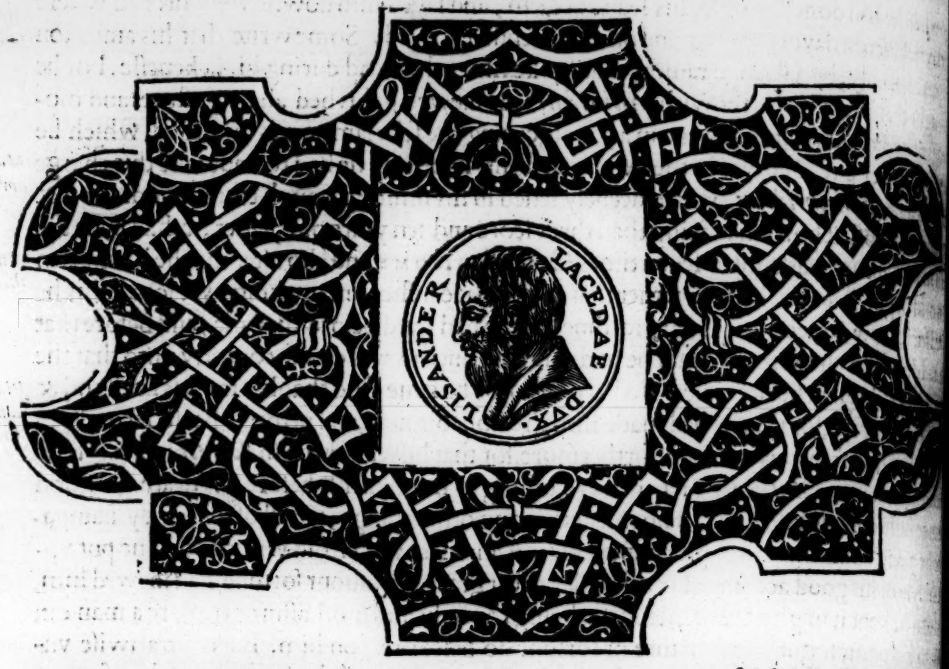
A note againſt the ambitious.

Platoes words at his death.

Note that in Syllaes life following it appearth, that Marius the younger was beſieged in the citie of Præneſte, and not in Perusia as ye read here. Soas the citie ſeemeth to be miſtaken in one of the lines.

The end of Caius Marius life.

THE LIFE OF *Lyſander.*



IN the treaſurie of the ACANTHIANS, which is in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES, there is this inſcription: *Braſidas*, and the ACANTHIANS, with the ſpoyle of the ATHENIANS. That inſcription ... keth many men thinke, that the image of ſtone that ſtandeth wi... the chamber by the doore thereof, is the image of *Braſidas*: ho... in truth it is the liuely image of *Lyſander* himſelf, made with a ... buſh of haire, & a thicke long beard after the old ancient faſhion. ... where ſome ſay that the ARGIVES, after they were ouercome ... had loſt a great battell, did all of them ſhaue themſelues in toke... ſigne of common ſorrow: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other ſide to ſhew th... of their victory, did let all their haires grow, that is not true. No more then this is true w... other do report of the BACCHIADES: who being fled frō CORINTH vnto LACEDA... the LACEDÆMONIANS found thē ſo illfauoredly diſguiſed & deformed, becauſe their ... were all ſhauen, that thereupon they had a deſire to let their haire and beardes grow. Fu... was one of the ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, who ſayd that the long buſh of haire, maketh ... that are naturally fayre, the pleaſanter to looke vpon: and thoſe that are ill fauored, ... ougly and fearefull to ſee to. And furthermore, it is ſayd that *Ariſtoclitus*, the father of *Ly... der*, was not of the royall bloud of the kings of SPARTA, though he came of the race ... *Heraclides*: and that his ſonne *Lyſander* was very meanely and poorely brought vp, being ... bedient to the lawes and ſtatutes of his country, as any other man was, ſhewing himſ... wayes very ſtrong and conſtant againſt all vanitie and pleaſure, ſauing onely in matters ... nour and curteſie, which they offer vnto thoſe that deſerue well. For they thinke it no ... nor diſhoneſty in SPARTA, that the young men do ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome ... that delight and pleaſure: but do bring vp their children, that from their youth they ... haue them to haue ſome taſt and feeling of honour, delighting to be praiſed, and ſory to ... commēded. For they make no account of him that is not moued with the one nor the ... but take him to be of a baſe cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to do good. ... therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and ſtoutneſſe that was bred in *Lyſander*

Lyſanders image.

Lycurgus the author of wearing lōg haire. The commoditie of wearing long haire. Lyſanders kinred.

The education of the Laconiā children.

creded of the LACONICALL discipline and education he had, and not so much of his owne nature. But indeede of his owne nature he was a right courtier, & could tell how to entertaine and flatter great states & nobility, farre better then the common manner of the naturall SPARTANS: & moreouer for his priuate benefit, he could easily beare with the stoutnesse of greater men of authority then himselfe, which some iudge to be a great point of wisedome, to know how to deale in matters of state. *Aristotle* in a place where he sayth, that the greatest wits commonly are subiect vnto melancholie, (as *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) writeth, that *Lysander* in his later age fell into the melancholie disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift aboue all other, that in his pouerty he alwayes kept that honest modestly with him, as he would neuer be ouercome nor corrupted with gold nor siluer: and yet he filled his country with riches and couetousnesse, which lost him the reputation he had wonne, because himselfe made none account of riches nor getting. For bringing store of gold & siluer into his country after he had ouercome the ATHENIANS, he reserued not vnto himselfe one Drachma onely. And furthermore, whē *Dyonisius* the tyrāt of SYRACVSA had on a time sent goodly rich gownes out of SICILIA to his daughters: he refused them, saying, that he was afrayed such gownes would make them fowler. Neuertheless, shortly after being sent Ambassadour from his country vnto the same tyrant, *Dionysius* sending him two gownes, praying him to choose which of the two he would cary to his daughter: he answered, that she her selfe could best chuse which was the fitter, and so caried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes: the warres of PELOPONNESVS fell out maruellous lōg. For after the ouerthrow of the army which the ATHENIANS had sent into SICILIA, whē euery man thought they had vtterly lost all their force by sea, and that by all coniecture they should soone after loose all by land also: *Alcibiades* returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the state, made an exceeding great change and alteration. For he set the ATHENIANS a flote againe, and made them as strong by sea as the LACEDÆMONIANS: who thereupon began to quake for feare, and to looke eftsoones for a fresh warre, perceiuing that they stood in need of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Whereupon they made *Lysander* their Admirall, who arriuing in the citie of EPHESVS, found them very well affected towardes him, & maruellous willing and ready to take the LACEDÆMONIANS part: howbeit otherwise in very poore state, and ready almost to take vp all the barbarous manners and fashions of the PERSIANS, because they did continually frequent them, being enuironned round about with the coūtry of LYDIA, where the king of PERSIAES captaines were euer resident. Wherefore, hauing planted his camp there, he brought thither marchants and shippes out of all parts, and set vp an arsenall or store house to build gallies in: so that in short space, by oft recourse of marchants that began to trade thither, he quickened their customes, and set vp their staple againe for the traffick of marchandise, and filled euery priuate officers house with an honest trade to make them rich by, so that euer after it grew in continuall hope to come vnto that florishing state and greatnesse, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, *Lysander* being aduertised that *Cyrus*, one of the great king of PERSIAES sonnes, was come vnto the citie of SARDIS, he went thither to speake with him, and to complaine of *Tisaphernes*: who hauing commandement giuen him from the king to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and to helpe to expulse the ATHENIANS, and to driue them from the sea, seemed to deale but coldly and faintly against them, for the fauour he bare to *Alcibiades*. For, furnishing the LACEDÆMONIANS very scantly with money, was an occasiō that all their army by sea went to wracke. *Cyrus* for his owne part was very glad that he heard complaints of *Tisaphernes*, and that they spake against him: because he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had himselfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherefore he loued *Lysander* maruellous well, as well for the complaints he made of *Tisaphernes*, as also for the pleasure he tooke in his companie, because he was a man that could wonderfully please and delight noble men: by which meanes hauing wonne the fauour of this yoūg Prince, he did perswade, & also incourage him to follow this warre. And when *Lysander* was vpon his departure to take his leaue of him, *Cyrus* feasted him, and afterwardes prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberalitie, and that was, that he would freely aske him what he would, assuring him he should not be denied any

Lysanders manners.

Wise men be euer melancholie.

Lysander a despiser of riches.

Lysanders wordes of Dionysius liberalitie.

Lysander admirall for the Lacedæmonians by sea.

Lysander enlargeth the citie of Ephesus.

Sardis a citie in Lydia.

thing. Whereunto *Lyſander* anſwered him. Sithence I ſee (*Cyrus*) you are ſo willing to pleaſure vs, I beſeech you and do alſo counſell you then to encreaſe the ordinary pay of our mariners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they haue but three halfe pence, they may thenceforth receaue two pence a day. *Cyrus* was glad to heare *Lyſanders* bounty, and the increaſe that he would make, and cauſed ten thouſand Darickes to be deliuered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the mariners, the increaſe of a halfe penny a day. This liberalitie, within few dayes after, emptied all their enemies gallies of their men. For the moſt part of their mariners and gallie men went where they might haue the beſt pay: and ſuch as remained behind, became very dull, laſie, and ſeditious, daily troubling their Captaines & gouernours. Now though *Lyſander* had drawen his enemies men from them by this policie, and had done this great hurt, yet he durſt not fight it out by ſea, fearing the worthineſſe of *Alcibiades*: who was a valiant man, and had greater ſtore of ſhippes then he had, and beſides that, was neuer ouercome by land nor by ſea, in any battell where he was generall. So it chaunced, that *Alcibiades* went out of the Ile of SAMOS, vnto the citie of PHOCEA, which ſtandeth vpon firme land directly ouer againſt SAMOS, and leauing the whole charge of his fleete in his abſence, with *Antiochus* his pylot: he being more hardie then wiſe, in ſcorne and deriſion of *Lyſander*, went with two gallies only into the hauen of EPHESVS, and went by the arſenall (where all their ſhippes lay in docke) with great noyſe & laughing. This put *Lyſander* in ſuch a heate and chafe, that firſt of all he put a few gallies to the ſea, and had him in chaſe with them. But afterwardes, perceiuing that the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS came out one after an other to the reſcue, he armed other gallies alſo: ſo that ſupplying ſtill with few on either ſide, at length they came to a maine battell, which *Lyſander* wanne, and hauing taken fifteen of their gallies, he ſet vp a token of triumphe and victory. When the people of ATHENS heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were ſo angry with *Alcibiades*, that they diſcharged him preſently of his charge: and the ſouldiers alſo that lay in camp in the Ile of SAMOS, began to miſlike him, and to ſpeake ill of him. Whereupon he preſently left his camp, and went into the country of CHERRONESSVS in THRACIA. This battell was much ſpoken of then there was cauſe, by reaſon of *Alcibiades* reputation. Furthermore, *Lyſander* cauſing the ſtouteſt and boldeſt men of euery citie, aboue the common ſort, to come to EPHESVS vnto him: layed there ſecret foundations of great change and alteration, which were eſtabliſhed afterwardes in the gouernementes of cities. For he perſwaded his priuate friendes to make tribes amongeſt themſelues to winne them friendes, and to practiſe to get them into their cities into their handes: promiſing them, that ſo ſoone as the ATHENIANS were ouerthrowen, they themſelues alſo ſhould be deliuered from ſubiection of their people, and euery one of them ſhould beare chiefe rule in their country. And thus he performed to them all, and made euery one of them proue his wordes true. For he preferred all them that had bene his old friendes, vnto the beſt offices and charges: not ſparing to do againſt all right and reaſon, ſo that they were aduaunced by it. And this by this meanes, euery man came to take his part, and they all ſought and deſired to gratifie and pleaſe him: hoping, that what great matter ſoeuer fell out, they aſſured themſelues in maner that they ſhould obtaine it of him, when he came to haue the gouernement in his own hands. And therefore they nothing reioyced at *Callicratidas* comming, who came to ſucceede him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards alſo, when they ſaw by experience that he was as honeſt and iuſt a man as could be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerning which was plaine, and without any art or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his vertue, as they would haue done the image of ſome demy god made after the old faſhion, which had bene of ſingular beauty. But in the meane time, they wiſhed for *Lyſander*, as well for the tender loue and good will he bare to his friendes and them, as alſo for the profit and commoditie they got by him. So when *Lyſander* tooke leaue to returne home againe, all they that were in the camp, were as ſory as could be poſſible, in ſomuch as the teares ſtood in their eyes: & he on the other ſide, ſtudied to make them more affected vnto *Callicratidas*. For amongeſt many other things, he ſent the reſt of the money backe againe to SARDIS, which *Cyrus* had giuen him to pay the mariners: ſaying, that *Callicratidas* ſhould go himſelfe to aske it, if he would haue it, and finde the meanes to enterteine

Lyſander tooke money for pay of his ſouldiers.

Lyſanders victorie of the Athenians by ſea.

Cherroneſus a country in Thracia.

Callicratidas Lyſanders ſucceſſour in his office of admiraltie.

Playnemeſſe commended for a vertue, but liked as an old image of a god that had bene excellent faire.

The ſpight of Lyſander to Callicratidas.

his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliuer, leaue, and assigne ouer the armie into his handes, commanding him the sea. But *Callicratidas*, to ouercome his false ambition, and fowle boasting lye, aunswered him againe, and sayd. If that be true thou sayest, come then and deliuer me the gallies in the citie of MILETVM, as thou goest by, before the Ile of SAMOS: for sith thou commandest all there, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in SAMOS. *Lysander* thereto replied, that the armie was no more at his commandement, and that he had the charge ouer them: so he departed thence, taking his course directly vnto PELOPONNESVS, and left *Callicratidas* in great perplexitie. For he had brought no money out of his countrey with him, neither would he compell the cities to furnish him with any, seeing that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to go to the Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, to aske them money as *Lysander* had done. But he was the vnmeetest man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberall nature, and thought it lesse dishonour and reproch vnto the GRECIANS, to be ouercome by other GRECIANS, then to go flatter the barbarous people, and seeke to them that had gold and siluer enough, but otherwise, no good-will nor honestly. In the end notwithstading, making vertue of necessity, he tooke his iourney towardes LYDIA, & went directly to *Cyrus* court: where at his first comming he willed them to let him vnderstad, that *Callicratidas* the Admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS would speake with him. One of the souldiers that warded at the gate, told him: my friend, sir stranger, *Cyrus* is not at leasure now, for he is set at dinner. *Callicratidas* aunswered plainly againe: Be it for, I will tary here till he haue dined. The barbarous PERSIANS hearing this, tooke him for some plaine lout, and so he went his way the first time with a mocke at their handes. But the second time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and returned backe (as he came) to the citie of EPHESVS, cursing & banning them that at the first had so much imbased themselues, as to go sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proude and stately for their goodes and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soone as he came to SPARTA againe, he would do all that he could possible to pacifie the GRECIANS, and set them at peace one with an other, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, and also that they should medle with them no more, nor need their aide to destroy one an other. But *Callicratidas* hauing the noble hart of a SPARTAN, and being to be compared in iustice, valiancy, and greatnesse of courage, with the most excellentest GRECIANS in his time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost vpon the Iles ARGINVSA. Wherefore, the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS seeing that their state was in declining, they altogether sent an Ambassade vnto SPARTA, by whom they made request to the councell, that they would send *Lysander* againe for their Admirall: promising that they would do all things with better courage and good will vnder his conduction, then they would vnder any other Captaine they could send thē. So much did *Cyrus* also write vnto them. But because there was an expresse law forbidding that one man should be twise Admirall, and besides, they being willing to grant the request of their confederates, made one *Aracus* their Admirall, but in effect gaue *Lysander* the whole authoritie of all things. Who was marueilous welcome vnto them, and specially vnto the heades and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for his comming: because that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authoritie from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and had open magnanimitie in the manners of a gouernour and generall, when they came to compare *Lysander* with *Callicratidas*, they found that *Lysander* had a fine subtill head, and did more in warres with his policie and subtiltie, then by any other meanes. And moreouer, that he esteemed iustice, when it fell out profitable: and tooke profit, for iustice and honestie, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then craft, but measuring the value of the one and the other, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that sayd that the race of Lyons should not make warres with craft and subtiltie. For sayd he, when the lyons skinne will not serue, we must helpe it with the case of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they write he did in the citie of MILETVM. For his friends and familiars to whom he had promised aide for destruction of the peoples authoritie, and to driue their enemies out of the city:

Nothing esteemed with the Barbarians but money.

Callicratidas patience.

The death of Callicratidas.

Lysanders craftie and deceitfull.

A wise saying of Lysander.

they hauing changed their mindes, and being reconciled vnto their aduersaries, he op
made great shew of gladnesse, and seemed as though he would helpe to agree them to
but secretly being alone, he tooke them vp sharply, and told them that they were cow
do it, and did procure them to the contrary, to set vpon the people. And then when h
derstood that there was commotion among them in the citie, he ranne thither sodain
were to appease it. But when he was also come into the citie, the first he met with o
that would alter the state of gouernement, and take the authoritie from the people: he
withall, and gaue them rough wordes, commanding with extremitie that they sho
low him, as though he would haue done some great punishment. And againe, meeti
them on the contrary part, he willed them also that they should not be afrayed, nor dou
any man should do them hurt where he was. This was a wicked and malitious pra
him, to stay the chiefest of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to
that afterwardes he might put them all to death, as he did. For they that trusting to his w
remained quiet in the citie were all put to death. Moreouer, *Androclidas* touching thi
hath left in writing that which *Lysander* was wont to say: by the which it appeareth,
made very litle reckening to be periured. For he sayd, that children should be deceiued
the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein *Polycrates*, the tyran
MOS, but without reason: for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent usurp
rannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true LACONIAN, to behaue him
wardes the gods none other wise, then towardes men, but rather worse, and more iniur
For he that deceiueth his enemy, and breaketh his oth to him: sheweth plainly that he
him, but that he careth not for God. *Cyrus* therefore hauing sent for *Lysander* to come to
DIS to him, gaue him money largely, and promised him more: and because he would
honorably shew the good will he had to gratifie him, told him, that if the king his
would giue him nothing, yet he would giue him of his own. And furthermore, whe
meanes fayled to helpe him with money, that rather then he should lacke, he would
owne chaire to make money of (which he sate in when he gaue audience in matters of
being altogether of gold and siluer. And to be short, when he was going into MED
king his father, he gaue *Lysander* power to receiue the taxes and ordinary tributes o
ties vnder his gouernement, and made him Lieutenant of all his country. And lastly, b
him farewell, prayed him that he would not giue battell by sea vnto the ATHENIAN
he returned from the court: and that before his comming againe he would haue an
to leuie a great number of shippes, aswell out of PHOENICIA, as out of CILICIA. W
fore whilest *Cyrus* was in his iourney, *Lysander* not being able to fight with his enemi
like number of shippes, nor also to lye still and do nothing with so good a number o
went and scoured the seas, where he tooke certaine Ilandes, and robbed also ÆGINA
LAMINA. From thence he went and landed on the firme land in the country of ATTI
did his duetie there vnto *Agis* king of LACEDÆMONIA, who came purposly from the
Decelea to the sea side to see him, because their army by land also should see what
they had by sea, and how it ruled more by sea then they would. Neuertheless, being
tised that the fleete of the ATHENIANS followed hard after him, he tooke another
to flye backe againe into ASIA by the Iles: and returning againe, found all the co
HELLESPONT without men of warre. So he layd siege before the citie of LAMPSACV
did assault it with his gallies by sea: and *Thorax* being come thither also at the selfe sam
in great hast with his army by land, gaue the assault on his side. Thus was the citie t
force, which *Lysander* left to the spoyle of the souldiers. Now in the meane time the
the ATHENIANS (which was a hundred and foure score saile) came to an ancker be
citie of ELEVNTE, in the country of CHERRONESVS: and newes being brought th
the city of LAMPSACVS was take, they came with all speed possible vnto the city of S
where getting fresh cates and victuals, they coasted all alongest the coast vnto a
place called the goates riuer, directly ouer against the fleete of their enemies, which
at ancker before the citie of LAMPSACVS. Now there was a captaine of the ATHENI
mongest other called *Philocles*, he that perswaded the ATHENIANS to cut off the po
th

The wicked dissembling & double dealing of Lysander.

Lysander regarded no periure, following the exãple of Polycrates the tyrant of Samos.

Cyrus liberalitie to Lysander.

Lysanders acts by sea.

Philocles cruell aduise vnto the Athenians.

bes of their right hands that were taken in the warres, to the end they should no more
le the pike, but only serue to pull the owet. Both the one and the other rested that day,
g to haue battell without faile the next morning. But *Lysander* hauing an other mea-
with him, commaunded the maisters and mariners notwithstanding, that they should
their galleyes ready to giue battell the next morning by breake of day, because euery
should get a horde betimes, and should keepe themselues in order of battell, making no
e all attending what he would command them and further, made the armie by lande
be ranged in battell ray, by the sea side. The next morning at sunne rising, the ATHENI-
began to row with all their gallies set in order of battell in a fronte. But *Lysander*, though
his ships in order to fight, the prores lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not
that against them, but sending out pinnasies vnto the first galleys, commaunded them
ly that they should not stirre at all, but keepe themselues in order, making no noise,
wing against the enemie. Though the ATHENIANS also were retired in the night, he
mo[r]ning the souldiers leaue to come to lande out of the galleys, before he had sent first
three gallies to discrie the fleete of his enemies: who brought him word that they had
the ATHENIANS take lande. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the
also all in one sorte: so that the ATHENIANS began to be bolde of themselues, and to
their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for feare of them, and durst not come for-
In the meane time, *Alcibiades* (who lay at that time in the country of CHERRONESVS, certaine places which he had conquered) came riding to the campe of the ATHENIANS, the Captaines and generals of the armie, the great faultes they committed. First, for they had cast ancker, and kept their ships in an open place, where there was no manner of[f]our, nor harbor to retire vnto vpon any storme: and worst of all, because that they were the their victuals farre off, at the citie of SESTOS, vnto which hauen they should rather themselues vnto, considering that they had but a litle way to go, & also that they should the citie to backe them, which would furnish them with all things necessarie: and be-
they should be further off from their enemies, which were gouerned by one generall that did commaund them all, and were so well trained, that at a whistle they were ready to execute his commaundement. *Alcibiades* perswasions to these Captaines of the THENIANS were not only misliked, but furthermore there was one called *Tydeus*, that an-
him very lewdly: that he had nothing to do to commaunde the armie, but other that the charge of them. *Alcibiades* mistrusting thereby some treason, quietly went his way.
fifth day, the ATHENIANS hauing made the same countenance to present battell vnto enemies, and retyring the same night as of custome very negligently, and in ill order, as that made no reckoning of their enemies: *Lysander* sent againe certaine galliots to discrie commanding the Captaines of the same, that when they perceiued the ATHENIANS off their galleys and taken land, they should then returne backe with all possible speede could, and being mid way ouer the straights, that they should lift vp a copper target into vpon the top of a pike in the foredecke, for a signe to make all the whole fleete to battell. Now *Lysander* himselfe in the meane time went in person from galley to gal-
swading and exhorting euery Captaine that they should put their galliots, mariners, & ers in good readinesse, to the end that when the signe should be lifted vp, they should with all their might in battell against the enemies. Wherfore, so soone as the copper tar-
was set vp in the aire, and that *Lysander* had made his trumpet sound out of the Admirall, token to hale out into the sea: the galleys immediatly began to row for life in enuie one other, and the footemen that were vpon the land, ran with speede also to the toppe of a cliffe neere vnto the sea, to see what would be the end of his fight, because the distance one side to the other in that place was not fully two miles, which they had soone cut , and in a litle space, through the great diligence and force of rowing with their owers. Conon the chiefe Captaine of the ATHENIANS perceiuing from the shore this great fleete coming with a full force to assault them: he then cried out to the souldiers that they should to their shippes, and being in a rage to see things in this danger, called some by their others, others he intreated, and the rest he compelled to take their galleys. But all his diligence

Lysanders craft in ma-uine fight.

Alcibiades gaue good ad-uise to the Captaines of the Athenias.

A copper tar-get lift vp, the signe of bat-tell by sea.

Conon, Admi-rall of the A-thenians.

was to no purpose, because the souldiers were wholly scattered here and there. For so as they were set a lande out of their galleys at their returne, some went to buy prouis went a walking in the fieldes, some were set at supper in their cabines, and other w downe to sleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their ignorance and lack of experience. But when the enemies were ready to ioyne and them with great cries and noise of owers, *Conon* hauing eight galleys, stale secretly fleete, and flying vnto *Euagoras*, saued himselfe in the Ile of CYPRVS. In the meane PELOPONNESIANS falling vpon the other gallies, tooke some of them emptie, the others as the souldiers began to come aboard vpon them. And as for the men, so slaine by their ships as they ranne vnto them like naked men without weapon, and order, thinking to haue saued themselues: other were killed in flying, because the landed and had them in chase. And there were taken aliue of them, three thousand with the Captaines. *Lysander* moreouer tooke all the whole fleete of their ships galley excepted called Paralos, and the eight that fled with *Conon*: and after he had all the campe of the ATHENIANS, he fastned the galleys that were taken, vnto the galleys, and returned with songs of triumphe, with the sound of flutes and hobboys, the citie of LAMPSACVS, hauing wonne a great victory with little labour, and had small time, the long continuing and most diuerse warre that euer was, and had brou so many sundrie strange euents of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene in tels fought both by sea and land, and had altered many sundry times, and there wa that time moe Captaines, than in all the other warres of GREECE together: all wh at the length brought to end and determined, by the good wisedome and conduction onely man. And therefore some thought, that this great ouerthrow was giuen by and said: that at the departure of *Lysanders* fleete out of the hauen of LAMPSACVS set vpon the fleete of the enemies, they perceiued ouer *Lysanders* galley the two fires they call the starres of Castor and Pollux: the one on the one side of the galley, and on the other side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signifie ouerthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the aire a great stone, in the place they call the goates riuer, which stone is seene yet vnto this den in great reuerence by the inhabitants of the citie of CHERRONESVS. It is said *Anaxagoras* did prognosticate, that one of the bodies tyed vnto the vaulte of the should be pluckt away, and should fall to the ground by a sliding and shaking that pen. For he said, that the starres were not in their proper place where they were first considering that they were heauy bodies, and of the nature of stone: howbeit that shine by reflection of the fire elementary, and had bin drawne vp thither by force, were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the elemet, euen as at the b of the world they had bin staied and let from falling downe beneath, at that time wh paration was made of the colde and heauy bodies, from the other substance of the world. There is an other opinion of certaine Philosophers, where there is more li then in that. For they say, that those which we call falling starres, be no fluxions no tions of the fire elementarie, which are put out in the aire, in a manner so soone lighted: nor also an inflammation or combustion of any part of the aire, which b ouermuch quantity doth spread vpwards: but they are celestiall bodies, which by s nesse of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of heauen, are throwne and c here beneath, not alwaies in any part of the earth inhabited, but more often abro great Ocean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, words are confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his boke of religion, that the spac score and fifteene yeares together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great continually in the aire like a clowd inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, and came with diuerse broken remouings, by the driuing whereof there came out of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the starres do that fall. when this great body of fire fell in that part of the earth, the inhabitants of the cou that they were a litle boldened from their feare and wonder, came to the place to se

Lysanders victorie of the Athenians.

Paralos, the holy galley of Athens.

The starres of Castor and Pollux.

A stone fell out of the element.

AEgos fl.

Anaxagoras opinion of the starres.

What falling starres be.

Damachus testimonie of the fiery stone seene in the element.

was: and they found no manner of shew or apparance of fire: but onely a very great stone lying vpon the ground, but nothing in comparison of the least part of that which the compasse of this bodie of fire did shew, if we may so name it. Sure herein, *Damachus* words had needs fauourable hearers. But againe if they be true, then he vtterly confuteth their arguments, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boisterous winde did teare from the toppe of a mountaine, and caried in the aire, so long as this hurle winde continued: but so soone as that was downe, and calme againe, the stone fell immediatly. Neither doe we say that this lightning bodie, which appeared so many daies in the element, was very fire inflamed, which comming to dissolue and to be put out, did beget this violent storme and boysterous winde in the element, that had the force to teare the stone in sunder, and to cast it downe. Neuertheless, this matter requireth better discourse in some other booke then this. But how to our story. When the three thousand ATHENIANS that were taken prisoners at that ouerthrow, were condemned by the counsell to be put to death: *Lysander* calling *Philocles*, one of the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, asked him what paine he would iudge him worthy of, that gaue the citizens so cruell and wicked counsell. *Philocles* being nothing abashed to see himselfe in that miserie, answered him. Accuse not them that haue no iudge to heare their cause: but since the gods haue giuen thee grace to be conqueror, do with vs, as we would haue done with thee, if we had ouercome thee. When he had said so, he went to wash himselfe, and then put on a faire cloake vpon him, as if he should haue gone to some feast: and went lustily the formost man to execution, leading his countrime the way, as *Theophrastus* writeth. After this done, *Lysander* with all his fleete went by all the cities of the sea coast, where he commanded so many ATHENIANS as he found, that they should get them to ATHENS, letting them vnderstand that he would not pardon a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the walles of ATHENS, because he might so much the sooner famish them for lack of victuals: for otherwise they would haue troubled him sore, if they had had wherewithall to haue maintained long siege. But in all the cities as he passed by, if they were gouerned by the authoritie of the people, or if that there were any other kinde of gouernment, he left in euery one of them a LACEDEMONIAN Captaine or gouernor, with a counsell of ten officers: of them that had been before in league and amity with him the which he did as well in the cities that had euer been confederates and friends vnto the LACEDEMONIANS, as in them that not long before had been their enemies. So he went sayling all alongst the coastes, faire and softly making his hast, stablishing in manner a generall principallity ouer all GREECE. For he did not make choise of officers that were the richest, the noblest, or honestest men, but such as were his friends, and of those tribes which he had placed in euery city: & to them he gaue authority to punish, and reward such as they liked of, and would be present himselfe in person to helpe them to put to death, whom they would condemne, or otherwise to depulse or banish their countrie. By this gaue the GRECIANS small hope of good or gratious gouernment vnder the rule of the LACEDEMONIANS. Wherefore, me thinkes that *Theopompus* the comicall Poet dotted, when he compared the LACEDEMONIANS vnto tauerners wines, saying: that they had giuen the GRECIANS a taste of the sweete drinke of libertie, and that afterwards they had mingled it with vinegar. For, the taste they gaue the GRECIANS of their gouernment from the beginning, was very sharpe vnto them: because *Lysander* tooke the rule and authoritie of gouernment out of the peoples hands, and gaue it vnto a fewe of the boldest, and most seditious in euery cities. Thus hauing spent a great time in this voyage, to make these alterations before vnto LACEDEMON, that he was comming with two hundred saile: he sailed vnto the kings *Agis* and *Pausanias*, in the countrie of ATTICA, perswading him that if he could win the citie of ATHENS at the first assault. But when he saw his purpose failed, and that the ATHENIANS did valiantly resist him: he returned once againe with his fleete into ASIA, where he made an end of changing and altering the manner of gouernment through euery city in equall maner, stablishing a counsell of ten officers onely in euery one of them, and putting euery where many citizens to death, & banishing many also. Among others, he draue all the SAMIANS out of their country, and restored againe all them that had

An other opinion of the stone that fell.

Philocles constancie, Captaine of the Athenians.

Lysanders cruelty.

Theopompus the Comicall Poets saying of the Lacedemonians.

bene banished before: and the city of SESTOS also, being yet in the ATHENIANS hands, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not suffer the naturall SESTIANS to dwell there, but draue them away, and gaue their citie, their houses, and lands, vnto ship maisters, officers of gallies, and galley slaues, that had bene in the warres with him. But therein the LACEDÆMONIANS were against him, and this was the first thing that they did forbid him: for they restored the SESTIANS, against his will, vnto their lands and goods againe. But all the GRECIANS were very much offended, to see the parts *Lysander* plaied: so were they all well glad gaine, to see these others which he afterwards did. For he restored the ÆGINETES gaine to their lands and houses, who had bin put from them a long time. He restored also the MELIANS, and the SCIONÆIANS to their lands againe, which the ATHENIANS had taken from them, and draue out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, *Lysander* being aduertised that the citizens and inhabitants of ATHENS were pinched sore for lacke of victuals, he came againe, and came into the hauen of PIRÆA: by meanes whereof he kept the citie so straight that he made them yeelde vpon such conditions as he himselfe would. Howbeit there are certain LACEDÆMONIANS that say, *Lysander* wrote vnto the EPHORES: the city of Athens is taken. And that the *Ephori* wrote againe vnto him: it is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale deuised to make the matter seeme better: for indeed the capitulations which the Ephori sent vnto him, were these. The Lords of the councell of LACEDÆMON haue thus decreed that ye do raise the fortification of the hauen of PIRÆA. That ye doe ouerthrow also the long wall that ioyneth the hauen to the citie. That ye yeeld vp and redeliuer all the cities which they do holde, and content your selues with your liues and country only. This doing, ye shall haue peace, so that yee performe our demaunds. That ye shall receiue those which are banished: and for the number of ships, yee shall dispose of them as we shall will you. The ATHENIANS agreed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counsell of *Theramenes*, the sonne of *Agnon*. Who when a young orator called *Cleomenes*, did openly aske him in anger, if he were so bold to dare to do, or say, any thing contrary vnto that, which *Themistocles* had said before time, to assent vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the wall which he built in despight of them, should by their commandement now be rased: he answered him openly againe, saying, Mah, my friend, I do nothing contrary to *Themistocles* doings. For like as he then counselled to build the wall, for the safety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in Athens at that time: euen so doe we that are here now, for the selfe same cause pluckе it downe and raise it. And if it be true that walles doe make cities happy, then it must needs follow that the city of SPARTA which neuer had any walles, should be the vnfortunatest of all other. So *Lysander* hauing receiued all the ATHENIANS ships but twelue, and the walls of the city, he vsed them at his pleasure: on the fixteenth day of march (on which day in old time the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell by sea, within the straight of SALAMINA, against the PERSIA) he counselled them straight to change the forme of their gouernement. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruellously offended withall. Whereupon *Lysander* sent to declare vnto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made betweene them, for that their walles were yet standing, the ten dayes being expired in which they promised to ouerthrow them: and therefore that he would hooe againe referre it to the determination of the councell, how they should be vsed, that had broken the articles and couenants of the first peace. Other say, that immediatly he referred it vnto the deliberation of the councell of their confederates, that is to say, whether they should altogether destroy the city, and make the inhabitants thereof slaues, and bondmen or no. In this counsell it is reported that there was a THEBAN called *Erianthus*, whose opinion was, that they should not only raise the city, and make the country a desert: so that it should neuer after be tilled for corne, but for pasturage of beasts. But hauing this diet and councell, there was a banket made vnto all the Captaines and chiefe officers of the army being bidden. And there was a Phocian a singer of songes, that sang the entry of the *Chorus* to the tragedy of *Electra*, made by *Euripides*, which began in this sort.

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king:
Euen Agamemnon, king of Greece, whose fame so wide did ring.

The Athenians yeeld vp Athens to Lysander.

The manner of peace offered by the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.

A notable saying for the walles of cities.

Erianthus cruell aduise against the Athenians.

I come now to your courtes, which lie both wide and waste,
By spoile of warres depopulate, destroyed, and disgraste.

These words moued all the hearers with compassion, so that the most part of them thought it were too great a sinne to destroy so noble a city, which brought forth so many famous wise men, and great persons. Wherefore *Lysander*, when the ATHENIANS had submitted themselues altogether to his wil, caused all the wome-plaiers of pipes or shalmes to come out of the city, and gathered all those together which he had in his owne campe also, & with the sound of their instruments he made the walles and fortifications of the city of ATHENS to be pulled downe to the very ground, and set all their gallies on fire, & burnt them in the presence of the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who daunced and plaied in the meane season with garlands of flowers on their heads, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediatly after he changed also the state of the gouernment, establishing a counsell of thirty Magistrates in the city, and other ten also in the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing all equall and like authoritie: and therewithall made *Callibius* a gentleman of SPARTA Captaine of the castell there, and left a good garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS with him. This *Callibius* one day lift vp his staffe he had in his hand to strike *Autolycus* withall, a strong made man to wrestle: whereupon *Xenophon* the Philosopher made his booke in olde time, called *Conuiuium*. But *Autolycus* that was a cunning wrestler, hauing all the sleights of wrestling, suddainly tripped *Callibius* with his legge, and lifting him vp at the armes end, cast him to the ground. Howbeit *Lysander* was not angry with *Autolycus* for it, but reproued *Callibius*, telling him that he should haue remembred (if he had bene wise) that he had the gouernment ouer free men, and not of bonde men. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty gouernours of the city, to satisfie *Callibius*, put this *Autolycus* to death. When *Lysander* had done all these things, he tooke sea againe, and went into the country of THRACIA, and sent by *Gylippus* before vnto SPARTA (who had bin Captaine and generall of the SYRACVSANS in SICILIA) all the gold and siluer that was left in his hands, with all the presents besides which had bene priuately giuen him, and with the crownes also that had bin presented him: which were maruellous in number as it is to be thought, for that many came to present him, considering the great power he had, and that in manner he was chiefe and sole prince of all GREECE. This *Gylippus* did rippe the seames of euery bagge in the bottome where the money was, and tooke a good summe out of euery of them: and afterwards sowed them vp againe, not thinking that there had bin a border vpon euery bagge, vpon the which was declared, the number and kindes of gold and siluer that were therein. Now when he was come to SPARTA, he hid the money he had stolne vnder the house eauings, and went and deliuered the bags he had brought into the hands of the *Ephori*, shewing them *Lysanders* seale, which he had set to euery one of them. The *Ephori* hauing opened the bags, and tolde the money, found that the summe agreed not with the borders of the contents: and yet could not tell where the faulte was. But a seruant of *Gylippus* told them in darke words, saying: that vnder the tiles of his maisters house there lay a great number of owles. Now the greatest part of the coine of golde and siluer which was currant through GREECE, was stamped with the marke of an owle, by reason of the ATHENIANS. Thus *Gylippus* after so many noble exploites done in warres, committing so shamefull a vile a deede, was banished out of his countrie of LACEDÆMONIA. But the wisest men of SPARTA, and of deepest iudgement, fearing the power of golde and siluer, and seeing by the example of *Gylippus* doings, that it had such power to make one of their chiefest men to fall through couetousnesse: they greatly blamed *Lysander* for bringing of it into LACEDÆMON, beseeching the *Ephori* that they would send all this golde & siluer out of SPARTA, as a plague, prouocation, and wicked baite, to make them do euill: declaring vnto them, that they should haue no other money, but their owne onely. Whereupon they referred all to the wisedom and determination of the councell. *Theopompus* writeth, that *Sciraphidas* was he that did moue the councell of the *Ephori* in it. Howbeit *Ephorus* calleth him *Phlogidas*, who was the first that spake against it in the councell, that they should not admit, nor receiue into the city of SPARTA any money of golde or siluer: but should onely content themselues with their owne countrie iron money, the which first of all, comming from the fire redde hotte, was quenched with vineger,

The sweet musicke softened their cruell hearts, and moued them to pity.

Lysander ouerthrew the walls of the city of Athens.

Callibius Captaine of the Castell of Athens.

Autolycus a cunning wrestler.

Autolycus put to death.

Lysander sent money to Sparta by Gylippus.

Gylippus robbed part of the money he carried to Sparta.

The Greekish coine was marked with an owle.

Gylippus banishment.

Couetousnesse of money corrupted Gylippus, one of the chiefest men of Lacedemon.

The iron money of Lacedemonia.

to the end they should be forged no more, nor employed vnto any other vse. For it was so ger and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they could no more conuert it to any other pose: and beside, it was very heauie and vnhandsome to remoue, considering that a heape and quantitie of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did vse of olde time taine litle iron money, and in some places copper money, called Obeliſci, from whence small peeces of money now extant are called Oboli, whereof six make a Drachma, so ter for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuertheleſſe, at the earneſt ſute of *Ly* friends that ſtood againſt it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the councell, th money ſhould remaine in the city, and ordained that it ſhould be currant onely but for faires of the common wealth. And if it were found, that any priuate man did either loc or keepe any money, that he ſhould ſuffer death for it: as if *Lycurgus* when he made his feared gold and ſiluer, and not the couetouſneſſe and auarice which the gold and ſiluer eth with it. The which was not taken away ſo much, prohibiting priuate men to haue was ingendred only by a common tolleration of getting it. For, the profit which they brought withall, made it to be eſteemed and deſired. For it was vnpoſſible they ſhould a thing priuately for vnprofitable, which they ſaw reckoned of commonly, as a thing neceſſary: & that they ſhould thinke it would not ſerue their turne priuately, ſeeing it ſo monly eſteemed and deſired. But we are rather to thinke, that priuate mens manners are formed according to the common vſes and cuſtomes of cities: then that the faults and of priuate men do fill cities and commonweales with ill qualities. And it is more likely the parts are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out that the parts corrupted ſhould drawe the whole vnto corruption. For to the contrary faults of a part deſtroied, which might be preiudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimes ſed and corrected by the other parts, whole and entire. But they that tooke this reſolu their counſell at that time, to haue money in the commonwealth: made feare of puniſh and of the lawe, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houſes, to keepe that no ſhould come into them. But all this while they made no inward prouiſion, to keepe th of their ſoules from all paſſion and greedy deſires of money: but to the contrary, the them all to haue a couetous deſire to be rich, as if it were a great and honorable thing. that we haue heretofore in other places reproued the LACEDÆMONIANS. And mo *Lyſander* cauſed a ſtatue of braſſe to be made like himſelf of the ſpoile he had gotten of mies, to ſet it vp in the citie of DELPHES, and for euery priuate Captaine of the gallie caſe and the two ſtars of Caſtor and Pollux in gold beſides, which vaniſhed away a litle the battell of LEVCTRES, and no man knew what became of them. Againe, in the of the treaſury of *Braſidas*, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was alſo a galley made and iuory, of two cubits long, which *Cyrus* ſent vnto him after the victory he had w ſea, of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, *Alexandrides* the hiſtoriographer borne PHES, writeth, that the ſelfe ſame *Lyſander* had left there to be kept ſafe, a tallent of ſil and fifty Minas, and eleuen peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not which all the other hiſtoriographers write, agreeing of his pouerty. But *Lyſander* be then, and of greater power then euer any GRECIAN was before him: caried a gre and countenance then became his hability. For, as *Duris* writeth, he was the firſt of CIANS vnto whom they did euer erect any aulters, and offer ſacrifice vnto as a god, nour of whom they did firſt ſing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good m one which began in this manner.

The noble Captaines praiſe, we meane to celebrate
Of Greece: that land which is deuine in euery kinde of ſtate.
Euen he, which was both borne, and brought to high renowne,
Within the noble wealthie walles of Sparta ſtately towne.

The SAMIANS by publicke decree ordained, that the feaſts of *Iuno*, which were their city Hercea, ſhould be called *Lyſandria*. *Lyſander* had euer one *Cherilus* a SPAR about him, to write and ſet forth all his doings in verſe. An other Poet called *Anti* day made certaine verſes in his praiſe: which pleaſed him ſo well, that he gaue him

At what time the Lacedæmonians receiued gold and ſiluer againe.

The ill life of the Magiſtrats, the cauſe of diſorder in a commonweale.

A galley of gold and Iuorie.

Lyſanders honors and pride.

ll of siluer. There were two other Poets, *Antimachus* COLOPHORIAN, and *Niceratus* born HERACLEA, which did both write verses to honour him, striuing whether of them should best *Lysander* iudged the crowne and victory vnto *Niceratus*: wherewith *Antimachus* was angry, that he rased out all that he had written of him. But *Plato* who at that time was yong, allowed *Antimachus* because he was an excellent Poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignorance did blinde the vnderstanding of the ignorant, as blindnesse doth the sight of the bodie. *Aristonus* an excellent plaier of the citerne, and one that had fixe times won the prises in the Pythian games: to winne *Lysanders* fauor, promised him, that if euer he wanne the prise in his art againe, he would cause him selfe to be proclaimed *Lysanders* slaue. This ambition of *Lysander* was very odious and grieuous, onely vnto great persons, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in the end he became very proud and cruell, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompencing his friendes, as in punishing of his enemies. For, to gratifie his friendes and familiars, he gaue them absolute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibilitie of pardon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the city of MILETVM, where, fearing least they would flie that tooke part with the people, & because he would haue them appeare he bid them selues: he gaue his word, and sware that he would doe them no hurt at all. The more men gaue credit to his word. But so soone as they came out, and did appeare, hee deliuered them all into the handes of their aduersaries, (which were the chiefest of the nobility) and put them all to death: and they were no lesse then eight hundred men one with an other. He caused great murders of people also to bee done in other cities: for he did not onely put them to death that had priuatly offended him, but numbers besides, onely to satisfie and reuenge the priuate quarrels, enmities and couetousnes of his friends, whom he had in euery place. And therefore was *Eteocles* LACEDÆMONIAN greatly commended for his saying: That GREECE could not abide two *Lysanders*. *Theophrastus* writeth also, that the very like was spoken of *Alcibiades* by *Archestratus*. Howbeit in *Alcibiades* there was nothing, but his insolency, and vaine glory that men misliked: but in *Lysander*, a seuere nature, & sharpe conditions, that made his power fearfull & intollerable. Neuertheless, the LACEDÆMONIANS passed ouer all other complaintes exhibited against him: sauing when they heard the complaints of *Pharnabazus*, who purposely sent Ambassadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and iniuries *Lysander* had done him, spoiling and destroying the country vnder his gouernment. Then the *Ephori* being offended with him, clapped vp *Thorax* in prison, one of his friendes and Captaines that had serued vnder him: and finding that he had both gold and siluer in his house contrary to the law, put him to death. And to him selfe they sent immediatly that which they call Scytale, (as who would say, the scrolle written vppon a round staffe) commaunding him that he should returne immediatly vpon receite thereof. The Scytala is in this sort. When the *Ephori* doe send a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cause two litle round staues to bee made of the like bignesse and length, of which the *Ephori* do keepe the one, and the other they giue to him whom they send to the warres. These two litle staues they call Scytales. Now when they will aduertise their Generall secretly of matters of importaunce, they take a scrolle of parchement, long and narrowe like a leather thong, and wreath it about the round staffe, leauing no voide space betweene the knottes of the scrowle. Afterwardes when they haue wound them fast together, then they write vppon the parchement thus rolled what they will, and when they haue done writing, vnfolde it, and send it to their Generall, who can not else possibly read it to know what is written, (because the letters are not ioyned together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there) vntill he take his litle rowle of wod which was vnder him at his departure. And then wreathing the scrowle of parchment about it which he receiueth, the folding and wreaths of the parchement falling iust into the selfe same place as they were first folded, the letters also come to ioyne one with an other, as they ought to doe. This litle scrowle of parchement also is called as the rowle of wodde, Scytala euen as we commonly see in many places that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchement scrowle was brought vnto *Lysander*, who was then in the country of

Platoes saying of the ignorant. Ignorance compared with blindnesse.

Lysanders ambition, pride and cruelty.

Lysander broke his word and oth, and procured the death of eight hundred people

Eteocles words of Lysander.

Thorax put to death for offending the law.

The Lacenian Scytala what maner thing it is & how vsed.

HELLESPONT, he was maruellouſly troubled withall, fearing aboue all other things the cuſations of *Pharnabazus*: ſo he ſought meanes to ſpeake with him before he departed, thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lyſander* prayed would write an other letter vnto the Lords of SPARTA, contrary to his firſt, how that done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cauſe to complaine of him: but he did not ber that he was a CRETAN, (as the common prouerbe ſayeth) that could deceiue CRETAN. For *Pharnabazus* hauing promiſed him that he would performe his deſire, letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lyſanders* requeſt: but behinde he had an other trary effect, ſo like on the out ſide vnto the other, that by ſight no man could diſcerne from the other. And when he came to put his ſeale, he changed the firſt with the laſt hidden, & gaue it him. When *Lyſander* came vnto SPARTA, he went as the maner is, to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the Ephores, thinking them he ſhould haue beene cleared from all daunger of the greateſt accuſations they haue burdened him withall: becauſe that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought on of the of LACEDÆMONIA, for that he did euer ſhew him ſelfe willing and ready to helpe the all their warres, more then any other of the kings Lieutenants of PERSIA. The *Ephori* red this letter, they ſhewed it vnto him. Then did *Lyſander* plainly ſee, that the common uerbe was true.

Lyſander carieth letters againſt him ſelfe.

That Vlyſſes was not ſubtill alone.

Thereupon he went home to his houſe maruellouſly troubled. But within few daies returning to the pallace againe to ſpeake with the Lords of the councell, he told them muſt needes make a voyage vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*, to diſcharge certaine which he had vowed and promiſed to him before he had wonne the battels. Some ſay, deede *Iupiter Ammon* appeared to him in a dreame as he did beſiege the city of the APU IANS, in the countrey of THRACIA, and that by his commaundement he raiſed the ſiege charged them of the city, that they ſhould thanke *Iupiter Ammon*, and do ſacrifice vnto by reaſon whereof, they thinke that he ment good faith, when he ſued for licence to make voyage into LIBYA, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the moſt part tainely beleeue that he made ſute to go this iourney, for a cloke and colour only to abſent ſelfe, becauſe he feared the Ephores, and that he could not endure the yoke and ſubiec which he muſt abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commanded. And this the true cauſe of his ſute to go this voyage, much like vnto a horſe taken out of a freſh and goodly medowes, to bring him into a ſtable, and make him to be iorneyed as he before. Neuertheleſſe, *Ephorus* writeth an other cauſe, the which I will recite hereafter. end, *Lyſander* hauing hardly obtained licence, tooke ſhippe, and croſſed ſaile. But duri abſence, the kings of LACEDÆMON remembring that he kept all the cities at his comm dement, by meanes of the friends he had in euery city, whom he had made chiefe gouern of the ſame, and that by their meanes he came in maner to be abſolute prince ouer all Gre they tooke vppon them to redeliuer the gouernment of the townes and cities againe into handes of the people, and alſo to put downe his friendes whom he had ſtabliſhed there hereupon fell out great inſurrection againe. For firſt of all, they that were baniſhed fro THENS, hauing ſurpriſed and taken the caſtell of Phyla, vpon the ſodaine did ſet vpon the ty gouernors tyrants (whom *Lyſander* had placed there) and ouercame them in battell. W upon *Lyſander* ſtraight returned to SPARTA, and perſwaded the LACEDÆMONIANS to the gouernment to the number of a few, and to puniſh the inſolency of the people. So procurement, they ſent firſt a hundred talents vnto the thirty tyrants for an aide to ma this warre, and appointed *Lyſander* him ſelfe generall. But the two kings of SPARTA him, and fearing leaſt he ſhould take the city of ATHENS againe: they determined that them would go. Whereupon *Pauſanias* went thither immediatly, who in apparance to maintaine the tyrants againſt the people: but in effect, he did his indeuour to appea warre, for feare leaſt *Lyſander* by means of his friends and followers ſhould once againe to haue the city of ATHENS in his power, the which he might eaſily doe. And thus greed the ATHENIANS againe one with an other, and pacified all faction and commo

Lyſander goeth to Iupiter Ammon.

King Pauſanias reconciled the Athenians with the Spartans.

oog them, he pluckt vp the roote of *Lyſanders* ambition. But ſhortly after, the ATHENIANS
belling againe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, *Pauſanias* him ſelf was reproued, becauſe he
ded ſo much to the boldnes and inſolency of the people, which were bridled and reſtrai-
before, by the authority of the ſmall number of gouernours: and to the contrary, they
Lyſander the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to pleaſe mens minds
to content them, neither with fond oſtentation of glory, but ſeuerely, for the profit and
modity of SPARTA. It is true he would giue great words, and was terrible to them that
ſted him. As he aunſwered the ARGIVES one day, who contended for their confines with
LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſeemed to alledge the beſt reaſons. Euen they (ſayd he) that ſhall
ue the ſtronger hereby (ſhewing them his ſword) ſhall bee they that ſhall plead their cauſe
for their confines. An other time, when a MEGARIAN had told his mind boldly enough
open councell, he aunſwered him: thy wordes (good friend) had neede of a city, meaning
reby that he was of too meane a towne to vſe ſo great words. And to the BOEOTIANS al-
who were in doubt to profeſſe them ſelues friends or enemies: he ſent vnto them, to know
ſhould paſſe through the countrey with his pikes vpwardes or downwardes. And when
CORINTHIANS alſo were reuolted from their alliance, he brought his army hard vnto
ir walles: but when hee ſaw his men were afraide, and made curſey whether they ſhould
to the aſſault or not: by chaunce ſpying a hare comming out of the towne ditches, he ſayed
to them: Are ye not aſhamed to be afraied to go & aſſault your enemies that are ſo coward-
and ſlothfull, as hares do keepe their formes at eaſe within the circuite of their walles? Now
Agis being deceaſed, he left behinde him his brother *Ageſilaus*, and his ſuppoſed ſon *Leo-*
tychides. Wherefore, *Lyſander* that had loued *Ageſilaus* afore time, gaue him counſell to ſtand
the right of the crowne, as lawfull heire and next of the bloud, deſcending of the race of
rcules: becauſe it was ſuſpected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* ſonne, who ſecretly had kept
Agis wife, at what time he was baniſhed out of his countrey, and came then to remaine
SPARTA. And *Agis* ſelfe alſo, concluding by reckoning of the time of his abſence, that his
could not be with childe by him: made reckoning of *Leotichides*, (and had openly ſhe-
all the reſt of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his ſonne, vntill ſuch
as falling ſicke of that diſeaſe whereof he died, he was caried to the city of HERÆA. And
lying in his death bedde, at the humble ſute of *Leotychides* him ſelfe, and partly at the
requeſt of his friends who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge *Leotychi-*
for his ſonne in the preſence of diuerſe, whom he prayed to be witneſſes vnto the Lords of
CEDÆMON, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his ſon. Which they all
in fauour of *Leotychides*. For all that, *Ageſilaus* tooke it vpon him, by the ſupport & main-
nance of *Lyſanders* fauour. Howbeit, *Diopithes* a wiſe man, and knowen to be skilfull in an-
prophecies, did great hurt to *Ageſilaus* ſide, by an auncient oracle which he alledged a-
ſt a defect *Ageſilaus* had, which was his lameneſſe.

O Spartan people you, which beare high haughty hearts,
And looke a loft: take heede I ſay, looke well vnto your martes:
Leaſt whiles you ſtand vpright, and guide your ſtate by grace,
Some halting kingdome priuily, come creeping in a pace.
By that meanes might you moue, great troubles, carke and care,
And miſchiefes heape vpon your head, before you be aware.
And plunged ſhould you be, euen ouer head and eares,
VVith waſt of warres, which here on earth doth periſh many peeres.

Many by occaſion of this oracle, fell to take *Leotychides* part: but *Lyſander* declared vnto
, that *Diopithes* did not conſtue the meaning of the oracle well. For God, ſayed he, cared
whether he halted of one legge or no, that ſhould come to be king of LACEDÆMON: but
eede, the crowne and kingdome ſhould halt and be lame, if baſtardes not lawfully begot-
ould come to raigne ouer the true naturall iſſue and right line of *Hercules*. By theſe per-
ions, *Lyſander* with his great countenaunce and authority beſides, wanne all men to his
ion: ſo that *Ageſilaus* by this meanes, was praclaimed king of LACEDÆMON. This done,
der beganne ſtraight to counſell him to make warres in ASIA, putting him in hope that

Lyſanders terrible words.

The death of king Agis. Lyſander deprineth Leotychides of his kingdome.

Through Lyſanders working, Ageſilaus was made king.

he should destroy the kingdome of PERSIA, and should come to be the greatest man of world. Moreouer, he wrote vnto his friends in the cities of ASIA, that they should send the LACEDÆMONIANS to require king *Agesilaus* for their general, to make wars against barbarous people. Which they did, and sent Ambassadors purposely vnto SPARTA to see they might haue him: the which was no lesse honor procured vnto *Agesilaus* by *Lysander* meanes, then that he did, in making him to be chosen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwise not vnapt nor vnfit to commaund, haue this imperfection: that through icalousie of glory, they doe commonly enuy their equalles, the which doth greatly hurt them for doing any notable things. For they take them for their enemies, enuying their vertue, whose seruice and meanes might helpe them to doe great matters. Thus *Agesilaus* being chosen generall of this enterprise, tooke *Lysander* with him in this iourney, amongst the rest of his counsellers which were giuen vnto him to assist him: and made speciall choise of him, as one whose counsell he hoped most to be gouerned, and to haue him neerest about him, as his chiefest friend. But when they were arriued in ASIA, they of the countrey hauing no acquaintance with *Agesilaus*, seldome spake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, hauing euer before giuen *Lysander* of long time, they followed him, and waited vppon him to his tent or lodging: some to honor him, because they were his friends, others for feare, because they did make much of him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that shall play the person of some messenger or seruaunt, shall be the best liked, and shall haue the best voice to be heard aboue all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royall band about his head, and the scepter in his hand, a man doth scant heare him speake. Euen so it fell out then: for all the dignity due vnto him that commaunded, was shewed only vnto the counseller: and there remained to the king no more, but the bare name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinkes that this vndiscreet and importunate ambition of *Lysander*, did well deserue reproofe perhappes, to make him only be contented with the second place of honor next vnto the king. But for *Agesilaus* again, this extreame couetousnes and icalousie of glory, to cast *Lysander* altogether off, and to set him by his friend and benefactor, that surely became not him neither. For first of all, *Agesilaus* neuer gaue *Lysander* occasion to doe any thing, neither did commit any matter of weight vnto him, that might be honorable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceiued that he had taken any mens causes in hand, and that he did fauour them, he did alwaies send them packing againe into their countrey, denying their suite, without that they could obtaine any thing they sued for, lesse then the meanest persons that could haue come, extinguishing *Lysander* credit by litle and litle, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lysander* perceiuing how he was thus refused and reiected in all things, seeing that the countenance and fauor which he thought to shew vnto his friends, fell out hurtful vnto them: left off to solicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbeare to come vnto him, or to visit him, but to go to the king, and vnto those that could doe them better pleasure then him: and specially those that honored him. When they heard that, many desisted to trouble him any more in matters of importaunce, but not to doe him all the honor they could, and continued still to accompany him, when he went out to walke, or otherwise to exercise himself: the which did aggrauate and increase *Agesilaus* anger more against him, for the enuy he bare vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge and commission in the warres, sometimes vnto very meane souldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne: he appointed *Lysander* surueyor generall of all the ordinary prouision of victuals, and distributer of flesh. And then said the king the IONIANS that did honor him so much: let them go now, sayd he, and honor my distributer. Wherefore, *Lysander* seeing it high time to speake: went vnto *Agesilaus*, and said vnto him in few wordes after the LACONIAN manner: Truely *Agesilaus*, thou hast learned well to abase thy friends. In deede sayed he againe, so haue I, when they will be greater then my selfe. And to the contrary, they that maintaine and increase my honor and authority, it is reason I esteeme of them. Yea mary, sayd *Lysander*, but perhappes I haue not done as thou sayest. I pray thee giue me such an office, as I may be least hated, and most profitable for thee: that it be but in respect of strangers eyes that looke vpon vs both. After this talke betweene them

Ambition abideth no equals.

Agesilaus priuy grudge to Lysander.

Lysanders wisedome.

Lysander surueiour of the victuals.

Lysanders talke with king Agesilaus after the Laconian maner of speaking.

Agesilaus sent him his Lieutenaunt into the countrey of HELLESPONT, where *Lysander* still kept this anger secret in his heart against him, but for all that, did not leaue to doe all that hee could for the benefit of his masters affairs. As amongst many other things, he caused a PERSIAN Captain called *Spithridates*, to rebel against his master, who was a valiant man of his hãds, and a great enemy of *Pharnabazus*, and had an army also which he brought with him vnto *Agesilaus*. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that iourney. Wherefore, he returned againe to SPARTA not long after, with little honor, being maruellously grieued & offended with *Agesilaus*, and hating more then before, all the state and gouernment of the city of SPARTA: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time thought vppon, concerning the alteration of gouernment, and his enterprise was this. Amongst the offspring and issue of *Hercules*, who were mingled with the DORIANS, and returned againe into the country of PELOPONNESVS, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelled in the city of SPARTA: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the crowne, sauing two families only, the *Eurypontides*, and the *Agiades*. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of bloud descended out of one selfe house, yet had they no more right nor interest vnto the realme, then the residue of the people: for, the dignities that were attained vnto by vertue, were giuen vnto the inhabitantes that could deserue them. *Lysander* then being one of those which was descended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crowne: when he saw himselfe aloft, and called to great honor through his famous actes and merites, and that he had wonne many friendes, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the state: it grieued him much, to see that they which were no nobler then him selfe, should be kings in that city, which hee had increased by his vertue, and that he could not haue so much power as to take from these two houses, the *Eurypontides*, and the *Agiades* the prerogatiue that the kings should be chosen onely out of one of those two houses, and to cast it vpon the offspring of *Hercules*. Some say againe, that he would not only haue enlarged that prerogatiue vnto the issue of *Hercules*, but vnto all the naturall SPARTANS also: because that *Hercules* race should not only desire this reward of honor, but euen they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equall with the gods in honor. For he doubted not, but if they would dispose the crowne in this sort, that there was no man in the city of SPARTA that should sooner be chosen king then him selfe: whereupon he attempted first to perswade his citizens by very good reasons, and to bring this about the more easie, he conned an oration without booke, penned by *Cleon Halicarnassæus*, made him for this purpose. But afterwardes waighing with him selfe, that so great and strange a change as he would bring in, had needs of some better and stronger helpe: he beganne to frame a deuise (they say) to moue the people by, much after the manner they vse in tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come downe from heauen vnto them, and this was his fained inuention. He deuised certaine oracles & prophecies, thinking that all *Cleons* rethoricke would find him in no steade, if first of all he did not fill the citizens hearts with some superstition and feare of the goddes, that he might bring them afterwardes more easily vnto reason. And *Ephorus* sayeth, that he proued first to corrupt the Nunne with money, that giueth all the oracles and aunswers in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES: and that afterwardes, he would haue wonne the Nun also of the temple of DODONE with money, by *Pherecles* practise. And that he being reiected by them both, went lastly vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*: and that there he spake vnto the priestes, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with *Lysander*, that they sent men of purpose to SPARTA, to accuse him, that he would haue corrupted them with money. The counsell clearing *Lysander* of this accusation, the LIBYANS his accusers at their departing sayd: we will one day iudge more iustly, when you my Lordes of LACEDÆMON haue done now, when you shall come to dwell in our country of LIBYA: supposing there was an auncient prophecy that sayd, the LACEDÆMONIANS one day should come to dwell in the country of LIBYA. But we shall doe better to write the whole story at large of this practise, subtilty, and malicious deuise, which was no matter of small importaunce, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall proposition there were many great coniectures and presuppositions, and many long circumstances to bring it to con-

Lysander seeketh an innouation in the state of Sparta

The Families of the kings of Lacedæmon.

Lysander deuiseth false oracles, & corrupteth soothsayers with money.

Lysanders feyned deuise to possesse the kingdome.

clusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, deliuering that which an historiographer and philosopher both hath written. There was in the marches of the realme of PONT, a woman that fayed she was gotten with childe by *Apollo*, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not beleeue at all, and many also did beleeue it: so that she being deliuered of a goodly sonne, diuerse noble men and of great estate were carefull to bring him vp, and to haue him taught. This childe, I know not whereupon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lysander* catching the plat of his deuise from thence, added to all the rest of him selfe, to goe on with his practise. Now hee had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this matter, in suing out a rumor of the birth of this childe, without any suspition gathered out of the truth of this rumor. And furthermore, they brought other newes from DELPHES, which they had perused abroad through the city of SPARTA; to wit: that the priestes of the temple kept secret bookes of very ancient oracles, which they themselues durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, vnlesse he were begotten of the seede of *Apollo*, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the priestes that kept these papers, or that by some secret marke and token, which they had amongst them: & thereby being knowen for *Apolloes* son, he might then take the bookes and read the auncient reuelations and prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this sort, there was order taken that *Silenus* should come and aske for these bookes as though he were the sonne of *Apollo*: and that the priestes which were priuy to this practise, should make as though they did diligently examine him of euery thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know that they should deliuer these prophecies vnto him, as if he had bene in deede *Apolloes* sonne: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the prophecies, that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of LACEDÆMONIA: that it was better, and meeter for the SPARTANS they should choose them for their kinges, whom they found the meetest men of all their magistrates. But when *Silenus* was come of full age, and brought into Greece purpose to performe this practise, all the mistery was marde by the faint heart of one of the players and companions of *Lysander*, who holpe him to countenaunce this deuise: who when the matter should haue taken effect, shrunke for feare, and let the mistery alone. This notwithstanding, nothing was bewrayed in *Lysanders* life time, till after his death. For he died before king *Agesilaus* returned out of ASIA, being fallen into warres with BOEOTIA before his death; or rather hauing him selfe made GREECE to fall into warres. They doe report diuerse other way, and some lay the fault vpon him, other vpon the THEBANS, and other vpon them both: and they burden the THEBANS withall, because they did vtterly ouerthrow the common sacrifices which *Agesilaus* made in the city of AVLIDE. And they say also, that *Androcides* and *Amphitheus* did raise this warre among the GRECIANS, being before corrupted with money by the king of PERSIA to bring warres vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS in Greece, and began to inuade and destroy the country of the PHOCIANS. Other say that *Lysander* was very angry with the THEBANS, because they onely of all other their confederates did aske the tenth part of all the spoile which was won in the war against the ATHENIANS: and that they were not pleased that *Lysander* had set the money away vnto SPARTA. But aboue al, *Lysander* did malice the most, because they were the first that made way for the ATHENIANS to be deliuered from the oppression of thirty tyrants, whom he had stablished gouernors in ATHENS, and in whose fauour (to make them to be dreaded the more) the LACEDÆMONIANS had ordained by a common edict: that they that were banished and did flee from ATHENS, might lawfully be taken and apprehended in what place soeuer they fled vnto, and that whosoeuer should resist or let them to do it, they should be proclaimed rebels, and open enemies vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. Againe to contrary this edict, the THEBANS made another very like meete for the glorious deedes of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their ancestors, for whom it was made that euery house and city through the country of BOEOTIA, should be open for the ATHENIANS that would come thither, & that he that would not helpe a banished mã from ATHENS against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And also if there were any souldiers that went vnto ATHENS, through the countrey of BOEOTIA,

The warres of Bœotia.

Diuerse causes surmised of the beginning of these warres.

An edict against the banished men from Athens.

An edict made by the Thebans in fauour of the banished men.

the

that the THEBANS ſhould not ſee nor heare it. This was no diſſimulation to ſpeake of, that they ſhould ordaine things with ſo gentle wordes, and ſo meete for the people of GREECE, and then that the deedes ſhould not anſwere vnto their edicts and proclamations. For *Thraſy-*
lus, and his fellowes of the conſpiracie, who kept the caſtle of Phyla, they departed from THEBES, with armor and money, and the THEBANS did helpe them to beginne and practiſe their enterpriſe ſo ſecretly, that it was not diſcouered. Theſe were the cauſes why *Lyſander* was ſo earneſtly bent againſt the THEBANS, and his choller being ſo extreme, by reaſon of his melancholineſſe that grew daily vpon him more and more through his age, he ſolicited the EPHORES ſo, that he perſwaded them to ſende a garriſon thither: and himſelfe taking the charge of them, vndertooke the iorney ſtraight with his men. But afterwardes they ſent king *Pauſanias* alſo with an armie thither, who was to fetch a great compaſſe about to enter in- to the countrie of BOEOTIA, by mount Citharon: and *Lyſander* ſhould goe to meete him through the coūtry of PHOCIDES, with a great company of ſouldiers beſides. Now as *Lyſander* went, he tooke the citie of the ORCHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded theſelues to him ſoone as he came thither. From thence he went to the citie of LEBADIA, which he ſpoyled: from thence he wrote vnto king *Pauſanias* that departing from PLATEES, he ſhould march ſtreſtly to the citie of ALIARTE, where he would no faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne walles. Theſe letters were intercepted by certaine ſkoutes of the THEBANS, who met with the meſſenger that caried them. Thus the THEBANS hauing intelligence of their purpoſe, left their citie in cuſtodie vnto the ATHENIANS who were come to aide them: and departed out of THEBES about midnight, and marched all night with great ſpeede, that they came to ALIARTE in the morning a litle before *Lyſander*, and put halfe their men into the citie. Now for *Lyſander*, he was determined at the firſt to keepe his men vpon a hill which is neere to the city, & there to tary the comming of king *Pauſanias*. But afterwards when he ſaw that the day was farre ſpent, and that he came not, he could tary no longer, but running himſelfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went vnto the city. In the mean ſeaſon, the THEBANS that were left without the city, leauing ALIARTE on the left hand, did ſet vpon *Lyſanders* rereward of his armie againſt the foun- taine called Ciſſuſa: where the Poets faine that the nurſes of *Bacchus* did waſhe him, when he came out of his mothers wombe, becauſe the water that commeth out of it (though it be very cleare and ſweet to drinke) hath notwithſtanding (I cannot tell by what meanes) a colour like wine: and not far from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the ALIARTIANS do alledge, to proue that *Radamanthus* heretofore dwelt in that part, & do ſhew his ſepulcher there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that alſo, there is the monu- ment of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they ſay) in that place, & was maried to *Radamanthus*, after the death of *Amphitryon*. But the THEBANS who were within the city with the ALIARTIANS, ſtirred not vntill they ſaw that *Lyſander* with the firſt of his troupe was neare vnto the towne wals: and then opening the gates on the ſodaine, they made a ſaly out vppon *Lyſander* & ſlue him with his Soothſayer and a few other, becauſe the moſt part of the vaward fled, vnto the ſtrength of the battell. Howbeit the THEBANS gaue them not ouer ſo, but followed them ſo valiantly, that they brake their order, & maſde them all flie through the mountains, after they had ſlaine three thouſand of them in the field: ſo were there three hundred THEBANS alſo ſlaine there, who followed their enemies ſo fiercely, till they recouered ſtraight narrow paſſages, of great ſtrength for them. Theſe three hundreth were in maner all thoſe that were elected in THEBES to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS ſecretly: wherefore, for the deſire they had to take away this opinion from their citizens, they hazarded them ſelues to no purpoſe, & were caſt away in this chaſe. King *Pauſanias* heard newes of this ouerthrow, going from PLATEES vnto THESPIES, and went on further, marching ſtill in battell ray towards ALIARTE, where *Thraſybulus* alſo arriued at the ſelfe ſame time, bringing the aid of the ATHENIANS frō THEBES. And when *Pauſanias* was purpoſed to ſend to aske licence of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had ſlain, to the intent to bury them: the old SPARTANS that were in his army, miſliking it much, at the firſt were angry in them ſelues. But after-

Lyſanders iorney vnto Boeotia. Citharon mons.

Ciſſuſa fons.

Lyſander ſlaine by the Thebans.

wards they went vnto the king himselfe, to tell him that he dishonoured SPARTA, to offer
To aske leaue of the enemie to burie the dead is dishonorable. take vp *Lysanders* bodie by his enemies leaue and fauour, and that he should valiantly recou
him by force of armes, and honorably burie him, after that he had ouercome their enemies
else if it were their fortune to be ouerthrowen, that yet it should be more honorable for
to lie dead in the field by their Captaine, then to aske leaue to take vp his bodie. But not
standing all these words of the old men, king *Pausanias* seeing that it was a hard matter
uercome the THEBANS in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore
the bodie of *Lysander* lay hard by the wals of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to
it away without great danger, although they should winne the battell: he sent a herauld
Lysanders tombe. enemies. And hauing made truce for certaine daies, he led his armie away, and tooke v
sanders bodie with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of Boe
within the territorie of the PANOPEIANS: where vntill this day his tombe remaineth
the high way, going from DELPHES vnto the citie of CHÆRONEA. Thus *Pausanias*
being lodged there, it is said there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one
was not there, said that the enemies came to giue a charge vpon them, as *Lysander* had
the Oplites. The other wondring at that, there was a SPARTANA very friend of *Lysan*
hauing heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that h
not heard that word named before. What? answered the PHOCIAN to him againe,
Oplites fl. Destinie inevitable. there it was where the enemies did ouerthrow the first of our men which were slaine
fieldes: for the riuer that runneth by the walles of the city, is called Oplites. The SPAR
hearing that, burst out of weeping for sorrow, saying: then I see it is vnpossible for a m
auoide his destinie. For *Lysander* aforetime had an oracle that tolde him thus.

Lysander, take good heede, come not I thee aduise:
Neere Oplites that riuers banckes, in any kinde of wise.
Nor neere the Dragon he, which is the earth her sonne,
Who at the length will thee assault, and on thy back will runne.

Howbeit some take it, that this riuer of Oplites is not that which passeth by the walle
ALIARTE, but it is the riuer that runneth neere vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth
Phliarus fl. Hoplia, Ismanius, Neocborus slue Lysander. the riuer of Phliarus, hard by the city: and they say that in olde time it was called Hoplia,
now they call it Ismantus. He that slue *Lysander*, was an ALIARTIAN called *Neoch*
who caried a Dragon painted vpon his target: and this was that which the oracle of li
hood did signifie. They say also, that in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the T
BANS had an oracle from the temple of *Apollo Ismenius*: which oracle did prophecie the
tell which they wanne by the castell of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE also,
was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that oracle was this:

When thou thy nets shalt spread, the wolues for to intrap:
Beware thou come not neare vnto, a little hill by happe,
Of Orchalide. Nor neare, to any his confines:
For there, the crafty foxes keepe their dennes and priuy mines.

He calleth the territory that is about DELIVM, the vttermost confines, because Boe
Orchalide mons. doth confine there with the country of ATTICA: and the hill Orchalide which is now c
Helicon mons. Alopecon (to say the fox denne) which lieth on that side of the city of ALIARTE, that loo
towardes mount Helicon. *Lysander* being slaine, the SPARTANS tooke his death so ill
Pausanias exile. they would haue condemned king *Pausanias* of treason by law: who durst not abide the
but fled vnto the city of TEGEA, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctu
the temple of *Minerua*. When *Lysander* was dead, his pouerty appeared to the world
Lysanders cleane hands and pouerty commended after his death. made his vertue far more famous, then when he liued. For then they saw, that for all the
and siluer which had passed through his handes, for all his great authority and counte
that he had caried, and for all that so many cities and townes did come to honor him, &
for all that he had so great and puissant a kingdom in manner in his hands: yet he did ne
rich nor increase his house with so much as one farthing. So writeth *Theopompus*, who
should rather beleeue when he praiseth, then when he discommendeth: for commonly he
more delite to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuned not long after, as *Ephorus* writeth, th

LACEDEMONIANS and their confederates fell at variance together, whereupon *Lysanders* letters were to be seene that were in his house. King *Agesilaus* going thither to peruse them, amongst other writings, found the oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnasseus* which *Lysander* had prepared to perswade the SPARTANS to change their gouernement, and to declare vnto them that they should reuoke the prerogatiue which the *Eurytiontides* and the *Agiades* had: for the kings of SPARTA could not be chosen but out of those two families, and to leaue the prerogatiue at liberty, that the chiefest magistrates might be lawfully chosen kings of SPARTA. *Agesilaus* stood indifferent to haue shewed this oration openly to the people, that the SPARTANS might see what manner a citizen *Lysander* had bene in his heart. But *Lacratidas*, a graue wise man, and president at that time of the Councell of the *Ephori*, would not suffer him: saying that he should not digge *Lysander* out of his graue againe, but rather bury his oration with him that was so passingly well, & eloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstanding, they did him great honour after his death: and amongst others, condemned two citizens in a great summe of money, that were made sure to two of his daughters while he liued, and refused to marrie them when he was dead, seeing their father died so poore: because they sought to match in his house, supposing he had bene rich, and forsooke them afterwards for their fathers pouertie, when they saw he died a good and iust man. Thus we see, that at SPARTA there was punishment for them that did not marrie, or that married too late, or that married ill: and to this punishment were they most subiect, that sought great matches for couetousnesse of goods: This is all we haue to write of *Lysanders* life and actes.

Lysanders counsell for altering of the kingdome.

Lacratidas wisedome forbearing to shew extremitie to the dead.

Lysander honoured by the Spartans after his death.

Singlenes of life, late mariage and ill marriage punished by the Lacedemonians.

THE LIFE OF *Sylla.*

Vcius Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the *Patritians*, who be the noble men and gentlemen of ROME: and there was one of his ancesters called *Rufinus*, that obtained the dignity of Consul. He notwithstanding his Consulship, wan more dishonor by defame, then he obtained honour by dignity of Consull. For they finding in his house aboue ten pounds worth of plate, contrary to the law at that time expresly forbidding it: he was expulsed the Senat, & lost his place there, after which dishonour onee receiued, his issue neuer rose, nor yet recouered it. And *Sylla* him selfe had very litle left him by his father: so

Syllaes kinred.

that in his youth he was faine to hire an other mans houſe, & ſat at a ſmall rent, as after
he was twitted in the teeth withal, when they ſaw him richer then they thought he had
ued. For when he gloried & boaſted of the victory at his returne from the wars of AFRIC
Syllaes honeſtie reproued, by meanes of his great wealth. there was a noble man that ſaid vnto him: why, how is it poſſible thou ſhouldeſt be an ho
man, that hauing nothing left thee by thy father, thou art now come to haue ſo much? N
though ROME had left her ancient iuſtice and pureneſſe of life, wherwith ſhe brought v
people in former times, and that their hearts were poiſoned with couetous deſire of vai
perfluous delights: yet notwithſtanding it was as foule a reproch to them that did not m
taine themſelues in the pouertie of their fathers, as vnto them that did conſume their
mony, and bring all to naught which their parents had left them. But afterwardes alſo
he caried the whole ſway in ROME, and that he had put ſo many men to death: a free m
ing borne of the ſlaues infranchiſed, & being ready to be throwen downe the rocke Tar
becauſe he had ſaued and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to d
whereſoeuer they were found: caſt it in *Syllaes* teeth, how that they had liued and dwelt
ther a long time in one ſelfe houſe, he hauing payed a thouſand Nummos for the rent o
vppermoſt roomes of the ſame houſe, & *Sylla* threethouſand for all the neathermoſt ro
beneath. So that betwene both their wealthes, there was but onely two thouſand and
Drachmas of ATHENS difference. And this is that we finde in writing of his firſt wealth
Sillaes ſtature. for his ſtature and perſon, that appeareth ſufficiently by the ſtatues and images that were m
for him, which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull redde
the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to beholde. For he was co
That is, becauſe that ſylla in latine ſignifieth oker, which becommeth redde when it is put to the fire, and therefore ſyllaceus color in Vitruuia, ſignifieth purple colour. noſed, and that was full of white ſtreakes here and there: whereupon they ſay that the
name of a *Sylla* was giuen him, by reaſon of his colour. And there was a ieſter at A
that finely mocked him in his verſe:

Sylla is like a blacke Bery ſprinckled with meale.

Syllaes ſkoffing. It is not amiſſe to ſearch out the naturall diſpoſition of this man by ſuch outward m
and tokens. It is ſaid alſo that he was ſo naturally giuen to mocke and ieſt, that being a y
man vnknowne, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tumblers,
ſtill eating and tippling with them in diſſolute manner. And afterwards alſo when he
his chiefeſt authoritie, he would commonly eate and drinke with the moſt impudent
and ſcoffers, and all ſuch rakehels, as made profeſsion of counterfeit mirth, and would
with the baddeſt of them to giue the fineſt mocks: wherein he did not only a thing vn
for his yeares, & diſhonored the maieſty of his office & dignity, but therby alſo grew c
and negligent in matters of great importance, whereunto he ſhould haue taken good re
For after he was once ſet at his table, he was not to be moued any more in matters of w
Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very actiue, painefull, and
yet falling into ſuch company by drinking, bowſing, and making good cheare, he ſodai
came an other maner of man. So that without all compaſſe of modeſty and iudgement, h
too familiar and conuerſant with plaiers, ieaſters, tumblers, and daunſers: who when the
Syllaes voluptuouſneſſe. him in that vaine, might doe what they would with him. Of this ryoting came (in min
nion) his vice of lechery, whereunto hee was greatly giuen, and eaſily drawen after lo
pleaſure: in ſuch ſort, as his gray haires could not reſtraine his voluptuous life. His
full luſting loue beganne in his young yeares, with one *Metrobius* a common player,
ſtretched on encreaſing his amorous deſire vntill his latter age. For at the firſt he loued
polis a rich curtiſan: and frequenting her company by oft acceſſe, and beſides that he ſp
prime of his beauty and youth in feaſting her with great delight and paſſing pleaſure
wardes became in loue with him, ſo that when ſhee died, ſhe made *Sylla* her heire o
had. He was heire alſo vnto his mother in law, who loued him as her owne begotten
Sylla Quæſtor. and by theſe two good happes he was ſtept vp to prety wealth. Afterwardes being
Quæſtor (to ſay treaſurer) the firſt time that *Marius* was Conſull, he imbarked with
his iorney into AFRICKE, to warre with king *Iugurthe*. When he was arriued at the
he ſhewed him ſelfe a man of great ſeruice in all other things, but in this eſpecially,
could wiſely vſe the benefit of any occaſion offered him, and thereby wanne *Bocchus*

Nymidians to be his fast and faithfull friend: whose Ambassadors, that scaped from a
panie of Nymidian theeues he courteously entertained, and hauing giuen them good-
resents, sent them backe againe with a safe conuoy. Now concerning King *Bocchus*, hee
of long time both hated and feared king *Iugurthe* his sonne in law: insomuch, that after he
s ouercome in battell, and came to him for succour, *Bocchus* practised treason against him
for this cause sent secretly for *Sylla*, desiring rather that *Iugurthe* should be taken by *Sylla*,
n by himselfe. *Sylla* brake this matter vnto *Marius*, of whom hauing receiued a small num-
of souldiers to accompanie him (without respect of perill or danger) went and commit-
himselfe to the faith and fidelitie of one barbarous king, to take an other: considering also
the king whom he trusted was so vniust of his word, euen vnto his neerest friends & con-
derates. Now *Bocchus* hauing *Iugurthe* and *Sylla* both in his power, and brought himselfe to
t pinch that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath
resolue which of the two he should deale withall, in the end went on with his first plot and
uise of treason, and so deliuered *Iugurthe* into *Syllaes* hands. In deede *Marius* triumphed for
king of King *Iugurthe*: but his euill willers, for the spight and grudge they bare him, did at-
bute the glory & honor of *Iugurthes* taking wholy vnto *Sylla*. That secretly went to *Marius*
art, and specially for that *Sylla* being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from
ase, obscure and vnknowen life to be knowen & well accepted of the people in Rome, and
taste also what honor ment) became so ambitious and couetous of glory, that he caused the
ry to be graue in a ring, which he did euer after vse to weare & seale withall. Where king
chus was deliuering of *Iugurthe* vnto *Sylla*, & *Sylla* also receiuing *Iugurthe* prisoner. These
ings misliked *Marius* much: but notwithstanding, iudging that *Sylla* was not so much en-
ed as himselfe, he tooke him with him vnto the warres. For *Marius* in his second Consulship,
ade *Sylla* one of his Lieutenants: and in his third Consulship, he had charge vnder him of
housand footmen, and did many notable and profitable exploits for him. When *Sylla* was
Lieutenant, he tooke one *Copillus*, a generall of the Gavles Tectosages. And when he
s Colonell of a thousand footemen, he brought the Marsians (a maruellous great
mber of people in Italie) and perswaded them to remaine good friends, and confederats
the Romaines. For this his good seruice, he found that *Marius* grew in great misliking
him, because from thenceforth he neuer gaue him any honorable charge, or occasion to
w good seruice: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising. Wherefore,
afterwards tooke *Catulus Luctatius* part, who was companion with *Marius* in his Con-
ship. This *Catulus* was a very honest man, but somwhat slacke and colde in martiall mat-
, which was the cause that indeed he did commit vnto *Sylla* all the speciall seruice, and
ers of weight in his charge: whereuppon he gaue him occasion not onely to increase his
mation, but also his credit and power. For, by force of armes, he conquered the most parte
the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes: and *Catulus* campe
king victuals, hauing commission, he made a maruellous great quantity of prouision to be
ought thither, insomuch as *Catulus* campe being plentifully victualed, they sent their store &
plusage vnto *Marius* souldiers, the which *Sylla* himselfe writeth, did much mislike *Marius*.
d this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded vpon so light occasion,
s followed with ciuill warres, great effusion of bloud, and with incurable factions and dis-
ions: that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confusion of all the Romaine
e and Empire. This doth proue that *Euripides* the Poet was a wise man, and one that fore-
the ruines of common weales, when he counselled, and also commaunded gouernours to
ambition, as a most pestilent and mortall fury vnto them that are once infected withall.
w *Sylla* thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the warres, would haue made
way open to preferre him to some honorable office in the city of Rome: he was no sooner
urned from the warres but he would needes proue the peoples good willes vnto him, and
ocured his name to be billed among them that sued for the Prætorshippe of the city (that is
say, the office of the ordinary iudge that ministreth iustice vnto the citizens) but he was reie-
ed by the voice of the people. For the which he layed the fault vppon the meaner sort, say-
g, that the communalty knew well enough the friendshippe he had with king *Bocchus*, and

The cause of Bocchus friendship vnto Sylla.

Iugurth deliuered vnto Sylla by king Bocchus.

The honour of Iugurthes taking ascribed vnto Sylla.

Syllaes noble deeds vnder Marius.

Syllaes doings vnder Catulus.

The first cause of enmity betwixt Sylla and Marius.

Ambition is to be fled, as a mortall fury.

that therefore they hoping that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, he would make them see noble huntings and great fightings of wilde beastes of LIBYA. And that therefore they did choose other Prætors, and put him by his sute, in hope to compell him by this meanes to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confesse the truth of his refusall, for his owne act doth condemne himselfe: because the next yeare following he was chosen Prætor, partly for that he wan the people with courtesie, and partly with money. So he falling out with *Cæsar* vppon that occasion, in his anger threatned him that he would vse the power and authoritie of his office vpon him. But *Cæsar* smiling, answered him: thou hast reason to call it thine office, for indeede it is thine, because thou hast bought it. But when the time of his Prætorshippe was expired, he was sent with an armie into CAPPADOCIA, louring his voiage thither with commission to restore *Ariobarzanes* into his kingdom again: howbeit the only cause of his iorney was indeede to suppresse king *Mithridates*, a litle, who tooke too many things in hande, and increased his power and dominion with a new signiorie of no lesse greatnesse, then that which he had before. In truth he brought no great armie out of ITALIE with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the ROMAINES in euery place, through whose aide he ouerthrew a great number of the CAPPADOCIANS, and afterwards also a greater number of the ARMENIANS, which came in like case to aide them: so that he expulsed *Gordius* king of PHRYGIA out of CAPPADOCIA, and restored *Ariobarzanes* to his realme againe. After which victory, *Sylla* remained by the riuer of Euphrates, and thither came vnto him one *Orobazus* a PARTHIAN, Ambassador of *Arsaces*, king of the PARTHIANS. Now these two nations, the ROMAINES, and the PARTHIANS, were neuer friends before: and that with other things shewed the great good fortune *Sylla* had, that the PARTHIANS came first to him by his meanes to seeke friendship with the ROMAINES. They say that receiuing this Ambassador *Orobazus*, he made three chayres to be brought out, the one for king *Ariobarzanes*, the other for *Orobazus* the Ambassador, and the third for himself, which he placed in the middest betwene them both, and sitting downe in the same, gaue audience vnto the Ambassadour: for which cause the king of PARTHIA afterwardes put *Orobazus* to death. Some doe commend *Sylla* for this acte, for that he kept his state in such maner among the barbarous people. Other do reproue his ambition in it, shewing himselfe stately out of time, and to no purpose. We do reade that a soothsayer of CHALDEA being in *Orobazus* traine, hauing diligently viewed & condered the physiognomy of *Sylla*, and all his other mouings and gestures of minde and body, to iudge not by the clymate of the country, but according to the rules of his arte what his nature should be: all well considered of, he sayde that *Sylla* one day must needes come to be a great man, and that he maruelled how he could suffer in that he was not euen then the chiefest man of the world. When *Sylla* was returned again to ROME, one *Censorinus* accused him of extortion, that he had caried away a great summe of money with him, contrary to the law, out of one of their confederates countrey: howbeit he prosecuted not his accusation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time, the enmity begunne betwixt him and *Marius*, kindled againe vppon a new occasion of king *Bocchus* ambition: who partly to creepe further into the peoples fauour of ROME, and partly also for to gratifie *Sylla*, gaue and dedicated certaine images of victory carying tokens of triumphe, vnto the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, & next vnto them also the image of *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered into the handes of *Sylla*, being all of pure golde. This did so offend *Marius*, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of *Sylla*. So that for the quarrell of the two, the city of ROME taking armes, had like to haue brought all to ruine: had not the warres of the confederats of ITALY bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this maruellous great war which turned out very dangerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the ROMAINES, *Marius* did no notable exploite: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath need of a strong, lusty, and able body. For *Sylla* to the contrary, hauing done notable seruice, and obtained many profitable victories, wan the fame and estimation among the ROMAINES, of a noble souldier, and worthy Captaine: and among the enemies themselues, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* did not as *Timotheus* ATHENIAN, the sonne of *Conon* had done

Sylla chosen Prætor.

Orobazus Ambassador from the king of the Parthians vnto Sylla.

Sylla accused of extortion.

Ciuill warres.

Who, when his aduerſaries & ill willers did attribute his noble deeds vnto the fauor of fortune, and did painte fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and ſnared in nets whileſt he ſlept: he tooke it in very ill parte, and was marueilous angry with them that did it, ſaying that they robbed him of the glory that iuſtly belonged vnto him. Wherfore one day when this *Timotheus* was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the ATHENIANS with the whole diſcourſe of his doings in his voyage, he ſayed vnto them: my Lords of ATHENS, fortune hath had no part in all this which I haue told vnto you. Hereupon the gods it ſhould ſeeme were ſo angry with this fooliſh ambition of *Timotheus*, that he neuer afterwards did any worthy thing, but all went vtterly againſt the haire with him: vntill at the length he came to be ſo hated of the people, that in the end they bani-ſhed him from ATHENS. But *Sylla* to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their wordes, but ſayed, he was a happy man, and ſingularly beloued of fortune: but alſo increaſing this opinion, and glorying as at a ſpeciall grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his doings vnto fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fancie, that the gods did prouide him in all his doings. For he wrote himſelfe in his commentaries, that the enterpriſes which he hazarded moſt hottely according to the ſodaine occaſion offered, did better proſper with him, then thoſe which by good aduiſe he had determined of. Furthermore, when he ſayd that he was better borne vnto fortune, then to the warres: it ſeemeth that he confeſſed all his proſperitie came rather by fortune, then by his worthineſſe. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly ſubmit himſelfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend vpon her: conſidering that he did attribute it to the ſpeciall grace and fauour of the gods, that he neuer diſagreed with *Metellus* his father in law, who was a man of like dignitie and authoritie as himſelfe was. For where it was thought he would haue bene a great hinderer of his doings, he found him very curteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reaſon of the ſocietie of their office. And furthermore, in his commentaries which he dedicated vnto *Lucullus*, he counſelled him to thinke nothing more certaine and aſſured, then that which the goddes ſhould reueale vnto him, and commaund him in his nightes dreame. He writeth alſo that when he was ſent with an army vnto the warres of the confederates, the earth ſodainly opened about LAVERNA, out of the which immediatly came a marueilous bright flame of fire that aſcended vp to the element. The wiſe men being asked their opinions about the ſame, made anſwer that a very honeſt man, and alſo a marueilous fayer man of complexion taking ſoueraine authority in his handes, ſhould pacifie all troubles and ſedition which were at that time in ROME. Whereupon *Sylla* ſayed it was himſelfe whom the goddes ment, becauſe that amongſt other things he had that ſingular gift of nature, that his haire was yealow as golde: and he was not aſhamed to name himſelfe an honeſt man, after he had wonne ſo many notable great victories. Thus haue we ſufficiently ſpoken of the truſt he had in the fauour of the goddes. And furthermore, he ſeemed to be very contrary in his manners, and vnlike to himſelfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he gaue as much more alſo in another. Some he preferred without cauſe: and others he put down without reaſon. He would be very gentle vnto them, of whom he would haue ought: and vnto thoſe that ſought of him, he would ſtand much vpon his honor, and looke for great reuerence. Wherby men could hardly diſcern his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he vſed in puniſhing of them that had offended him: ſometimes he hanged vp men for very ſmall and light cauſes: Some other times againe to the contrary, he patiently abode the moſt grieuous offences in the worlde: and lightly pardoned and forgaue ſuch faultes as were in no wiſe to be forgiuen. And afterwards againe would puniſh right ſmall crimes, with murthers, effuſion of blood, and confiſcation of goods. This iudgment may be giuen of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a reuenging minde: but notwithſtanding he qualified that naturall bitternes with reaſon, giuing place to neceſſity, and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his ſouldiers ſlue *Albinus* one of his lieutenantes, beating him to death with ſtaues and ſtones, being a man of good qualitie and one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he paſſed ouer with ſilence, vſing no manner of puniſhment, and turned it to a boaſt in the end, ſaying that his men were the more obedient

Timotheus Athenian would not attribute the glory of his doings to fortune.

Sylla gaue fortune the honor of all his doings.

Syllaes beleefe in dreames.

A ſtrange ſight appeared to Sylla.

Sylla ſtrange of conditions

and diligent in any peece of seruice that was to be done, and that he made them amends for faultes by worthy seruice. And furthermore, he did not regard them that did reprove him: but hauing determined with himselfe to destroy *Marius*, and to procure that he might be chosen generall in the warres against king *Mithridates*, because that this warre of the confederates was now ended: for this cause he flattered & curried fauor with his souldiers that serued vnder him. At his returne to ROME from these warres of the confederates, he was made Consull with *Q. Pompeius*, being then fifty yeare olde, and maried with *Cæcilia*, noble Ladie and *Metellus* daughter, who was then chiefe bishop of ROME; for which mariage the common people sang songs and balladeſ vp and downe ROME against him: and many of the noble men enuied him for it, thinking him vnworthy of so noble a Ladie, whom they thought worthy to be Consul, as *Titus Liuius* sayth. Now she was not his only wife, for he had a wife before called *Ilia*, by whom he had a daughter. After he had maried *Æelia*, then that called *Cælia*, whom he put away because she brought him no children. But both with she went honorably away from him with very good words of her, besides many other ly rich giftes he gaue her: howbeit shortly after he maried *Metella*, which made them suspect that *Cælia* was put away for her naughtines. How soeuer it was, *Sylla* did euer and loue *Metella*: insomuch as the people of ROME afterwardes making suite, that they were banished for *Marius* faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and sed by *Sylla*, they cryed out with open voice for *Metella*, praying her to helpe them to their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the cittie of ATHENS, he tooke cruelly with them, because that some of them had scoffed at *Metella* from the walles: how that was afterwardes. So *Sylla* making his reckoning at that time that the Consulship small matter, in comparison of that which he looked for in time to come: was maruellous sirous to go against *Mithridates*. But therein *Marius* also, of a mad furious ambition uetousnes of glory stood against him, and sued to goe that iorney in like manner, being iect to those passions, which neuer waxe olde, as we may dayly see by experience. For now a heauie man, sickly of body, and broken in seruice abroade in the warres, from the he came but newly home, and bruſed moreouer with age: did notwithstanding yet haue the charge of the warres so farre off beyond the seas. Wherfore to obtaine his while Sylla was gone a litle vnto the campe to giue order for certaine things that be done, he remaining in the city, did practise this pestilent mortall sedition, which more hurt vnto the city of ROME, then all the enemies that ROME euer had: the goddes themselues had foreshewed by many signes and tokens. For fire tooke of it selfe statues of the ensignes, which they had much adoe to quench. Three rauens brought young ones into the high way, and did eate them vp in the sight of many people, and wardes caried the garbage they left of them into their neastes. Rats also hauing gnawen iewels of golde in a church, the sextens setting a trap for them, a rat was taken full of and kendled fiue young rats in the trappe, of the which shee ate vp three. But more fayre bright day when there was no cloude seene in the element at all, men heard such sound of a trumpet, that they were almost all out of their wittes, for feare of so great Wherupon the wise men and soothsayers of THVSCAN being asked their opinions them: that this so straunge and wonderfull signe did pronounce the change of the and the departure out of this into another life. For they hold opinion, that there eight worldes, all contrary one vnto another, in manners and fashions of life: vnto of the which sayed they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance. How all came to ende their course within the space of the reuolution of the great yeare: when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there are seene such wonderfull signes on the earth, or in the element. And such as haue studied that science, doe know, as soone as men be borne, which are meere contary vnto the first in their liues ners, and which are either more or lesse acceptable vnto the goddes, then those which in former age. For they say, that amongest great changes and alterations which are those places from one age vnto another, the science of diuination, and foretelling of to come doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaseth

Sylla chosen Consull. Metellus chiefe bishop of Rome maried man.

Sylla's wiues.

Marius fond ambition.

Wonderfull signes seene before the ciuill warres.

The Thuscans opinion of eight worldes.

ſtake moſt certaine and manifeſt ſignes, to know and foretell things to come. And in con-
trariwiſe alſo in another age it groweth to contempt, and loſeth her reputation, for that it is
very raſh, and fayleth to meete with the moſt parte of her predictions, becauſe ſhe hath but
obſcure meanes, and all her inſtruments defaced, to know what ſhould come. And theſe be
the fables which the wiſeſt ſoothſayers of THVSCAN reported abroad, & they ſpecially who
ſeemed to haue ſome ſingular ſpeculation aboue others. But as the Senate were talking with
the ſoothſayers of theſe wonders, being aſſembled together within the temple of the goddeſſe
Vesta, a ſparrow came flying into the church in ſight of them all, and caried a graſſehopper
in her bill, and parted it in the middeſt, and left one part within the temple, and caried the o-
ther away with her. Whereupon the wiſe men and interpreters of ſuch wonders, ſayed, that
they doubted a commotion and riſing of the country men againſt the cõmons of the city, be-
cauſe the common people of the cittie doe crye out continually like graſſehoppers, and the
husband-men do keepe themſelues vpon their lands in the country. Thus *Marius* grew great
and very familiar with *Sulpitius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, who in all kindes of wic-
kednes and miſchiefe that a man can reckon, would giue place to no liuing creature: ſo that
no man need not to ſeeke or demaund any where for a worſe then he, but the queſtion is rather
wherein he himſelfe was not the worſt of all others. For he was full repleat with all kindes of
wickedne, auarice, and raſhneſſe, and that ſo extreamely, as he cared not what villainie and wic-
kednes he openly committed, ſo that the ſame might turne to his profit. For he had ſet vp a
table in the open market place, where he ſolde freedome, making ſlaues and ſtrangers deni-
zens of ROME for their money: and for that purpoſe he entertained a gard of three thouſand
about him, beſides a band of young gentlemen of the order of knightes that attended alwaies
vpon his perſon readie at his commaundement, whom he called the garde againſt the Senate.
And furthermore, himſelfe hauing paſſed a lawe by the voice of the people, that no Senator
ſhould borrow nor owe aboue two thouſand Drachmas: it was found that at the houre of
his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging
beaſt, being left by *Marius* amongſt the people, turned all things topſie turney, by force of
armes and maine ſtrength. He made alſo many wicked lawes to paſſe by voice of the people,
and amongſt others, that one ſpecially, wherby he gaue *Marius* commiſſion to make warres
againſt king *Mithridates*. For which extreame oppreſſions and dealings of *Sulpitius*, the two
Conſuls (*Sylla* and *Quintus Pompeius*) left off to heare publike cauſes, and ceaſed the common
courſe of law and iuſtice. And as they were one day occupied about the adiornement of the
law, in an open aſſembly in the market place, before the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: *Sulpitius*
the tribune came vpon them with his ſouldiers, and ſlue many people, and among others, the
Conſull *Pompeius* owne ſonne, and the father himſelfe being Conſull, had much a doe to ſaue
his life by flying. And *Sylla* the other Conſul, was alſo purſued euen into *Marius* houſe, where
he was compelled to promiſe before his departure, preſently to goe and reuoke the adiorne-
ment of the law which he had before commaunded. Thus *Sulpitius* hauing depriued *Pompeius*
of his conſulſhippe, did not depoſe *Sylla*, but onely tooke from him the charge he had giuen
him to make warres againſt *Mithridates*, and transferred that vnto *Marius*. And ſending co-
lonels to the city of NOLA to receiue the army that laye there, and to bring them vnto *Ma-
rius*, *Sylla* preuented them, and fled to the campe before them, and told the ſouldiers all what
had paſt, as it was indeede: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and ſlue *Marius* col-
onels with ſtones. *Marius* on the other ſide put all *Syllaes* friends to death at ROME, and tooke
the ſpoyle of their goodes and houſes: ſo was there nothing elſe but flying from the campe
to ROME, and from ROME to the campe againe. The Senate were in manner beſide them-
ſelues, not being able to gouerne as they would, but driuen to obey *Marius* & *Sulpitius* com-
mandementes. Who being aduertiſed that *Sylla* was comming towards ROME, ſent ſtraight
two Prætors vnto him, *Brutus* and *Seruilius*, to commund him as from the Senate, to approch
no nearer. Theſe two Prætors ſpake a litle too boldly vnto *Sylla*: whereupon the ſouldiers fell
to a mutinie, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtood indifferent whether to kill them preſently in the field
or no: howbeit they brake their axes and bundels of roddes which were caried before them,
and tooke their purple robes wherewith they were apparelled as magiſtrates, from them, and

The wickednes of Sulpitius the tribune.

Marius and Sulpitius ſedition.

All law ceaſed for a time, by reaſon of Sulpitius oppreſſions and wicked lawes.

sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Vpon their returne now to Rome, their sadde silence onely, and themselues so stripped besides of all their markes and tokens of Prætoriall dignitie, made all men then to iudge that they brought no other newes, but such as were the worst that possibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie this sedition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherfore *Marius* and his followers began to make themselues strong by force: and *Sylla* with his companion *Q. Pompeius*, departed in the meane time from the city of Nola, and brought six entier legions on with him, who desired no other thing but to make haste to march to Rome ward. Howbeit *Sylla* stood in doubt with himselfe what to doe, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Vntill such time as his soothsayer *Posthumius* hauing considered the signes & tokens of the sacrifices, which *Sylla* had made vpon this determination, gaue him both his handes, and bad him bind them hard, and shut him vp fast, vntill the day of battell should be past: saying, that he was contented to suffer death, if he had not good successe, and that out of hand, to his great honour. And it is saied also, that the same night there appeared vnto *Sylla* in a dreame the goddesse *Bellona*, whom the Romaines do greatly honor, following therein the Cappadocians: and I know not whether it be the moone, *Minerua*, or *Enyo* the goddesse of battels. So he thought, that she comming to him did put lightning into his hand, commaunding him that he should lighten vpon his enemies, naming them one after another by their proper names: and that they being striken with his lightning, fell down dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This vision encoraged *Sylla* very much, and hauing reported the same to *Pompeius*, his fellow consull & companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome. Whē he was at Picines, there came other ambassadors vnto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and fury, declaring therwithall that the Senate would graunt him all things that should be meete and reasonable. When *Sylla* had heard the message, he answered them, that he would campe there: and so commaunded the martialls to deuide the squadrons according to their manner. The ambassadors beleeuing that he would so haue done indeede, returned againe to Rome: howbeit their backes were no sooner turned, but *Sylla* straight sent *Lucius Basillus*, and *Caius Mummius* before to seaze one of the gates of Rome, and the wals which were on the side of mount Esquilin, and he himself also in person with all possible speede marched after them. *Basillus* entred Rome, and wan the gate by force. But the common people vnarmed, got them vp straight to the top of their houses, and with tyles and stones stayed, and kept him, not onely for entring any further but also draue him backe againe, euen to the very walles of the city. In this hurly burly came *Sylla* himselfe to Rome, who seeing apparantly in what state things stoode, cryed out to his men, and bad them set fire on the houses: and himselfe taking a torch light in his hande shewed them the way what they should doe, appointing his archers and darters to hurle and bestow their dartes, and other fierie instrumentes, to the tops of the houses. Herein he was too much ouercome with vnreasonable choller, passion, and desire of reuenge. For seeking only to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to friendes, to parents or confederates, neither had he yet any maner of remorse or pitty: such and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference betwene those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this meanes was *Marius* driuen into the city, vnto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would make free all the slaues that would come to his part. But forthwith came his enemies, set vpon him, and prest him so neere, that he was constrained vtterly to flie and forsake the city. Then *Sylla* assembling the Senate, condemned *Marius*, and certen others, together with *Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, to be condemned to death. *Sulpitius* was betrayed by a slaue of his owne, whom *Sylla* made free according to his promise past by publike edict: but whē he had made him free, he caused him to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he proclaimed by promise a great summe of money to him that would kill *Marius*: a very ingrate and vnthankefull parte, considering that *Marius* not many dayes before hauing *Sylla* in his owne house, in his handes and custody, deliuered him from perill, and set him in safety. Which at that time he had not done, but had suffered *Sulpitius* to haue slaine him: himselfe had been

Sylla marcheth towards Rome with 6 legions.

Posthumius the diuine, did prognosticate victory vnto Sylla.

Syllaes vision in his dreame.

Sylla set the houses on fire in Rome.

Marius and Sulpitius condemned to death.

Treason iustly rewarded.

The ingratitude of Sylla reproued.

souerain Lord of the whole without all contradictiō, and might haue ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. But *Sylla* shortly after vpon the like aduantage, vsed no such manner of requitall or grauitie towardes him, which bred a secret misliking amongst the Senate: howbeit the common people made open shewe of the euill will they bare vnto *Sylla*, by reiecting one *Nonius* his nephew, and one *Seruius*, who vpon confidence of his fauor, presented themselues to sue for certaine offices. And besides the shame of this refusall, to spighte him the more, they chose others in their steades, whose honour and preferment they right well knew that *Sylla* would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely dissembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying that by his meanes the people of ROME enioyed a full and perfect libertie, that in such cases of election they might freely doe what themselues listed. And to mitigate somewhat the peoples ill will towards him, he determined to chuse *Lucius Cinna* Consull, who was of a contrary faction to him: hauing first bound him by solemne oth and curse to fauor his doings and whole procedings. Wherupon *Cinna* went vp to the Capitoll, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnly sweare and promise, that he would be *Syllaes* faithfull friend: beseeching the gods if he did the contrary, that he might be throwen out of ROME, euen as he threw that stone out of his hand: & with those words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithstanding all these curses, *Cinna* was no sooner entred into his consulship, but presently he beganne to change and alter all. For amongst other things, he would needs haue *Sylla* accused: and procured *Verginius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But *Sylla* left him with his iudges, and went to make warres against *Mithridates*. And it is sayed, that about the time that *Sylla* tooke ship, and departed out of ITALIE: there fortuned many tokens and warnings of the gods vnto king *Mithridates*, who was at that present in the cittie of PERGAMVM, as amongst others, that the PERGAMENIANS to honor *Mithridates* withall, hauing made an image of victory, carying a garland of triumph in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines: so soone as she was ready to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the ground in the middest of the Theater, and burst all to peeces. Wherby all the people that were present, were stricken with a maruellous feare, and *Mithridates* himselfe began to mislike this euill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, then he looked for. For he had taken ASIA frō the ROMAINES, and BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, from the kings which he had driuen out: and at that time remained in the city of PERGAMVM, to deuide the riches and great territories among his friends. As touching his sonnes: the eldest was of the realme of Pontus, and of BOSPHORVS, which he inherited from his predecessors, euen vnto the desertes beyond the marisses of Mæotides, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, *Ariarathes*, was with a great army in conquering of THRACIA, and MACEDON. His Captaines and Lieutenantes moreouer, did many notable conquestes in diuerse places, with a great power: amongst the which, *Archelaus* being Lord and master of all the sea, for the great number of shippes he had, conquered the Iles CYCLADES, and all those beyond the hed of Malea, and specially amongst others the Ile of EVBŒA. And beginning at the city of ATHENS, had made all the nations of GRECE to rebell, euen vnto THESSALIE, hauing that he receiued some losse by the city of CHÆRONEA. Where *Brutius Sura*, one of the Lieutenantes of *Sentius* gouernor of MACEDON (a man of great wisdome and valiantnesse) came against him, and stayed him for going any further, ouerrunning the whole countrie of BOEOTIA like a furious raging riuer. And setting vpon *Archelaus* by the city of CHÆRONEA, ouerthrewe him in three seuerall battels: repulsed, and enforced him to take the seaes againe. Now as *Brutius* was following him in chase, *Lucius Lucullus* sent him commandement to giue place vnto *Sylla*, to follow those warres against *Mithridates*, according to the charge & commissiō in that behalfe giuen him. Wherupon *Brutius Sura* went out of the country of BOEOTIA, and returned towards his generall *Sentius*: notwithstanding his affaires prospered better then he could haue wished, and that all GRECE were very willing to reuolt, for the reputation of his wisdom and goodnes. Howbeit the things that we before haue spoken of, were the most notable matters that *Brutius* did in those partes. *Sylla* now vpon his arriuall, recouered immediatly all the other citties of GRECE: who being aduertised of his comming, sent

Lucius Cinna Consull.

Cinna sware to be Syllaes frīd.

Sylla went against Mithridates.

Mithridates power.

presently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of ATHENS onely excepted, which was compelled by the tyrant *Aristion*, to take part with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* thereupon with all his power went thither, besieged the hauen of Piræa round, causing it to be battered and assaulted on euery side, with all sortes of engines and instrumentes of battery: whereas if he could haue had patience but a litle longer, he might haue had the high towne by famine, without putting himselfe in any manner of daunger, the same being brought to such extreame dearth and scarsity of all kind of victuals. But the hast that he made to returne againe to ROME, for feare of the new chaunge which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that sorte with great danger, many battelles, and infinite charge: considering also that besides all other prouision and furniture, he had twenty thousand mules and mulets labouring daily to furnish his engines of battery. And when all other wood failed him, because his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of themselues by reason of their waight, others consumed with fire throwen from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the *Academia*, being better stored and furnished, then any other parke of pleasure in all the suburbes of the city, & feld down all the wood of the parke Lycæum. And standing in neede of a great summe of money to entertaine his warres withall, he delt also with the holiest temples of all GREECE, causing thē to bring him from the temples of EPIDAVRVM & OLYMPVS, all the richest & most pretious iewels they had. He wrote moreouer vnto the councell of the AMPHICTYONS holdē in the city of DELPHES, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of *Apollo*, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, thē if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to vse it, he would restore as much againe vnto them: and for this purpose he sent *Caphis* PHOCIAN, one of his very friends & familiars, and cōmanded him to wey all that he tooke. So *Caphis* went vnto DELPHES: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy things, in presence of the councell of the AMPHICTYONS, he wept, that the teares ran downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe such an act against his will. And when some that were present, told *Caphis* that they heard the sound of *Apolloes* citheren in the temple: whether he beleued it was so indeed, or because he would put this superstitious feare into *Syllaes* head, he wrote to him of it. But *Sylla* mocking him, sent him word, that he marueiled he could not consider, that singing and playing on the citheren, were tokens rather of ioy then of anger: and therfore that he should not faile to proceede farther, and bring him the things which he commanded, for that (sayed he) *Apollo* did giue them him. Now for the iewels of the temple of *Apollo*, the cōmon people knew not that they were sent vnto Sylla: the siluer tunne, which only was that that remained of the offrings of the kings, the AMPHICTYONS were faine to breake that in peeces, because it was so great & massie, that the beasts draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other excellent ROMAINE captains, as *Flaminius*, *Manius Acilius*, and *Paulus AEmilius*: of the which, the one hauing driuen king *Antiochus* out of GREECE, and the rest also hauing ouerthrowen the kings of MACEDON, they neuer once touched the gold and siluer of the temples of Greece, but contrarily sent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honor and reuerence. And as to them, they were all Captaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their souldiers well trained, & obedient at commandement, void of rebellion, or any manner of mutiny. And for themselues, were kings in greatnes of courage and magnanimitie of mind: but in expences of their persons, very spare and scant, without any lauish, but needfull and necessary, proportioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their souldiers, then feare their enemies. Now the Captaines contrarily in *Syllaes* time, sought not their preferment in the commonwealth by vertue, but by force, and hauing greater warres one with another, then with strangers their enemies: were compelled to flatter their souldiers whom they should command, and to buy their paines & seruice, feeding them still with large & great expences, to please & content them. Wherein they did not consider, that they brought their country into bondage & made themselues slaues of the vilest people of the world, whilst that in the meane time they sought to commaund by all meanes possible those, which in many respects were farre better then themselues. And this was the cause that both draue *Marius* out of ROME, and made

Sylla besiegeth the city of Athens.

Sylla tooke the iewells & ready money out of all the temples of Greece & brought it to him to Athens.

Caphis superstition for touching the holy things.

The commendation of the ancient Romaine captains for ordering of their souldiers, and also for their modest expences.

lo to returne againe against *Sylla*. This selfe same cause made *Cinna* to kill *Octauius*, and *Fim-* uio to slay *Flaccus*: of which euils *Sylla* was the very first and only author, spending out of all *Sylla the first man that spoiled all good seruice of souldiers, by ouermuch libertie and sufferance.*
ason, and giuing the souldiers largely that serued vnder him, to winne their good wils the more, and thereby also to allure them. By reason wherof, *Sylla* had neede of mountaines of mo-
y, and specially at the siege where he was: both to make strangers traitors, and besides, to
nish and satisfie his owne dissolute souldiers. For he had such an earnest desire to take the
ce of ATHENS, that he could not possibly be disswaded from it. And either it was of a certain
ore ambition he had to fight against the auncient reputation of that citie, being then but a
low to that it had bene: or else of a very anger, for the mockes & gibes which the tirant *A-*
ion gaue in his speeches frō the wals, against him & *Metella*, to spight him the more withal.
his tirant *Aristion* was full of all cruelty & wickednes, hauing taken vp al the worst qualities *The wickednes of the tyrant Aristion.*
d greatest imperfections of king *Mithridates*, & heaped them wholly together in himselfe:
reason whereof the poore city of ATHENS which had escaped from so many warres, ty-
nies, and ciuill dissentions vntill that present time, was by him, as by an vncurable disease,
rought vnto all extremitie. For a bushell of wheate was worth a thousande Drachmas, and
en were driuen for famine to eate feuerfew that grew about the castle: and they caused olde
es and old oyle pots to be sodden, to deliuer some sauor vnto that they did eate, whilest the
rant himselfe did nothing all day long but cramme in meat, & drinke dronke, dance, maske,
ke & flout at the enemies, suffering the holy lampe of *Minerua* in the meane season to goe
for lacke of oyle. And when the Nunne of the same temple sent vnto him for a quarter of a
shell of wheate, he sent her a quarter of a bushell of pepper. And when the counsellers of the
ie the priests & religious came to the castle, holding vp their hands, and beseeching him to
e some pitie of the citie, and fall to composition with *Sylla*: he made them to be driuen away
d scattered with slings. In the end, very late, and yet with great a do, he sent two or three of
s quaffing companions vnto *Sylla*, who when they were come to him, made no demaund of
mposition for the towne, but began to praise & magnifie the deeds of *Theseus*, of *Eumolpus*, &
the ATHENIANS against the MEDES. Whereupon *Sylla* made the this answere. My good-
orators, returne you againe with all your rethoricke: for the ROMAINES sent me not hi-
er to learne nor to studie, but to ouercome & conquer those that are rebelled against them.
the meane time there were certaine spies in the citie that heard old men talking together in
place called *Ceramicus*, blaming the tyrant because he kept no better watch on that side of the
ll that was directly ouer against the Heptachalcon, which was the onely place where the e-
mies might easilliest get vp vpon the wals. Those spies went straight vnto *Sylla*, and told him
t they had heard the old men say. *Sylla* tracted no time, but came to the place in the night
self: and perceiuing that it was to be taken, set the matter straight abroach. And himselfe *The great valiantnesse of Marcus Teius.*
es in his commentaries, that the first man that scaled the wals, was *Marcus Teius*: who fin-
a souldier readie to resist him, gaue him such a sore blow with his sword vpon his head-
e, that his sworde brake in two, and yet notwithstanding that he saw himselfe naked and
armed of a sword, did not for all that giue backe, but stood still to it, & kept the place so long
through him the city was taken, and all vpon the talke of these old men. So *Sylla* caused the *Athens taken by Sylla.*
ll to be pulled down betwene the hauen of Piræa, & the holy hauen: & hauing before made
breach very plaine, entred into the citie about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order,
sing a maruellous noise with a number of hornes, & sounding of trumpets, & all his armie
him in order of battell, crying, to the sacke, to the sacke: kill, kill. For he had giuen them
owne in spoile, & to put all to the sword. The souldiers therfore ran through the streetes
their swords drawen, making an vncredible slaughter: so that to this day they be not ac-
wed, nor do not declare what number of persons were slaine, but to shew the greatnes of
murther that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seene where the bloud ran. *The slaughter of the Athenians after the taking of the citie.*
Besides them that were slaine through all the city, the bloud of them only that were slaine
e market steede, did wet all the ground of *Ceramicus*, euen vnto the very place called Di-
ia: and some say also, that it ranne by the gates into the suburbes of the citie. But if the mul-
de of the people that were slaine in this sort were great, much more (or so many at the
) it is said were those that slew themselues, for the sorrow and compassion they had to see

their country in such pitifull state, supposing certainly that their citie was now come to ruine and destruction. This opinion made the noblest men of the citie to despaire of their safetie, and feared to liue any longer, because they thought they should finde no mercie moderation of crueltie in *Sylla*. Notwithstanding, partly at the requestes of *Midias Calliphon*, who were banished men from ATHENS, & fell at *Syllaes* feete vpon their knees partly also at the requestes of the ROMAINE Senators that were in his campe, who pr him to pardon the bodie of the citie, and the rather for that he had alreadie quenched the of his rauening minde sufficiently well, after that he had somewhat saide in praise of the cient ATHENIANS, he concluded in the end, to giue the greater number vnto the smaller the liuing to the dead. *Sylla* writeth himselfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the ATHENS on the very selfe day of the calendes of march, which commeth to agree wi

Antheſterion March. The time of Noes flood.

first day of the moneth that we call Antheſterion, on the which day by chance many are done at ATHENS in memorie of *Noes* flood, and of the vniuersall destruction whole world that was in olde time by rage of waters, falling out euen in that very W hen the citie was thus taken, the tyrant *Aristion* fled into the castle, where he was b by *Curio*, whom *Sylla* left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a gre

Aristion the tyrant yeelded.

kept it, at the last, constrained thereunto for lacke of water, yeelded. The castle was no giuen vp, but immediatly by goddes prouidence, the weather miraculously altered. F selfe same day, and at the very selfe instant that *Curio* caried the tyrant *Aristion* out of stle, the element being very faire and cleare, the cloudes sodainly gathered together, an fell such a maruellous glut of raine, that all the castle was full of water. Shortly after al

The hauen of Piræa wonne. Philoes armorie burnt by Sylla.

hauing gotten the hauen of Piræa, burnt the greatest part of the buildinges: among thers was the arsenall and armorie, which *Philo* in olde time had caused to be built, be a strange and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, *Taxilles*, one of the Lieutenants of *Mithridates*, comming from THRACIA & MACEDON, with a hundred thousand foo

Taxilles armie a hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen: foureſcore and ten thousand cartes with Sythes.

tenne thousand horsemen, and foureſcore and tenne thousand cartes of warre all armed sythes: sent vnto *Archelaus* to ioyne with him, lying yet at ancker in the hauen of Mun and not willing to leaue the sea, nor come to fight with the ROMAINES, but seeking t draw these warres out in length, & to cut off all victuals from his enemies. *Sylla* vnder this drift better then himselfe, departed out of the country of ATTICA (a very barren so in deede not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into BOEOTIA: wherein mo thought he committed great error to leaue ATTICA, which is a very hard country for men, and to go into BOEOTIA, a plaine champion: and so much the rather, because he

The force of the Barbarians consisted in horsemen and in their cartes with Sythes.

well enough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their hors and their armed cartes with sythes. But to auoide famine, and lacke of victuals as we ha he was compelled to seeke battell. Furthermore, hee had an other cause also that ma affraide, and compelled him to go: and that was *Hortensius* a famous Captaine, and v liant also, who brought him aide out of THESSALIE, & the barbarous people lay in w

The straight of Thermopyles. Parnassus hill.

him in his way, in the straight of Thermopyles. And these were the causes that made S his way into BOEOTIA. But in the mean time, *Caphis* that was our country man, decei barbarous people, guided *Hortensius* an other way by mount Parnassus, and brought h

The citie of Tithora.

der the citie of TITHORA, which was not then so great a citie as now at this present it was a castle only, situated vpon the point of a rocke, hewen all about: whither the P ANS in old time flying king *Xerxes* comming vpon them, retyred themselues for their *Hortensius* lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his enemies, so long

Sylla and Hortensius met at Patronide. The plaine of Elatea. Philobæotus mount.

light lasted: and when the night came on, got downe through very hard stony waies, v city of PATRONIDE, where he ioyned with *Sylla*, who came to meete him with al his p Thus being ioyned together, they camped vpon a hill that standeth about the middest plaine of Elatea: the soyle was very good, and well repleniſhed with great store of t water at the foote of the same. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature and situation of *Sylla* doth maruellously commend. When they were camped, they seemed but a h

Their whole armie together 15000. horse, 15000. footmen.

in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they indeede, for they had not aboue hundred horse, and lesse then fifteene thousand footemen. Whereupon the other C

their enemies, against *Archelaus* minde, brought out their bandes into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horsemen, with cartes, with shieldes and targets, so that the aire was euen cut a sunder as it were with the violence of the noise and cries of so many sundrie nations, which altogether did put themselues in battell ray. The sumptuousnes of their furniture moreouer, was not altogether superfluous and vnprofitable, but serued greatly to feare the beholders. For the glistering of their harnesse, so richly trimmed and set foorth with gold and siluer, the colours of their arming coates vpon their curaces, after the fashion of the MEDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with the bright glistering steele and shining copper, made such a shew as they went and remoued to and fro, that made a light as cleare as if all had been on a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke vpon. Insomuch as the ROMAINES durst not so much as once goe out of the trenches of their campe, nor *Sylla* with all his perswasion could driue away this great conceiued feare from them: wherefore, (and because also he would not compell them to goe forth in this feare) he was driuen not to stirre, but close to abide (though it grieued him greatly) to see the barbarous people so proudly and villainously laugh him and his men to scorne. Howbeit the disdaine and scoffing of his enemies, stood him to great good purpose afterwards. For they making now none account of him, kept small watch and ward, ranged vp and downe disorderly besides, though otherwise they were not very obedient vnto their Captaines, being many commaunders, and fewe good followers: by reason whereof, a small number kept in the campe, and all the rest of the great multitude intised with the gaine they made by spoyling and sacking of townes thereabouts, dispersed themselues many daies iourney from their campe. For it is saide, that at that very time they destroyed the citie of PANOPEIA, sacked the citie of LEBADIA, and spoyled the temple without commaundement or licence of any of all their Captaines to doe it. In the meane while, *Sylla* seeing so many cities and townes spoyled and destroyed, tooke it both grieuously, and also angrily: howbeit he suffered not his men to lie idlely, but kept them in labour, to turne the course of the riuer of Cephisus, and to cast great trenches, not suffering any man to take ease or rest, but continually with great seuerity punished such as went faintly and lasely to worke, to the ende that being wearied with the paine they tooke after so many workes, they would rather proue to fight a hard battell, as it fell out in deede. For the third day after they had begunne thus to labour, as he had passed by them, they cried out vnto him to lead them against their enemies. But his answere was vnto them againe: that those were but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then desirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be so in deede, and that you haue so good a will to fight as you make shew of: then I will, said he, that you arme your selues presently, and get you to yonder place, shewing them therewithall where the castle of the PARAPOTAMIANS stood in old time, which then (the citie being destroyed) was no more but the toppe of a stony mountaine cut all about, and seuered from the mount of Edylium by the breadth of the riuer of Assus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the same mountaine falleth into the riuer of Cephisus, and both these riuers running in one, carying a swift streame, doe make the knappe of the said hill very strong of situation to lodge a campe vpon. And therefore *Sylla* seeing the souldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to get vp that place to lodge in: to preuent them, and to get it before them (as in deede he did) marched thither in all hast possible, & got it euen with the earnest good will of all his souldiers. *Archelaus* being so repulsed from thence, turned his way towards the city of CHÆRONEA. Whereupon certaine of the CHÆRONEANS that were in *Syllaes* campe, besought him that he would not forsake their citie, and leaue it to their enemy. *Sylla* desiring to gratifie them therein, sent one of his Colonels *Gabinius* with a legion, and therewithall gaue the CHÆRONEANS leaue to goe thither, who did what they could possible to get into the citie before *Gabinius*: but that they could not, such was the diligence and honestie of the man, as he seemed more desirous of their safetie, then they were themselues. Neuertheless, *Iubas* doth not call the Colonell that was sent thither *Gabinius*, but *Hircius*. And thus was our citie of CHÆRONEA preserued from the daunger it stood in at that time. In the meane time came very good prophecies to the ROMAINES, both of oracles & prophecies, which promised them victory from the temple of LEBADIA, and the caue of *Trophonius*: of which prophecies, those country men

The braue armour and furniture of the Thracians and Macedonians, seruing vnder Taxilles king Mithridates Lieutenant.

Many commanders make disobedient souldiers.

Cephisus fl.
Syllaes straightnesse to his souldiers.

A good policie to weary fearefull souldiers with extreame labour, whereby to make them desirous to fight.
Edylium mons.
Assus fl.

Sylla sendeth Gabinius with a legion to aide Cheronea.

Oracles and prophecies of victorie vnto Sylla.

make great mention. But *Sylla* in his tenth booke of his commentaries writeth, that *Quintus Titius*, a man of qualitie and name amongst them that trafficked into the country of Greece, came vnto him after he had won the battell of CHÆRONEA, to tell him that *Trophonius* gaue him to vnderstand, that shortly after he should haue a second battell, and that he should yet gaine haue an other victory in the same place. After him an other man of warre called *Saluenius*, told him also what successe he should haue in the warres of ITALIE, saying, that he knew it by reuelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the reuelation. For they said, that they had seene a god, in maiestie, beautie, and greatnesse, like vnto the image of *Iupiter Olympias*. *Sylla* hauing passed the riuer of Assus, went to lodge at the foote of mount Edylium, fast by *Archelaus*, who had placed and fortified his campe betweene the two mountaines of Acontium, and of Edylium, ioyning to the citie of the ASSIANS. The place where *Archelaus* camped, beareth his owne name *Archelaus* vnto this day. One day after *Sylla* had changed his lodging, he left *Murena* in his campe with a legion, and two cohortes, to keepe the enemies still occupied that were in great trouble, and he himselfe in the meane time went and sacrificed by the riuer of Cephisus. His sacrifice being ended, he marched towards the citie of CHÆRONEA, to take the force he had there vnder *Gabinius*, & to know the mountaine also called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knappe of a mountaine very steepe and sharpe of all sides, with a narrow point like a pine apple, by reason whereof we doe call it Orthopagium. At the foote of the same runneth the riuer called Morion, and there is also the temple of *Apollo* surnamed *Thurias*: and they say that this surname of *Thurias* was giuen vnto him of the name of *Thuros*, who was mother of *Cheron*, the founder and builder of the citie of CHÆRONEA. Other thinke that the cow which was giuen to *Cadmus* for a guide, came to him in the place: which hath euer since kept the name, for that the PHENICIANS call a cow, *Thor*. Now when *Sylla* came neere vnto CHÆRONEA, the Colonell *Gabinius* whom he had sent thither with a garrison to defend the same, went to meete him with his men very wel armed, wearing a laurell garland: and *Sylla* after he had saluted him, and his souldiers, made an oration vnto them, exhorting them to do their dutie in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of CHÆRONEA to him, one his name was *Omoloichus*, and the other *Anaximus*, who promised him to driue the enemies from mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but giue them some smal number of souldiers. For there was a litle path way, which the barbarous people mistrusted not, beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the temple of the *Muses*, by the which they might easily go to the toppe of this mountaine Thurium: so that following that pathe, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, and they might easily kill them with stones, or at the least they should driue them mawgre their heads downe into the valley. *Gabinius* assuring *Sylla* that they were both very valiant men, and such as he might boldly trust vnto, *Sylla* gaue them men, and commaunded them to execute their enterprise: and he himselfe in the meane season went and set his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horsemen on the wings, placed himselfe in the right wing, appointing the left vnto *Murena*. *Galba* and *Hortensius* his Lieutenantes, were placed in the taile with certaine bandes of the reregard which they kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemies should not inclose them behinde: because they perceiued a farre off that the enemies purposed a great number of horsemen and footemen light armed in the wings, to the end that the points of their battell might the more easily bowe and enlarge themselues, to compasse in the ROMAINES on the backe side. Now in the meane time, these two CHÆRONEIANS whom *Sylla* had sent vnder *Hireius* their Captaine, hauing compassed about the mountaine Thurium, before the enemies were aware of them: sodainely came to shew themselues vpon the toppe of the mountaine, which did so feare the barbarous people, that they began immediatly to flie: one of them for the most part killing an other. There was no resistance, but flying downe the mountaine, fell vpon the points of their owne partisans and pikes, and one of them thrusting in an others necke, tumbled headlong downe the mountaine together, hauing their enemies besides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and strake them behind where they lay open vnto them: so as they were slaine a three thousand of them about this mountaine Thurium. And as for them that sought to saue themselues by flight, *Murena* that was

Saluenius a souldier.

Iupiter Olympias.

Acontium, Edylium, mountaines.

Thurium mons aliter Orthopagum.

Morion fl.

Apollo Thurias.

Cheron the founder of the citie of Chæronea.

Sylla ordereth his battell.

Sylla draue Archelaus aide from the hill.

already

alreadie set in battell ray, met with some, cut them off by the way, and slew them downe right. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thrusting into the battell of their footemen, put the most part of them quite out of order, & maruellously troubled their Captaines before they could set them againe in order: which was one of the chiefest causes of their ouerthrowe. For *Sylla* went and gaue a charge vpon them in this trouble and disorder, and had quickly wonne the ground that was betweene both armies, wherby he tooke away the force of all their armed cartes with sythes, which are then of greatest force, when they haue the longest course, to giue them a swift and violent stroke in their chase: whereas when their course is but short, the blow is so much the weaker and of lesse strength, euen as arrowes are that a farre off enter not deepe into the thing they be shot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their first cartes set forth so faintly, and came on with so feeble a force, that the ROMAINES sent them backe, & easily repulsed them, with great slaughter and clapping of handes one to an other, as they commonly vse in the ordinarie games of horse-running at ROME. When they had thus repulsed the cartes, the battell of *Syllaes* footemen beganne to charge the barbarous people, who basing their pikes, stoode close one to an other because they would not be taken: and the ROMAINES on the other side bestowed first their darts among them, and then sodainely drewe out their swordes in the heat they were in, and put a side the enemies pikes, wherby they might come neerer to their bodies. There were fiftene thousand slaues in the front of the battell of the barbarous people, whom *Mithridates* Lieutenant had made free by open proclamation; and had deuided them by bandes amongst the other footemen. By occasion whereof there was a ROMAINE Centurion spake pleasantly at that time, saying, that he neuer saw slaues before haue libertie to speake and doe like free men, but only at *Saturnes* feastes. Nenertheless, they against the nature of slaues, were very valiant to abide the shocke, and the ROMAINE footemen could not so readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them giue backe, because they stoode very close one to an other, and their rankes were of such a length besides: vntill such time as the ROMAINES that were behinde the first rankes, did so pelt them with their slings, hurling stones, bestowing their darts and arrowes vpon them, that in the end they compelled them all to turne their backes, & flie a maine. And when *Archelaus* did first thrust out the right wing of his armie, supposing to enclose the ROMAINES behinde. *Hortensius* straightwaies caused the bands he had with him to run & charge vpon the flankes. Which *Archelaus* perceiuing, made the horsemen he had about him turne their faces forthwith, which were in number about two thousand: insomuch as *Hortensius* being set vppon with all his troupe, was compelled to retire by little and little towardes the mountaine, perceiuing himselfe farre from the battell of his footemen, and enuironned round about with his enemies. *Sylla* seeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and hauing not yet fought, went straight to the rescue of *Hortensius*. But *Archelaus* coniecturing by the dust which the horses raised, what the matter was: left *Hortensius* there, and with speede returned againe towardes the right wing of his enemies from whence *Sylla* was gone, hoping he had left it vnfurnished of a sufficient Captaine to commaund them. *Taxiles* on the other side, caused his copper targets also to march against *Murena*: so as the noise they made on both sides, caused the mountains to ring againe, wherwithall *Sylla* staied, standing in doubt which way to take. At the last he resolued to returne to the place frō whence he came, & sent *Hortensius* with foure ensignes to aide *Murena*: and himselfe with the fifth in great speed went towards the right wing of his armie, the which was now already bickering, and ioyned with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with *Archelaus*. By reason whereof, when *Sylla* was come with his aide, they did easily distresse them: and after they had broken their array, they chased them flying for life to the riuer, & vnto the mountaine Aconitum. But *Sylla* notwithstanding forgate not *Murena*, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that hoon his side had also put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chase of them that fled. There was a maruellous slaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them supposing to haue recouered their campe, were slaine by the way: so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped onely tenne thousand, who saued themselues by flying vnto the citie of CHALCIDE. *Sylla* for his part writeth, that he could make reckoning of no more but

The force of the armed carts with sythes swift in long course.

Syllaes conflict with Archelaus at Thebrium.

Slaues made free by authoritie of the Lieutenant in the field.

Syllaes victorie of Mithridates Lieutenant.

fourteene of his ſouldiers onely that were ſlaine, whereof there came two againe to him the ſame night. Wherefore in the markes of triumph which he ſet vp for tokens of that victory, he cauſed to be written on the toppe thereof, *Mars*, *victorie*, and *Venus*: ſignifying thereby, that he had ouercome in theſe warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or martiall diſcipline. Theſe markes of triumph were ſet vp for the battell which he wanne in the plaine field, in that place where *Archelaus* beganne to flie, euen vnto the riuer of Molus. And he ſet vp an other alſo in the toppe of mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were ſet vpon behinde: and there is written in Greeke letters, that the valiant deedes of *Omolichus* and *Anaxidamus*, gaue way to the winning of this victory. *Sylla* for the ioy of this great won battell, cauſed muſitians to play in the citie of THEBES, where he builded a ſtage for all the muſitians, neere vnto the fountaine OEdipus, and certaine noble GRECIANS were appointed iudges of that muſicke, whom he cauſed to be ſent for out of other cities, becauſe he mortally hated the THEBANS: inſomuch as he tooke from them halfe their lands, which he conſecrated vnto *Apollo Pythias*, and *Iupiter Olympias*, appointing that of the reuenue thereof they ſhould redeliuer and pay backe the money which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. *Sylla* after this hauing intelligence that *Flaccus*, one of his enemies, was choſen Conſull at ROME, and had paſſed the ſea Ionium with an armie, vnder pretext to make warre againſt king *Mithridates*, but indeede to make warre with himſelfe: tooke his iorney towards THESSALIE to meete him. But when he was in the citie of MELITEA, there came newes him out of all partes, that there was a new and ſecond armie of the kings arriued, no leſſe then the firſt, the which ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the country which he had left behind him. For *Dorylaus*, one of king *Mithridates* Lieutenants, was arriued in the citie of CHALCIDI with a great fleete of ſhips, hauing brought thither with him foure ſcore thouſande fighting men, the beſt trained, the beſt armed and appointed ſouldiers that were in all his kingdom of PONTVS in ASIA: and from thence went into BOEOTIA, had all that country at commandement, and ſought to fight with *Sylla*, notwithſtanding that *Archelaus* alleaged many reaſons to diſwade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in euery place, that ſo many thouſandes of ſouldiers could not haue beene caſt away in the firſt battell, without ſome notable treaſon. Whereupon *Sylla* returned with all poſſible ſpeede, & made *Dorylaus* know before many days paſſed ouer his head, that *Archelaus* was a wiſe man, and knew well enough the worthineſſe of valiant courage of the ROMAINES. And *Dorylaus* hauing had but a litle proofe only in certaine light skirmiſhes which he made againſt *Sylla*, about TILPHOSSION in THESSALY: himſelfe was the firſt that could ſay then, it was not for them to hazard battell, but rather to draw out the warre in length, and ſupplant the ROMAINES with charge and expence. And yet notwithſtanding, the cõmodity of the great large plaine that lieth all about ORCHOMENE, where they were encamped, gaue great encouragement to *Archelaus*, who iudged it a very fit place to giue battell in, ſpecially becauſe he was the ſtronger of horſemen in the field. For of all the plaines that are within the country of BOEOTIA, the greateſt & largeſt of thẽ, is the plaine neere to the citie of ORCHOMENE, which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length vnto the mariſſes where the riuer of Melas diſperſeth it ſelfe abroad. The head of the ſame riuer is not farre from the city of ORCHOMENE, & that riuer only of all other riuers in GREECE from the very head whence it commeth, is nauigable: and hath beſides an other ſingular property, for it riſeth & ſwelleth euen in the longeſt ſommer daies, as the riuer of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the ſelfe ſame plants and trees, ſauing that they beare no frute, neither are they ſo great as thoſe of Ægypt. This riuer hath no long courſe, becauſe that the moſt part of the water runneth into lakes and mariſſes, couered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very ſmall part of it that falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, in the place where the reedes grow that make good flutes withal. When they were camped one neere to another, *Archelaus* lay quietly & ſtirred not. But *Sylla* preſently caſt great trenches from one ſide to another, to ſtoppe the way againſt their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might haue taken what ground they would for their men of armes, and haue driuen the ROMAINES into the mariſſes. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, ſo ſoone as their Captaines had giuen them liberty, diſcharged with ſuch a fury, that they did not only ſcatter

The field was wonne in the plaine of Elatea. Melas fl.

Apollo Pythias. Iupiter Olympias. Flaccus Conſull went againſt Sylla.

Dorylaus Mithridates generall againſt Sylla.

The goodly plaine before the citie of Orchomene. The riuer of Melas, and nature thereof.

that wrought in *Syllaes* trenches, but put the moſt part of their gard alſo that ſtood in battell ray to defend them, in a maruellous feare, who alſo began to flie. Which *Sylla* perceiuing, lighted ſtraight from his horſe, and taking an enſigne in his hand, ran through the middeſt of his men that fled, vntill he came to his enemies, and crying out, ſayd vnto them: O my ROMAINE ſouldiers, mine honour commandeth me to dye here, and therefore when any man aſketh you where you forſooke your Captaine, remēber that you anſwere, it was at ORCHOMENE. They were ſo aſhamed at theſe wordes, that he made them turne: beſides that, there came two cohortes vnto him from the right wing of his battell, who vnder his leading gaue ſuch a hot charge vpon their enemies, that they fled forthwith vpon it. That done, *Sylla* retired with his men, and made them dine: and thereupon by and by ſet them againe to the trenches to encloſe his enemies camp, who then came out in better order then they did before. There was *Diogenes*, *Archelaus* wiues ſonne ſlaine, fighting valiantly before them all in the right wing of their battell. And the bow-men being preſſed ſo neare by the ROMAINES, that their bowes would do no good: tooke their arrowes in their handes in ſtead of ſwordes, and ſtake their enemies with them to force them to giue backe, vntill ſuch time as at the laſt they were all driuen into their camp, where they paſſed that night in great ſorrow, as well for the loſſe of them that were ſlaine, as alſo for the number of thoſe that were hurt. The next, morning, *Sylla* leading his men againe towardes the camp of his enemies, went on ſtill continuing his trenches: & certaine of them being come out to skirmiſh with them, he ſet vpon them ſo luſtely, that at the firſt charge he put them to flight. That brought ſuch a feare to all the whole camp of the enemies, that not a man durſt abide any longer: ſo as *Sylla* valiantly following on his victory, ſhuffled in among them as they fled, and in the end tooke all together. Straight way all the mariſſes were filled with bloud, and the lake full of dead bodies: ſo that vntill this preſent day they finde there in that place many bowes of the barbarous people, morians, peeces of taſſes, and ſwordes drowned in the mudde of the mariſſes, notwithſtanding that it is well neare two hundred yeares a go ſince this battell was ſtriken. And thus much for the warres about the cities of CHÆRONEA, & ORCHOMENE. Now the warres being paſt in this ſorte in GREECE, *Cinna*, and *Carbo* delt very cruelly and vnnaturally at ROME with the noble men and greateſt perſons: by reaſon whereof, many flying their tyranny, went to *Syllaes* camp, as vnto the hauen of their health and fulneſſe of felicity, ſo that in ſhort time *Sylla* had an aſſembly of a ROMAINE Senate about him. *Metella* her ſelfe, his wife, hauing ſtolen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houſes in the citie and country both were all burnt & deſtroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and helpe them that yet remained at ROME. *Sylla* vpon hearing of theſe newes, fell in great perplexitie. For on the one ſide, it grieued him to ſee his country ſo miſerably afflicted: and on the other ſide he knew not well how he might go, leauing ſo great an enterpriſe as that warre was, and eſpecially againſt a king of ſuch might and power as *Mithridates* ſhewed himſelfe to be. And being in theſe dumpes, there came one *Archelaus* a marchant to him, borne in the city of DELIVM, who brought him a ſecret meſſage from the other *Archelaus*, king *Mithridates* Lieutenant: the which pleaſed *Sylla* ſo well, that he deſired that *Archelaus* and himſelfe might meete and talke together. So at the length they met by the ſea ſide, neare vnto the city of DELIVM, where there is a temple of *Apollo*. *Archelaus* began to enter the talke with him, declaring vnto *Sylla* that he would wiſh him to leaue the conqueſt of ASIA, and of the realme of PONT, & returne into his countrey to the ciuill warres at ROME: and in ſo doing, the king would furniſh him, not onely with as much money, but with as many ſhippes and men, as he himſelfe would deſire. *Sylla* vpon this motion told him againe that he would wiſh him to forſake *Mithridates* ſeruice, and to make himſelfe king, offering to proclaime him a friend and confederate of the ROMAINES; ſo that he would deliuer him all his nauie which then he had in his power. *Archelaus* ſeemed much to abhorre to heare him ſpeake of treaſon. But *Sylla* going on with his tale, replyed againe vnto him; why *Archelaus*, ſayd he, thou that art a CAPPADOCIAN and ſeruant to a barbarous king, or his friend at the leaſt: haſt thou ſo good a hart with thee, that for all the benefites I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act? And art thou become ſo bold to ſpeake to me of treaſon, which am the ROMAINES Lieutenant generall,

Syllaes wordes to animate his ſouldiers.

Diogenes ſlaine.

Syllaes victory of Mithridates Lieutenaunts at Orchomene.

Sylla ouercame Archelaus in two famous battels at Cheronea and at Orchomene.

Talke betwixt Sylla and Archelaus at their meeting.

and *Sylla*? As if thou wert not he, that at the battell of CHÆRONEA dideſt ſaue thy ſelfe by flying, with a ſmall number left thee of ſix ſcore thouſand fighting men, which thou before haddeſt in thy camp: and that hid thy ſelfe two dayes together in the mariſſes of ORCHOMENA, leauing the fields of BŒOTIA with ſuch heapes of dead bodies, that no man could paſſe for them. After this reply, *Archelaus* altered his ſpeech, and falling downe at *Syllaes* feete, humbly beſought him to end this warre, and to make peace with *Mithridates*. Whereunto Sylla anſwered, that he was very well contented withall. And therupon peace was concluded betweene them vnder conditions: that *Mithridates* ſhould depart from ASIA the leſſe, and from PAPHLAGONIA, that he ſhould reſtore BITHYNIA vnto *Nicomedes*, & CAPPADOCIA vnto *Ariobarzanes*, that he ſhould pay two thouſand talents to the ROMAINES, and giue them three ſcore & ten gallies, with all their furniture. And vpon this, *Sylla* would alſo aſſure him the reſt of his realme: and would cauſe him to be proclaimed a friend of the ROMAINES. These articles being paſt by agreemẽt betwixt them, *Sylla* taking his iourney through THESSALIE and MACEDON into the countrey of HELLESPONT, caried *Archelaus* with him, whõ he honorably intreated. For *Archelaus* falling dangerouſly ſicke of a diſeaſe in the city of LARISSA he ſtayed there for him, and was very carefull to recouer him, as if he had bene one of his chiefeſt Captaines and companions. And this was the cauſe that made *Archelaus* to be blamed for the battell of CHÆRONIA, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor *Sylla* truly won it, but by treaſon. And againe, *Archelaus* was the more ſuſpected, becauſe *Sylla* redelyuered *Mithridates* all his ſeruants and friends which he had priſoners, ſauing the tyrant *Ariſtion* that kept ATHENS, whom he poyſoned, becauſe he was *Archelaus* enemie: but ſpecially, for landes *Sylla* gaue vnto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gaue him ten thouſand Iugera, (or acres of land) within the Ile of EVBOEA, and gaue him moreouer the title of a friend of the ROMAINES for euer. But *Sylla* denieth all theſe things in his commentaries. In the meane time Ambaſſadours came from king *Mithridates* vnto *Sylla*, who told him that the king their maſter did ratifie and accept all the articles of peace, ſauing that he onely prayed him he would not take the country of PAPHLAGONIA from him: & as for the gallies, he would not ſo much as once ſay he would promiſe them. *Sylla* being offended herewith, angerly anſwered them againe. Then *Mithridates*, as ye ſay, meaneth to keepe PAPHLAGONIA ſtill, and refuſeth to giue the ſhippes I demanded: where I looked that he would haue humbly thanked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand onely, with the which he put ſo many ROMANE citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me an other tale, if I come once into ASIA: but now at PERGAMVM, he ſpeaketh his pleaſure of this warre which he hath not ſeene. The Ambaſſadours being afrayed of his words, replyed not againe. Whereupon *Archelaus* ſpake, and beſought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hand. By intreaty in the end he obtained of *Sylla* to ſend him vnto *Mithridates*: promiſing that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles and conditions of peace that he demanded, or if he would not, he would kill himſelfe with his owne handes. Vpon this promiſe *Sylla* ſent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armie into the country of MEDICA: and after he had deſtroyed the moſt part thereof, returned backe againe into MACEDON, where *Archelaus* hauing returned from *Mithridates*, found him neare vnto the city of PHILIPPES, bringing newes that all ſhould be well, howbeit that his maiſter *Mithridates* prayed him he might ſpeake with him in any caſe. Now, the matter that made *Mithridates* ſo earneſt to ſpeake with *Sylla*, was chiefly for *Fimbria*: who hauing ſlaine *Flaccus* the Conſull, being of the contrary faction vnto *Sylla*, and certaine of *Mithridates* Lieutenants alſo, went himſelfe againſt him to fight with him. *Mithridates* fearing his comming, choſe rather to make himſelfe *Sylla* friend. So *Mithridates* and *Sylla* met together in the country of TROADE, in the city of DARDANE: *Mithridates* being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred ſaile of ſhippes with oares at ſea, with twenty thouſand footemen, ſixe thouſand horſe, and a number of armed carres with ſythes beſides by land, *Sylla* hauing onely but foure enſignes of footemen, and two hundred horſemen. *Mithridates* went to *Sylla*, and offering to take him by the hand: *Sylla* ſtayed him firſt, if he did accept the peace with the conditions which *Archelaus* had agreed vpon. *Mithridates* made him no anſwere. *Sylla* following on his tale, ſayd vnto him. It is for [illegible]

Peace concluded betwixt Sylla and Archelaus in Mithridates behalfe vpon conditions.

Archelaus ſuſpected of treaſon.

Ariſtion tyrat of Athens, poyſoned by Sylla.

Mithridates exception to the conditions.

Archelaus ſent from Sylla to Mithridates.

Sylla and Mithridates meete at Dardane.

The ſtoutneſſe of Sylla.

ſpeake firſt, that haue requeſt to make: and for conquerours, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare what they will ſay. Then began *Mithridates* to excuſe himſelfe, and to lay the occaſion of the warre, partly vpon the ordinaunce of the gods that ſo had appointed it, and partly alſo vpon the ROMAINES themſelues. Whereunto *Sylla* replyed, that he had heard of long time that *Mithridates* was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, ſeeing he lacked no comely words to cloke his foule and ſhamefull deedes, but withall he ſharpely vpbraided him, and draue him to confeſſe the cruelties he had committed. And afterwardes asked him againe, if he did count it meete that which *Archelaus* had done, *Mithridates* made anſwere that he did. Then *Sylla* ſaluted, embraced, and kiſſed him, and calling for the kings *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes*, reconciled them together, and made *Mithridates* their friend alſo. In concluſion, after *Mithridates* had deliuered *Sylla* three ſcore and ten gallies, and a hundred bowmen, he returned by ſea into his realme of PONTVS. But *Sylla* hearing that his ſouldiers were angry with his peace made with *Mithridates*, becauſe they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their moſt cruell and mortall enemy, (hauing in one ſelfe day cauſed a hundred and fifty thouſand ROMANE citizens to be ſlaine, that were diſperſed abroad in diuers places of ASIA) ſo to depart, and go his way ſafe, with the riches and ſpoyles of the countrey, which he had bereft them of, and vſed at his pleaſure, the ſpace of foure yeares together: anſwered them in excuſe of himſelfe, that he was not able to make warre with *Mithridates* & *Fimbria* both, if once they were ioyned together againſt him. And ſo *Sylla* departing thence, went againſt *Fimbria*, who then was encamped neare to the citie of THYATIRA, and lodged himſelfe as neare vnto him as he conueniently might. Now whileſt he was compaſſing in his lodging with a trench, *Fimbrias* ſouldiers came out of their camp in their coates without any armour or weapon, to ſalute *Syllaes* ſouldiers, and holpe them very friendly to make vp their trench. Which *Fimbria* ſeeing, and perceiuing his ſouldiers mindes ſo changed, of an extreme feare which he had of *Sylla*, at whoſe handes he looked for no mercy, killed himſelfe in his owne camp. *Sylla* hereupon condemned the whole country of Aſia to the ſelfe, to pay the ſumme of twenty thouſand talents amongeſt them, and preſently gaue order did many poore houſholders through his inſolent ſouldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garriſon there. For he ordained that euery houſholder ſhould giue the ſouldier that lodged in his houſe foure Tetradrachmas a day, and ſhould be bound to giue him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him) their ſupper alſo: and that euery Captaine ſhould haue fifty Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the houſe, and a garment to go abroad into the city when he thought good. When he had giuen this order, he departed from the city of EPHESVS with all his fleete, and in three dayes ſayling arriued in the hauen of Pirea at ATHENS, where he was receiued into the fraternity of the myſteries, and required for himſelfe the Librarie of *Apellicon Teian*, in the which were the moſt part of *Ariſtotles* and *Theophraſtus* workes, not then thought meete to come in euery mans handes. And they ſay, that this Librarie being brought to ROME, *Tyrannion* the Grammarian found the meanes to extract a great part of them: and that *Andronicus* the RHODIAN hauing recouered the originals into his hands, put them in print, and wrote the ſummaries which we haue at this preſent. For the ancient Peripareticke Philoſophers were of themſelues very wiſe and learned men, but they had not all *Ariſtotles* workes, nor *Theophraſtus* amongeſt them, & yet thoſe few they had, were not by them ſeene all whole and perfect together: becauſe that the bookes of *Neleus* SCEPSIAN (to whom *Theophraſtus* left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and eſtimation of them. And furthermore, *Sylla* being at ATHENS had ſuch a paine and numneſſe in his legges, and was ſo gouty withall, that *Strabo* calleth it a ſpice of the goute, that is to ſay, a feeling or entring thereof, which then began to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occaſion he tooke the ſea, and went vnto a place called ADIPSVM, where there are naturall hot bathes: and there remained a while ſolacing himſelfe all the day long with muſicke, ſeeing of playes, and entertaining ſuch kinde of people. Vpon a day as he was walking by the ſea ſide, certaine fiſher men made him a preſent of fiſh, which pleaſed him maruellous well, & demanding of them whence they were: they anſwered him againe, that they were of the citie of ALES. What? of ALES

Mithridates excuſeth himſelfe to Sylla.

Syllaes anſwere to Mithridates.

Nicomedes king of Bythinia.

Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia.

A hundred & fifty thouſand Romanes ſlaine in one day in Aſia by Mithridates commandement.

Fimbria camped at Thyatira.

Fimbria ſlain.

Sylla verie hardly intreated them of Aſia.

Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus bookes.

Sylla went to the bathes at Adipſum for the goute in his legges.

sayd he: is there any of them yet left aliue? speaking it, because that after the battell of Orchomene when he followed the chase of his enemies, he had taken and destroyed three cities of Boeotia all at one selfe time, to wit Anthedon, Larymna, and Ales. The poore silher men were so amazed with these words, that they stood still, & could not tell what to say. *Sylla* fell a laughing thereat, and bad them go their wayes a Gods name, and be not afraid: for they brought no small intercessours with them, which were worth the reckening of VVhen *Sylla* had giuen them these wordes, the Aleians went home with a merry hart, to gather themselues together againe in the city. *Sylla* so passing through Thessalia & Macedonia came to the sea side, intending to go frō the city of Dyrrachium vnto Brundusium, twelue hundred saile. The city of Apollonia is hard by Dyrrachium, and there about is a parke consecrated vnto the nymphes, where in a fayre goodly greene meadow in many places there commeth out great bubbles of fire that flame continually: and it is sayd that there was a Satyre taken sleeping, euen in the very selfe same forme the painters and image-makers haue set him out. He was brought vnto *Sylla*, and being asked by all sortes of interpreters what he was, he made no answere that a man could vnderstand: but onely put forth a sharpe voyce like the neying of a horse, or whynnying of a goate. *Sylla* wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when *Sylla* had imbarked his men to passe the sea, he was afrayed that so soone as they were landed in Italie they would shrinke from him, and euery man go home to his owne. But they sware and promised first of themselues, that they would tary and keepe together, and by their willes would not be hurt in Italie. Moreouer, perceiuing that he stood in neede of money, they offred him all theirs, and euery man to lend him as his ability serued. But *Sylla* would none, yet thanked them for their good will: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valiant souldiers, he went gainst fifteen generals of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fifty ensignes of footemen well armed, as he himselfe writeth in his commentaries. But the gods promised him good fortune in his warres, by many sundry apparant signes. For in a sacrifice he made by Tarentum, after he was come a land, the liuer of a certaine beast sacrificed, was altogether fashioned after the manner of a crown or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang red bands or rolles. And a litle before he went into Campania, neare vnto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuertheless was no matter of truth, but a vision onely that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed it selfe by litle and litle here and there in the aire, and in the end vanished quite away, as cloudes which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, *Marius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Consull, who brought two great armies against him, were ouerthrowen by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had appointed any man his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely vpon the contempt and life of his souldiers, whose good will to serue against them was such, as following the victory, he compelled the Consull *Norbanus* after he had slaine six thousand of his men, to take the citie of Capua for his refuge. This noble exploit, (as himselfe reported) was cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he saith furthermore, that in the city of Sylvium, there was a slaue of one *Pontius* a citizen, who being inspired with a propheticall spirit, came to tell him from the goddesse *Bellona*, that she should grow in strength, and cary away the victory of these warres: howbeit that if he did hye him the sooner, the Capitoll at Rome should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his words, being the sixteenth day of the month called Quintilis, & now Iuly. And furthermore also, *Lucullus* (one of *Syllaes* Captaines) being neare vnto the city of Fidentia with sixteen ensignes onely, against fifty ensignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serue, because the most part of them were naked and vnarmed, was about to hazard the battell: & as he was euen bethinking himselfe what was best to determine of, there rose a litle wind out of a goodly meadow that blew a wonderfull sort of flowers vpon the souldiers on euery part of them. These flowers stayed of themselues as they fell some vpon their targets, and others vpon their moryans, without falling to the ground.

Bubbles of fire rising out of a meadow by Dirrachium.

A Satyre taken sleeping, and brought to Sylla.

Sylla went against fifteen generals, and foure hundred and fiftie ensignes.

Syllaes returne into Italie.

Epheum mons.

Sylla ouerthrew the Consull Norbanus and Marius the younger neare to the mountaine Epheum.

A slaue foreshewed Syllaes victory, and the burning of the Capitoll which fell out truely.

A winde that blew flowers out of a meadow vpon Lucullus souldiers by the citie of Fidentia.

that it seemed to their enemies a farre off, as if they had bene garlands of flowers vpon their heads. This made *Lucullus* souldiers more lusty a great deale then they were before, and with this good will they determined to giue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they ouerthrew, slue eighteen thousand of them in the field, and tooke their camp. This *Lucullus* was brother vnto the other *Lucullus*, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings *Mithridates*, & *Tigranes*. Neuertheles, *Sylla* perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puissant armies, thought good to vse policy with force: & therefore practised with *Scipio* one of the Consuls, to make peace with him. *Scipio* was willing to it: & thereupon were oft meetings & assemblies of both sides. Now *Sylla* draue off the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasion of delay, to the end that his souldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft and subtilty as well as himselfe, might in the meane time corrupt *Scipioes* souldiers by resort into his camp: for they comming into *Scipioes* camp, being very conuersant with them, straight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, & other with fayre flattering wordes, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practise had continued a while, *Sylla* comming neare vnto *Scipioes* camp with twenty ensignes only: all his men saluted *Scipioes* souldiers, & they resaluting them againe, yeelded themselues vnto *Sylla*, so as *Scipio* was left post alone in his tente where he was taken, but they afterwardes let him go. So *Sylla* with his twenty ensignes, like vnto the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birdes into their nets, hauing gotten forty ensignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his camp. There it was that *Carbo* sayd of *Sylla*, that he had to fight with a foxe, and a lyon both: but that the foxe did him more hurt and mischiefe then the lyon. After this, *Marius* the younger hauing fourescore and fiue ensignes in his camp neare vnto the citie of Signium, presented battell vnto *Sylla*: who hauing very good desire to fight, and specially on that day, because the night before he had seene this vision in his dreame, that he thought he saw *Marius* the father (who was deceased long before) warning his sonne that he should come to him. *Sylla* for this respect desired maruellously to fight that day: and thereupon caused *Dolabella* to come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies stept between him and home, and stopped his passage to keepe him from ioyning with *Sylla*. *Syllaes* souldiers to the contrary, fought to keepe the way open for him, with so great labour and paine, that they were all wearie and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruellous great shower of raine vpon them as they were busie, opening the way, that troubled them more, then the labour they had in hand. Whereupon the priuate Captaines of the bandes went to make *Sylla* vnderstand it, and to pray him to deferre the battell vntill an other day: shewing him how the souldiers wearied with labour, lay downe vpon their targets on the ground to take their ease. *Sylla* perceiuing this, was contented withall, though greatly indeede against his will. But when he had giuen the signall to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortifie their camp: *Marius* the yonger commeth a horse backe marching brauely before all his companie, hoping to haue surprised his enemies in disorder, & by that meanes to haue ouerthrowen them easily. But farre otherwise did fortune then performe the reuelation which *Sylla* had in his foresayd dreame: for his men falling in a rage withall, left their worke in the trench where they wrought, stucke their dartes vpon the bancke, ranne vpon their enemies with their swordes drawen, and with a maruellous crie set vpon them so valiantly, that they were not able to resist their furie, but sodainly turned their backes and fled, where there was a great and notable slaughter made of them. *Marius* their Captaine fled to the citie of PRÆNESTE, where he found the gates shut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tyed about his middle, and so was triced vp by it. Yet some writers say, and *Fenestella* among other, that *Marius* neuer saw the battell: for being wearied with labour, and verie sleepie, he lay vnder some tree in the shadow to rest a litle, after he had giuen the signall and word of the battell, and slept so soundlie, that he could scant awake with the noise and fleeing of his men. *Sylla* himselfe writeth, that he lost at this battell but three and twentie men, slue twentie thousand of his enemies, and tooke eight thousand prisoners. His lieutenants also had the like good successe in other places, *Pompeius*, *Crassus*, *Metellus*, and others: which without any losse of their men, or but with a very small, ouerthrew ma-

Lucullus victorie at Tigranocerta.

Syllaes policie with Scipio.

Sylla wanne 40. ensignes from Scipio by policie.

Carbones saying of Sylla touching the foxe and lyon.

Marius the younger with 85. ensignes presenteth Sylla battell by the citie of Signium.

Syllaes vision in his dreame.

Marius fled to Praeneste.

Carbo fled into Africke.

ny great mightie armies of their enemies. In ſomuch as *Carbo*, the head and chiefe of all the contrarie faction, and he that moſt maintained it, fled one night out of his camp, and went beyond the ſeas into AFRICKE. The laſt battell that *Sylla* had, was againſt *Theleſinus* SAMNYTE, who comming like a freſh champion to ſet vpon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battels, had almoſt ſlaine him euen at ROME gates. For *Theleſinus* hauing gathered together a great number of ſouldiers with one *Lamponius* LVCANE, marched with all ſpeed towardes the city of PRÆNESTE, to deliuer *Marius* the younger that was beſieged there. But vnderſtanding that *Sylla* on the one ſide, came in great haſt alſo to meete him, and that *Pomponius* came behind him on the other ſide, and perceiuing moreouer that the way was ſo ſhut vp, that he could neither go forward nor backeward being a valiant ſouldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fieldes, moſt dangerouſly ventured to go ſtraight to ROME. And ſo ſtale away by night with all his whole power, and marching to ROME ward, had almoſt taken it at his firſt comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he ſtayed happely ten furlonges from the gate Collina, bragging with himſelfe, and beleeuing that he ſhould do wonders, for that he had mocked ſo many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came diuers young noble men and gentlemen out of the citie to skirmiſh with *Theleſinus*: who ſlue a great number of them, and among others one *Appius Claudius* a young gentleman of a noble houſe, and very honeſt. Whereupon (as you may eaſily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and ſpecially the women, who fell a ſhrecking and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, *Balbus* (whom *Sylla* had ſent) came firſt with ſeuen hundred horſe vpon the ſpurre, and ſtaying but a litle to coole and giue them breath, bridled ſtraight againe, and went to ſet vpon the enemies thereby to ſtay them. Soone after him came *Sylla* alſo, who commanded his men that came firſt, quickly to eate ſomwhat, and that done, put them ſtraight in battell ray: notwithſtanding that *Dolobella* and *Torquatus* perſwaded him to the contrary, and beſought him not to put his ſouldiers wearied with their iourney, to ſo great and manifeſt a danger, and the rather, becauſe they had not to fight with *Carbo* and *Marius*, but with the SAMNYTES and LVCANES, who were (both) warlike nations & good ſouldiers, and thoſe beſides that moſt deadly hated the ROMAINES. But for all that, *Sylla* draue them backe, and commanded his trumpets to ſound the alarome, being almoſt within foure houres of night: and this battell was ſharper and more cruell, then any other that euer he fought before. The right wing where *Craſſus* was, had the better much: but the left wing was very ſore diſtreſſed, and ſtood in great perill. *Sylla* hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vpon a white courſer that was both ſwift, and very ſtrong. The enemies knew him, and there were two that lifted vp their armes to throw their dartes at him, whom he ſaw not: but his page gaue his horſe ſuch a lafh with his whippe, that he made him ſo to gird forward, as the very points of the dartes ſtuck hard by the horſe tayle, and ſtucke faſt in the ground. Some ſay that *Sylla* had a litle golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from the city of DELPHES, and in time of warres wore alwayes in his boſome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kiſsing it, ſaid: O *Apollo* Pythian haſt thou ſo highly exalted *Cornelius Sylla*, ſo fortunate hitherto through ſo many famous victories, and wilt thou now with ſhame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his owne naturall city among his country men? And ſo crying out to *Apollo* for helpe, thruſt into the preaſe among his men, intreating ſome, threatning others, and laying vpon the reſt to ſtay them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his armie was broken and ouerthrowen by his enemies: and himſelfe amongeſt them that fled, was compelled to recoure his camp with ſpeede, hauing loſt many of his friendes and familiars. There were moreouer many citizens ſlaine and troden vnder feete (both with horſe and men) that came onely to ſee the battell fought: ſo that they within the citie thought themſelues vtterly vndone. *Lucretius Oſfella* furthermore (he that Beſieged *Marius* in the citie of PRÆNESTE) had almoſt raiſed his ſiege, vpon the wordes of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who willed him to remoue with all ſpeed poſsible, for *Sylla* was ſlaine, and *Theleſinus* had taken ROME. But about midnight came certaine ſouldiers from *Craſſus* to *Syllaes* camp, and asked for meate for *Craſſus* ſupper, and his mens, who hauing chaſed his flying enemies whom he had

Theleſinus the Samnyte put Sylla in great danger.

Syllaes danger.

Sylla fled Lucretius Oſfella beſieged Marius in Praneſte. In the end of Marius life it is reported contrarie, that Sylla beſieged Marius the younger in Perusia, and not in Praneſte.

throwen

throwne, vnto the city of ANTEMNA (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. *Sylla* vnderstanding that, and being aduertised that the most parte of his enemies were ouerthrowne at this battell, went himself the next morning betimes vnto ANTEMNA, where three thousand of his enemies sent to know if he would receiue them to mercy, if they yeelded themselues vnto him. His answer was, that he would pardon their liues, so as they would doe some mischiefe to their fellowes before they came to him. These three thousand hereupon truly to his promise, fell vpon their companions: and for the most part one of them killed an other. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* hauing gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thousand, as the rest, amounting in all to the number of six thousand men, within the shew-place where they vsed to run their horses: whilest he himselfe held a councell in the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, and was making his oration there, he had appointed certaine to set vpon those six thousand, and put them to the sword euery man. Great & horrible were the cries of such a number of men slaine in so small a roome, as many may easily coniecture in so much as the Senators sitting in councell heard them very easily, and maruelled what the matter was. But *Sylla* continuing on his oration which he had begun with a set steadie countenance, without changing of colour, willed them only to hearken what he said, and not to trouble themselues with any thing done abroade: for they were but certaine offenders and lewd persons that were punished by his commandement. This was enough to shew the simple ROMAINE in ROME, that they had but only changed the tyrant, but not the tyranny. Now for *Marius*, that had bene euer of a churlish and seuere nature euen from his childhood, he neuer changed for any authority, but did rather harden his naturall stubbornesse. Where *Sylla* contrarily in the beginning, was very modest and ciuil in all his prosperity, & gaue great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauour nobility well, and yet not withstanding the benefit of the people. And being moreouer a man in his youth giuē to pleasure, delighting to laugh, ready to pity, and weepe for tender heart: in that he became after so cruell and bloody, the great alteration gaue manifest cause to condemne the increase of honour and authority, as the onely meanes whereby mens manners continue not such as they were at the first, but still do change and vary, making some fooles, others vaine and fantasticall, others extreame cruell and vnnaturall. But whether that alteration of nature came by chāging his state & condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to shew it selfe, when the way of liberty was laide open: this matter is to be treated in some other treatise. So it came to passe, that *Sylla* fel to shedding of bloud, & filled all Rome with infinite & vnspeakable murthers: for diuers were killed for priuate quarrels, that had nothing to do with *Sylla* at any time, who suffred his friends & those about him to worke their wicked wils. Vntill at the length there was a young man called *Caius Metellus*, that was bold to aske *Sylla* in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should know that all the mischiefes were finished, the which they daily saw. For said he, we will not pray you to pardon life, where you haue threatned death: but only to put them out of doubt whom you haue determined to saue. Wherunto *Sylla* made answer, that he was not resolued whom he would saue. *Metellus* replied, then tell vs quoth he, who they are that shall die. *Sylla* answered he would. Howbeit some say it was not *Metellus*, but *Ausidius* one of his flatterers, that spake this last word vnto him. Wherefore *Sylla* immediatly without making any of the Senate priuy, caused fourescore mens names to be set vp vpon posts, whom he would put to death. Euery man being offended withall, the next day following he set vp 220 mens names more: and likewise the third day as many more. Hereupon, making an oration to the people, he told them openly that he had appointed all them to die, that he could call to remembrance: but that hereafter he would appoint them that should die by daies, as he did call them to mind. Whosoeuer saued an outlaw in his house, for rewarde of his kindenesse, he himselfe was condemned to die: not excepting them that had receiued their brothers, their sonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the rewarde of euery homicide and murtherer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talents: though it were a slaue that had killed his maister, or the sonne that had slaine the father. But the most wicked & vniust act of all was, that he depriued the children, and sonnes sonnes of them whom he had killed, of all credit & good name, & besides

3000. *saued themselues in Antemna: & yeelded to Sylla vpon promise of life.*

Sylla against the law of armes and his promise, caused fiue thousand men to be slain.

Honor changeth cōditions. Sylla the example.

Infinite murthers committed in Rome by Sylla and his fauorers.

The boldnesse of Caius Metellus, to tell Sylla his cruelties in open Senate.

Syllaes proscription.

that had taken all their goods as confiscate. And this was not only done in ROME, but also in all the cities of ITALIE through out: & there was no temple of any god whatsoeuer, no house in any bodies house, no liberty of hospitall, nor fathers house, that was not embrued with bloud and horrible murther. For the husbands were slaine in their wiues armes, and the children on their mothers laps: and yet they which were slaine for priuate hatred & malice, were nothing in respect of those that were murthered onely for their goods. And they that killed them might well say, his goodly great house made that man die, his goodly faire garden another: & his hotte bathes an other. As amongst others, *Quintus Aurelius*, a man that neuer meddled with any thing, and least looked that these euils should light vpon him, and that only for those which he saw so miserably murthered: went one day into the market place, & read the bill set vp of the outlawes names, found his owne name amongst the rest, and cried out aloude: alas the day that euer I was borne, my house of ALBA maketh me to be put to death. He went not farre from the market place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meane time, *Marius* the yonger seeing he could by no means escape if he were taken, slue himselfe. And *Sylla* comming to PRÆNESTE, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping certaine forme of iustice in putting them to death: but afterwards as if he had no longer assure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of two thousand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword euery man, sauing his hoast only, whom he said, that he shewed him specially fauour to saue his life. But his hoast answered him stoutly againe, that he would not be beholding vnto him for his life, seeing he had slaine all the rest of his countrimen: and so thrusting in amongst the citizens, was willingly slaine with them. They thought the act of *Lucius Catiline* also very strange, who had slaine his owne brother before the ciuill warre was ended: and then praied *Sylla* to put him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene aliue. *Sylla* performed his desire. *Catiline* thereupon to shew his thankefulnesse for the pleasure *Sylla* had done him, went presently, and slue *Marius*, who was of the contrary faction: and brought him his head for a present before the people, in the middest of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went & washed his hands all bloudied in the hallowed fonte of the temple of *Apollo*, that was hard by. But besides so many murthers committed, yet were there other things also that displeased the people maruellously. For he proclaimed himselfe Dictator, which office had not been of fiuescore yeares before in vse, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, and gaue him free liberty afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goods: to build cities, and to build vp new as he listed: to take away kingdomes, and to giue them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly solde the goods confiscate, by the crier, sitting proudly and stately in his chaire of state, that it grieued the people more to see those goods packt vp by them, to whome he gaue and disposed them, then to see them taken from those that had forfeited them. For somtimes he would giue a whole country, or the whole territorie of certaine cities, vnto women for their beauty, or vnto pleasant iesters, minstrels, or vnto slaues made free: and vnto some, he would giue other mens wiues by force, and make them to be married against their willes. For he desiring (howsoeuer it happened) to make alliance with *Pompey* the great, commaunded him to put away his wife he had maried: and to take *Æmylia* (the daughter of *Æmylius Scaurus*, & of *Metella* his wife) from the great *Glabrio*, and caused him to mary her great with childe as she was by *Glabrio*: but she died in childbed in *Pompeyes* house. *Lucretius Offella* also that had brought *Marius* the younger to that distresse in the city of PRÆNESTE: suing to be Consull, *Sylla* commanded him to cease his sute. But he notwithstanding that expresse commaundement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that fauoured his cause. Whither *Sylla* sent one of his Centurions that slue *Offella* before all the people: himselfe sitting in a chaire of estate in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and seeing from aboue the murther done. The people that were about *Offella*, laid hold of the murtherer straight & brought him before *Sylla*. But *Sylla* bad them be quiet that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him go, because he commaunded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumphe, it was a sumptuous thing to behold, for the rarenesse of the riches, and princely spoiles which were shewed at the

The murther of outlawes generall through Italy.

Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man that medled not, slaine for his house.

Marius the younger slue himselfe at Prænestе.

Sylla slue 12. thousand men in Prænestе, being put all into one place together.

Lucius Catilina slue his owne brother.

Sylla Dictator.

Lucretius Offella slaine.

yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the banished ROMAINES, who were the chiefest noble men of all the city of ROME, following his chariot triumphant, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, calling *Sylla* their father, and sauiour: because that by his meanes they returned to their countrie, and recouered their goods, wiues, & children. At the end of his triumphe, he made an oration in open assembly of the people of ROME, in the which he did not only declare vnto them (according to the custome) what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe, as of his valiant deeds besides: and to conclude his oration, tolde them that by reason of the great fauour that Fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, *Felix*, to say, happy, or fortunate. And he himselfe, when he wrote vnto the GRECIANS, or that he had any thing to do with them: surnamed himselfe *Epaphroditus*, as who would say, a pleasant man, beloued and fauoured of *Venus*. His tokens of triumphe which are yet in our countrie, haue this superscription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife *Metella* had brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter: he named his sonne *Faustus*, signifying fortunate, and his daughter *Fausta*: because the ROMAINES call Faustum that, which falleth out prosperously, and happely. To be short, he trusted so much vnto his good fortune and doings, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a change and innouation in the commonwealth: yet of himselfe he left off his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consuls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a priuate man among the citizens, offering him also to euery man that would aske him account of his doings past. It happened that a stoute man of the enemy of his was chosen Consull against his will, called *Marcus Lepidus*, not for any deuotion the people had to *Lepidus*, but onely to gratifie *Pompey*, who gaue countenance and fauour vnto him. *Sylla* seeing *Pompey* come merry homewards from the election, & ioyfull that he had obtained his friends suite from all other suters: tooke him a side, and told him: I do see thou hast great cause to reioyce, young man my friend, for thou hast done a goodly deede to choose *Marcus Lepidus* Consull, the veriest asse in all ROME, before *Catulus* the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou hadst not needed to sleepe: for thou hast strengthened a tyrant, that will be thine owne destruction. And *Sylla* proued a true prophet: for *Lepidus* being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flatly fell at defiance with *Pompey*. Now *Sylla* hauing the dismes of all his goods vnto *Hercules*, made exceeding sumptuous feasts vnto the ROMAINES: the prouision whereof was so vnreasonable great, that euery day they threw great deale of meate into the riuer, and they dranke wine of forty yeares olde and aboue. During these feasts which continued many dayes, his wife *Metella* sickened, and died, and in her sickenesse the Priests and Soothsayers willed *Sylla* he should not come neere her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon *Sylla* was separated from her in her sickenesse, and caused her to be caried into an other house, whilest she died. And thus did *Sylla* curiously obserue the superstition and ordinance of the soothsayers: but he brake the law which he made himselfe, touching the order of funerals, sparing no man in *Metellaes* buriall. So did he also breake an other order himselfe had made, touching the reformation of banckets: comforting his sorrow with ordinary feasts, full of all vanitie and licentiousnesse. Within a fewe moneths after, he had fensers games at the sharpe: and the seates of the Theater being open and vncouered, men and women sitting together, it fortuned there was a faire Lady, and of a noble house, that sat hard by *Sylla*, called *Valeria*: she was the daughter of *Messala*, and sister of *Hortensius* the orator, and had bene diuorced not long before from her husband. This Lady passing by *Sylla* behinde him, did softly put her hand on his shoulder, and tooke a haire from off his gowne, and so went on to her place, and sate her downe. *Sylla* maruelling at this familiarity, looked earnestly vpon her: it is nothing (quoth she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a litle of your happinesse. Her boldnesse misliked not *Sylla*, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them: for he straight way began to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had liued. And many suche like words passed betweene them, they turned their faces one to another vpon euery occasion, with prety smiling countenances: so that in the end, they came to promise and

The order of Syllaes triumphe.

Syllaes twinnes, named Faustus and Fausta.

Sylla leaueth his Dictatorship.

Marcus Lepidus chosen Consull.

Sylla feasted the people.

Wine of fortie yeares olde and vpward.

Sylla breaketh his owne lawes made.

Valeria, desirous to be partaker of Syllaes happinesse.

Sylla maried Valeria, the sister of Hortensius the Orator.

contract mariage together, for the which *Valeria* was not to be blamed. For though she was as wise, as honest, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made Sylla marry her, was neither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with a louely and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest passions of the minde, to be so caried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this faire young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women minstrels & tumblers, and to haue pleasant iesters and musitians about him, with whom he would lie wallowing & drinking all the day long, vpon litle couches made for the nonce. For, his companions that were in greatest estimation with him at that time, were these three: *Roscius* a maker of common playes, *Sorex* a prince of scoffers, & one *Metrobius* a singing man, whom he was in loue withall while he liued, & yet did not dissemble his loue, though he was past age to be beloued. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the originall cause whereof had light foundation at the first. For he liued a great time before he perceiued that he had an impostume in his body, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his flesh in such sort, that it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him continually night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that multiplied still vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate selfe, but was presently filled with swarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the bathe to washe and clense himselfe of them, but all would not serue: for the changing of his flesh into this putriture wan it straight againe, that there was no clensing, nor shifting of him, that could keepe such a number of lice from him. Some say, that in olde time (amongst the most ancientest men, whereof there is any memorie) *Acastus* the sonne of *Pelias*, died of the lowsie euill: and long time after also, the Poet *Aleman*, and *Pherecides* the Diuine: and so did *Callisthenes* OLYNTHIAN in prison, and *Mutina* a wise lawier. And if we shall make mention of those that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter, we find that a bonde man called *Eunus*, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmen in SICILIA, being taken and caried to ROME, died also of the same disease. Furthermore, Sylla did not onely foresee his death, but he wrote some thing of it also: for he made an end of writing the two & twentith booke of his commentaries, two daies before he died. In that booke he saith, that the wise men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had liued honourably, he should end his daies in the flower of all his prosperitie. And there he setteth down that his sonne (who departed a litle before his mother *Metella*) appeared to him in his sleepe apparelled in an ill fauoured gowne, and that comming vnto him, he prayed him he would go with him vnto *Metella* his mother, thenceforth to liue in peace and rest with her, and all his disease, he would not giue ouer to deale in matters of state. For ten dayes before his death, he pacified a sedition, and tumult, risen among the inhabitants of the city of PLANVM (in Italian called POZZOLO) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinances, how they should gouerne themselues. And the day before he died, hearing that *Granius* was in debt to the commonwealth, deferred paiment of his money looking for his debtor for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to trouble him about, and commanded them to strangle him in his sight. The passion of his anger was so vehement against him, that by the extreame straining of himselfe, he brake the impostume of his body, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of bloud: by reason whereof his stomacke failing him, he was full of paine and pangs that night, and so died, leauing the two litle children he had by *Metella*. For *Valeria*, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, and was called *Posthumia*, because the ROMAINES call those children that are borne after the death of their fathers, *Posthumi*. Now when *Sylla* was dead, many gathered about the Consuls *Dues* to let that his body should not be honorably buried, as they were accustomed to be the bodies of Noblemen & men of quality. But *Pompey*, though he was angry with *Sylla*, because he had left him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other friends: yet he made some to speake for him, some by intreaty, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corps through ROME, gaue both safety and honor vnto the performance of his funerals. And it is said that the ROMAINE Ladies, amongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfumes and odors

Sylla impostume turned to lice.

Diuers famous men that died of lyce.

Syllaes commentaries containe 22 bookes.

Syllaes sonne that was dead appeared to him in his dreame in ill fauored apparell.

Granius strangled in Syllaes sight by his owne commandement.

Syllaes death.

Posthumi.

Syllaes funerailes.

odoriferous matter towards the same: that besides those which were brought in two hundred and ten great baskets, they made a great image to the likenesse of *Sylla* himselfe, and another of a sergeant carying the axes before him, all of excellent incence and synamon. When the day of the funerals came, fearing least it would raine in the forenoone, all the element being so cloudie, they deferred to cary forth the body to be burnt, vntill past three of the clocke in the afternoone. And then rose there such a sodaine boisterous winde, that it set all the stake of wood straight a fire, that the body was burnt at a trice, and the fire going out, fell a great shower of raine that held on till night: so that it seemed good fortune following him euen to his ende, did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His tombe is to be seene in the fielde of *Marte*: and they say that he himselfe made his owne epitaphe that is written vpon it, which was: that no man did euer passe him, neither in doing good to his friends, nor in doing mischiefe to his enemies. *Syllaes epitaphe.*

THE COMPARISON OF *Sylla with Lysander.*

NOw that we haue at large also set forth the life of the ROMAINS, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both a like, that both of them grew to be great men, rising of themselues through their owne vertue: but this onely is proper to *Lysander*, that all the offices and dignities which he attained vnto in the commonwealth, were laide vpon him through the peoples good wills and consents. For he compelled them to nothing, neither vsurped he any extraordinarie authoritie vpon them, contrary to lawe: for, as the common saying is:

Where partialitie, and discorde once do raigne:
There wicked men are most esteemde, and rule with greatest gaine.

For at that time in ROME, the people being corrupted, and the state of gouernment vtterly ruined and brought to nought: to day there rose vp one tyrant, to morow an other. And therefore we may not wonder if *Sylla* vsurped and ruled all, when such fellowes as *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*, did both banish & driue out of ROME such men as *Metellus* was: and where also the assembly they slue Consuls sonnes in the market place, and where force of armes was bought & sold for gold and siluer, with the which the soldiers were corrupted: & where they made new lawes with fire and sword, and forced men to obey the same. Yet I speake not this in reproache of him that in such troublesome times founde meanes to make himselfe the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity he grew vnto in so vnfortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came fro SPARTA *The chiefe person is not alwaies the honestest.*

(at what time it florished most, and was the best gouerned commonweale) he in all great causes, and in most honourable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of all chiefes. Wherefore it happened, that the one resigned vp the authoritie to his countrimen the citizens, which they had giuen him, who also restored it to him againe many and sundry times: for the honour of his vertue did alwaies remaine, and made him iustly accounted for the worthiest man. Where the other being once onely chosen generall of an armie, remained ten yeares continually in warres and hostilitie, making himselfe by force, sometime Consull, sometime vice Consull, and sometime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyrant. In deede *Lysander* attempted to change, and alter the state of gouernment in his countrie, howbeit it was with greater lenity, & more lawfully then *Sylla* did. For he sought it by reason, and good persuasion, not by the sworde: neither would he make a change of the whole at one selfe time as *Sylla* did, but sought only to reforme the election of kings. The which thing according to nature, doubtlesse seemed very iust: that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen king of that citie, which was the chiefe ouer all GREECE, not for her nobilitie, but for her vertue onely. For like as a good hunter doth not seeke for the whelpe of a good dog, but for the good dogge himselfe: nor a wise man of armes also, the colte that commeth of a good horse, but the good horse himselfe: Euen so, he that taketh vpon him to stablish a ciuil gouernment, committeth a fowle fault, if he looke of whom his Prince should be borne, and not what the Prince himselfe should be, considering that the LACEDÆMONIANS themselues haue depriued diuerse of their kings from their crowne and realme, because they were not Princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it alwaies ill of it selfe: but vertue is honoured for her selfe alone, and not because she is placed with nobility. Nowe for the wrongs and iniuries they both committed, the one did worke onely to pleasure his friends, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine that *Lysander* did great wrongs to gratifie his familiars: and the most parte of them whom he put to death, was to establish the tyrannicall power of certaine his friends. Where *Sylla* sought for fight to take away his army from *Pompey*, and the Admiralty from *Dolobella* which he himselfe had giuen, & caused *Lucretius Offella* to be slaine openly in his owne sight because he sought to be Consull, for recompence of the good seruice he had done: for with the cruelty of his causing his owne friends to be slaine in such sort, he made euery man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behauiours touching couetousnesse and pleasure doth shew, that the intent of the one was the desire of a good Prince, and the other, that of a tyrant. For we do not finde that *Lysander* for all his great Princely authority, did euer vse any insolencie or lasciuiousnesse in his deedes, but alwaies auoided as much as a man might, the reproache of the common proper be: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroade: he led such a true LACONIAN life. Straightly reformed in all points. Where *Sylla* could neuer moderate his vnlawfull lusts neither for pouerty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came vpon him. But whilest he gaue lawes to the ROMAINES touching matrimoniall honestie and chastitie: himselfe in the meane time did nothing but follow loue, and commit adulteries, as *Salust* writeth. By meanes whereof he so much impouerished ROME, and left it so voide of golde and siluer: that for all die money he sold absolute freedome vnto the cities their confederats, yet was it his daylie die to confiscate and take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthiest houses in all the whole tie of ROME. But all this spoile and hauock was nothing in comparison of that which he lauishly cast away vpon his iesters and flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we thinke he had in his gifts at priuate banckets: when openly in the day time (all the people of ROME present, to see him sell the goods which he had caused to be confiscate) he made open sale to friends and familiars, to russe vp a great deale of household stuffe, for a very little price: and when any other had out bidden his price, and that the crier had cried it out aloude: then he was angry, & said: My friends, I haue great wrong done me here, not to suffer me sell the goods which I haue gotten at mine owne pleasure, and dispose it as I list my selfe. Where *Lysander* contrarily sent to the commonwealth of SPARTA, with other money, the very presents that were giuen to himselfe. And yet I do not commend him in that deed. For, peraduenture he did more hurte to SPARTA, bringing thither that golde and siluer; then *Sylla* did to ROME, in wasting

Lysanders & Syllaes faults.

Lysanders temperance and moderate life.

Syllaes licentious and prodigall life.

Syllaes tyrannicall saying.

and consuming that he consumed. Howbeit I alledge this onely, for proofe and declaration that *Lysander* was nothing couetous. They both haue done that vnto their city, which neuer any other but them selues did. For *Sylla* being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithstanding to good order and gouernment: and *Lysander* contrarily filled his city with vice, yet not infected withall him selfe. Thus were they both offendors, the one for breaking the law he commaunded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worse then he was him selfe: for he taught the SPARTANS to desire those things, which he aboue all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and ciuill gouernment. Now for matters of warre and battels fought, there is no comparison to be made of *Lysander* to *Sylla*, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For *Lysander* wan onely but two battels by sea, besides the taking of the city of ATHENS: which (though I graunt him) being rightly considered, was no great exploite of war, howbeit it was a noble act, considering the fame he wanne by it. And as for things which happened to him in BOEOTIA, hard by the city of ALIARTE: a man might say peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinks also there was a fault in him, for that he staied not for king *Pausanias* aide (the which came from PLATEES immediatly after his ouerthrow) and because he went in a gaire in fury, and in a vaine ambition to runne his head against a wall: so that men of all sortes making a desperate saly out of ALIARTE vpon him, slue him there to no purpose. Farre vnlike to *Cleombrotus* that dyed at the battell of LEVCTRES, resisting his enemies that distressed his men: nor yet like *Cyrus*, nor *Epaminondas*, who to keepe his men from flying, and to giue them assured victory, receiued his deadly wound: for all these men died like noble kings, and valiant Captaines. Where *Lysander* rashly cast him selfe away, to his great dishonour, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the auncient SPARTANS did like wise men, to auoide the fight with walles. For the noblest and valiantest man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slaine, not onely by the first souldier that commeth, but by euery seely woman or childe. As they say that the worthy *Achilles* was killed by *Paris* within the very gates of TROIA. Now to the contrary again, the victories that *Sylla* wanne in set battels, and the thousandes of enemies which he slue, are not easily to be numbred, besides also that he tooke the city of ROME twise, and the hauen of ATHENS: not by famine as *Lysander* did, but by force, after he had by many great battels driuen *Archelaus* out of firme land into the maine sea. It is to be considered also, against what Captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a pastime, as a man might say, for *Lysander* to fight with *Antiochus*, a pylot of *Alcibiades*, or to surprise and deceiue *Philocles*, a common orator at ATHENS:

Much worse then two edged sword, his busie tongue did seeme:
Which pratled still, and honestly did neuer once esteeme.

And whom *Mithridates* (in my opinion) would not vouchsafe to compare with his horsekeeper, nor *Marius* with one of his sergeaunts or masebearers. But to leaue a side the particular matters of all other Princes, Lordes, Consuls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernours that made wars with *Sylla*: what ROMAINE Captaine was there more to be feared, then *Marius*? what king liuing was there of such power as king *Mithridates*? And of Generals and Lieutenantes of armies in all ITALY, were there any euer more valiant, then *Lamponius* and *Thesaurus*: of the which *Sylla* draue the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and slue the two last? But the greatest matter of all that we haue spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that *Lysander* did all his noble actes, with the aide of his whole countrey: where *Sylla* to the contrary did his (being banished from his country) by his enemies. And at the selfe same time that they chased *Sylla* wife out of ROME, that they ouerthrew his houses, and slue his friendes also in euery place: he notwithstanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thousandes of fighting men in BOEOTIA, and ventred his person in manifold dangers, so that in the end he conquered the all to the honor and benefit of his country. Furthermore, *Sylla* would neuer stoupe to king *Mithridates*, for any particular alliance he offred him, neither yeelde vnto him for any aide of men, or money, to warre against his enemies: but a thing most chiefly to be noted aboue the rest, he would not vouchsafe to speake to *Mithridates*, nor to take him by the hand openly, before he had spoken it with his owne mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would

Sylla for wars to be preferred before Lysander.

Sylla fought with men of greatest power and ouercame them.

Syllaes magnanimity.

forgoe ASIA, deliuer him his gallies, and giue vp the realmes of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA vnto their naturall kings. This me thinkes was the goodliest act that euer *Sylla* did, proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to haue preferred the benefite of the common weale in that sort, before his priuate commodity. For therein he was like vnto a good greyhound that first pincheth the Deare, and holdeth him fast til he haue ouerthrowen him: & then afterwards followeth the recouery of his owne priuate quarrell. And lastly, me thinkes it is easie iudged, what difference there was betweene their two natures, in that they did both towards the city of ATHENS. For *Sylla* hauing taken it, after the citizens had made fierce warres with him for the increase of king *Mithridates* greatnes: yet he left it free vnto them, enioying their owne lawes. Where *Lysander* to the contrary, seeing such a mighty state and Empire ouerthrowen from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the liberty of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before: and established therein very cruell and wicked tyrants. And therefore in mine opinion, we shall not much swerue from the troth, if we giue this iudgement: that *Sylla* did the greater acts, and *Lysander* committed the fewer faultes. And that we giue to the one the honor of a continent and modest man, and to the other, the commendation of a valiant and skilfull souldier.

Plutarkes iudgement of Sylla and Lysander.

THE LIFE OF *Cimon.*

Peripoltas and his posterity.

PEripoltas the Soothsaier, he that brought king *Opheltas* out of THESALY into the coūtry of BOEOTIA, with the people which were vnder his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time flourished in that country, the more part of the which were euer resident in the city of CHÆRONEA, because it was the first city that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expulsed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great courage, and naturally giuen to the warres: who were so forward and aduenturous in all dangers thereof (in the inuasions of the MEDES into GREECE, and in the battels of the GAVLES) that they were slaine all of them, but onely *Damon* (a litle childe left behind

fatherlesse and motherlesse) surnamed *Peripolæa* that escaped, who for goodly personage and noble courage excelled all the lusty youthes of his time, though otherwise he was very rude, and of a seuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when *Damon* was growen of full age, a ROMAINE Captaine of an ensigne of footemen (lying in garrison for the winter season in the city of CHÆRONEA) fell in great loue with *Damon*: and because he could not reape the fruites of his dishoneſt loue by no intreaty nor giftes, there appeared vehement presumptions that by force he went about to abuse him, for that CHÆRONEA at that time (being my naturall city where I was borne) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) litle regarded. *Damon* mistrusting the Captains villainy, and detesting his abhominable desire, watched him a conuenient turne, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, because he might the more secretly compasse his enterprise) to bee a counsell with him, and take his part against the Captain. Now there were a sixteene of them in consort together, that one night blacked their faces all with soote, and the next morning after they had drunke together, by the breake of day set vpon this ROMAINE Captaine, that was making sacrifice in the market place, and slue him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the city, which was straight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereuppon they called a councell, and in the market place condemned *Damon* and his confederates to suffer paines of death: hoping thereby to haue cleared their innocency for the fact done to the ROMAINS. But the selfe same night, as all the magistrates and officers of the city were at supper together in the towne-house according to their custome: *Damon* and his followers stale vpon them sodainly, slue them all, and fled againe vpon it. It chaunced about that time, that *Lucius Lucullus* being sent on some iourney, passed by the city of CHÆRONEA with his army: and because this murther was but newly done, he staied there a few daies to examine the troth and originall thereof. And found that the commons of the city were in no fault, but that they themselues also had receiued hurt: whereupon he tooke the souldiers of the ROMAINS that remained of the garrison, and caried them away with him. In the meane time, *Damon* destroied all the country thereabout, and still houered neare to the city, insomuch as the inhabitantes of the same were driuen in the end to send vnto him, and by gentle words & fauorable degrees handled him so, that they intised him to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongest them, they chose him Gymnasiarchus to say, a master of exercises of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oile in his stoue or hotte house, starke naked as he was, they slue him by treason. And because that there appeared spirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard groanings and sighings as our fathers tolde vs, they caused the dore of the hot-house to be walled vp: yet for all that, there are visions seene, and terrible voyces and cries heard in that selfe place vnto this present time, as the neighbours dwelling by doe testifie. Now they that were descended of this *Damon* (for there are yet of his race in the country of PHOCIDES, near vnto the city of STIRIS, who do only of all other both keepe the language and manners of the ATHENIANS) are called ASBOLOMENI, signifying blacke, and besmered with soote: because when *Damon* and his fellowes did blacke their faces with soote, when they slue the ROMAINE Captaine. But the ORCHOMENIANS being neare neighbors vnto the CHÆRONEIANS, and therefore their enemies, hiered an informer of ROME, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole city, (as if it had bene one priuate person alone) for the murther of the ROMAINES, whom *Damon* and his companions had slaine. The inditement was drawen, and the case pleaded before the gouernor of MACEDON, for that the ROMAINES did send no gouernors at that time into GREECE: and the counsellers that pleaded for the city of CHÆRONEA, relied vpon the testimony of *Lucius Lucullus*, referring themselues to his report, who knew the troth and how it was. Thereuppon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and *Lucullus* in his letter of answer auerred the very troth: so was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stoode in danger of vtter destruction. The inhabitants of the city of CHÆRONEA, for that they had escaped the danger by testimony of *Lucius Lucullus*, to honor him withall, they set vp his image of stone in the market place, next vnto the image of *Bacchus*. And we also that be liuing at this present, though many yeares be gone and passed since, doe notwithstanding reckon our selues debters of his forepassed benefite. And because we are perswaded, that the image and por-

The manners and lewd parts of Damon Peripolæa.

Lucius Lucullus examineth the truth of the murther.

Damon slaine by treason.

Asbolomeni, who they were, and why so called.

Cheronea indited for the murther.

Lucullus called for a witnesse of the troth.

History, is a certaine image of mens manners and wisdome.

traiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and conditions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that representeth any mans person or shape onely: we will compre his life and doings according to the troth, in this volume of noble mens liues, where we compare and sort them one with an other. It shall be sufficient for vs therefore, that we shew our selues thankfull for his benefit, and we thinke, that he him selfe would mislike for reward of his true testimony, to be requited with a fauorable lie told in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a passing faire face drawen, and liuely counterfeated, and that hath a excellent good grace withall, yet some manner of bleamish or imperfection in it: we will not allow the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curiously to shew it, because the one would deforme the counterfeate, and the other make it very vnlikely. Euen so, because it is a hard thing (or to say better, peraduenture impossible) to describe a man, whose life should altogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first study to write his vertues at large, and then by seeke perfectly to represent the troth, euen as the life it selfe. But where by chance we find certaine faultes and errors in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the minde, by necessity of the time or state of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednesse proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we shall not neede too curiously to expresse in our history, but rather to passe them lightly ouer, of reuerent shame to the meere fraylty of mans nature, which cannot bring foorth a man of such vertue and perfection, but there is euer some imperfection in him. And therefore, considering with my selfe vnto whom I might compare *Lucullus*, I thought it best to compare him with *Cimon*, because they haue beene both valiant souldiers against their enemies, hauing both done notable exploites in warres against the barbarous people: and moreouer, they haue both beene curteous and mercifull vnto their citizens, and were both the onely men that pacified the ciuill wars and dissention in their countrey, & both the one and the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was neuer GRECIAN Captaine before *Cimon*, nor ROMAINE Captaine before *Lucullus*, that made wars so far off from their countrey leauing apart the deedes of *Bacchus* and of *Hercules* and the deedes also of *Perseus* against the AETHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS and the deedes of *Iason* also: if there remaine any monument extant since their time, worthy of credit in these our daies. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that they neuer ended their warres, they onely ouerthrew their enemies, but neuer ouercame them together. Againe, they may note in them a great resemblaunce of nature, for their honest curtesie and humanity, which they shewed vnto straungers in their countrey: and for their magnificence and sumptuousnes of their life and ordinary expence. It may be we doe leaue some other similitudes betweene them: howbeit in the discourse of their liues they will appeare. *Cimon* was the son of *Miltiades* and of *Hegesipyle*, a THRACIAN woman borne the daughter of king *Olorus*, as we finde written in certaine poetical verses which *Melanthius* and *Archelaus* haue written of *Cimon*. The father of *Thucydides* the historiographer him selfe who was of kinne also vnto *Cimon*, was called in like maner *Olorus*, shewing by the agreement of the name, that this king *Olorus* was one of his auncesters, and did also possesse much gold in the countrey of THRACIA. It is said moreouer that he died in a certaine place called the dirchy forrest, where he was slaine: howbeit that his ashes and bones were caried into the countrey of ATTICA, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, among st the tombes of those of the house and family of *Cimon*, neare vnto the tombe of *Cimons* owne sister called *Elpinice*. Notwithstanding, *Thucydides* was of the village of ALIMVS, and *Miltiades* of the village of LACIA. This *Miltiades* *Cimons* father, being condemned by the state to pay the summe of fifty talents, was for non payment cast into prison, and there died: and left *Cimon* and his sister *Elpinice* aliue, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, *Cimon* in his first young yeares had a very ill name and report in the city, being counted a riotous young man, and a great drunkard following his grandfather *Cimons* fashions vp and downe, as he had also his name: saying that his grandfather for his beastlines was surnamed *Coalemos*, as much to say as foole. *Stesimbrotus* THASIAN, who was about *Cimons* time, writeth, that *Cimon* neuer learned musicke, nor any other of the liberall sciences accustomably taught to young noble mens sonnes of GRECE,

A prety similitude.

How to describe the life of a man.

Cimon, & Lucullus in what thinges they were alike.

Cimons linage.

Thucydides linage.

Miltiades died in prison.

Cimon defamed in his youth.

Coalemos, foole.

and

and that he had no sharpe wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper vnto children born in the countrey of ATTICA: howbeit that hee was of a noble minde, and plaine, without dissimulation, so that he rather liued PELOPONNESIAN like, then like an ATHENIAN. For he was euen such as the Poet *Euripides* described *Hercules* to be. *Cimons* conditions.

A simple man he was, and could not well disguise
As honest eke in things of weight, as wit could well deuise.

This serued fitly to be applied vnto *Stesimbrotus* wordes written of him: but notwithstanding, in his first young yeares he was suspected of incontinency with his sister, who in deede otherwise had no very good name. For she was very familiar with the painter *Polygnotus*, who painting the TROIAN Ladies prisoners vpon the wals of the gallery, called the Pleasaunce, and now *Pœcile*: (to say, set out and beautified with diuers pictures) he drue (as they say) LAODICAS face vppon *Elpinices* picture. This painter *Polygnotus* was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for monies sake, but gaue his labour franckely to the common wealth, as all the historiographers that wrote in that time doe witnesse: and as the Poet *Melanthius* also reciteth in these verses: Elpinice Cimons sister vnchast. Polygnotus the painter.

At his owne proper charge, great cost he hath bestowed,
In decking vp our temples here with gilted roofes embowed,
For honor of the goddes. And in our towne likewise,
He hath adorned the common place, with many a fine deuise:
Painting and setting forth, in stately shew to see,
The images of demy goddes that here amongest vs be.

Yet some say that *Elpinice* did not secretly company with her brother *Cimon*, but lay with him openly as his lawfull maried wife, because she could not for her pouerty haue a husband of like nobility and parentage to her selfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called *Callias*, being one of the richest men of the city, did afterwardes fall in fansie with her, and desired to marie her, offering to pay her father *Miltiades* fine of fifty talents, wherein he stoode condemned a debter to the state, so that he might haue her to his wife. *Cimon* was contented, and vppon that condition maried his sister *Elpinice* vnto *Callias*. This notwithstanding, it is certaine that *Cimon* was somewhat amorous, and giuen to loue women. For *Melanthius* the Poet in certaine of his elegies, maketh mention for his pleasure of one *Asteria* borne at SALAMINA, and of an other called *Mnestra*, as if *Cimon* had bene in loue with them. But vndoubtedly, he loued his lawfull wife *Isodice* maruellous well, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, *Megacles* sonne, and tooke her death very grieuously, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were written vnto him, to comfort him in his sorrow. *Panætius* the Philosopher is of opinion, that *Archelaus* the Phisitian wrote those elegies: and sure it is not vnlikely, considering the time in which they were written. But furthermore, *Cimons* nature and conditions deserued great commendation. For his valiantnesse he gaue no place vnto *Miltiades*, and for his wisedome and iudgement, he was not inferior vnto *Themistocles*: and it is out of all doubt that he was a iuster and honester man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the best of either of both in the discipline of warres, and for the valiantnesse of a noble Captaine: and he did much excell them both in the properties of a good gouernour, and in the administration of the affaires of a city, when he was but a young man, and had no experience of warres. For when *Themistocles* at the comming in of the MEDES counselled the people of ATHENS to goe out of the city, to leaue their landes and countrey, and to shippe into gallies, and fight with the barbarous people by sea in the straight of SALAMINA: as every man was wondering at his bolde and vertuous counsell, *Cimon* was the first man that went with a life and iolitie through the streete *Ceramicus*, vnto the castell, accompanied with his young familiars and companions, carying a bitte of a bridle in his hand to consecrate vnto the goddesse *Minerua*, signifying thereby, that the city had no needs of horsemen at that time, but of mariners and sea men. And after hee had giuen vp his offering, hee tooke one of the targettes that hung vppon the wall of the temple, and hauing made his prayer vnto *Minerua*, came downe to the hauen, and was the first that made the most part of the citizens to take a good heart to them, and coragiously to leaue the land, and Elpinice being poore, had regard to match according to her state and calling. Cimon subiect to lasciuious life. The praise of Cimons conditions.

Cimons perſonage commended.

take the ſea. Beſides all this, he was a man of a goodly ſtature, as *Ion* the Poet teſtifieth, and had a faire curled haire and thicke, and fought ſo valiantly at the day of the battell, that he wanne immediatly great reputation, with the loue and good will of euery man. So that many were ſtill about him to encourage him to be liuely and valiant, and to thinke thenceforth to doe ſome actes worthy of the glory that his father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwardes, ſo ſoone as he beganne to deale in matters of ſtate, the people were marueilous glad of him, and were wearied with *Themiſtocles*: by meanes whereof *Cimon* was preſently aduanced and preferred to the chiefeſt offices of honor in the city, being very well thought on of the common people, becauſe of his ſoft and plaine nature. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* alſo did greatly further his aduancement, becauſe he ſaw him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vſe him as a counterpeaſe to controll *Themiſtocles* craft & ſtoutnes. Wherefore after the MEDES were fled out of GREECE, *Cimon* being ſent for by the ATHENIANS for their generall by ſea, when the city of ATHENS had then no maner of rule nor commandement, but followed king *Pauſanias* and the LACEDÆMONIANS: he euer kept his countrey men and citizens in marueilous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to doe good ſeruice, then any other nation in the whole army whatſoeuer. And when king *Pauſanias* had practiſed with the barbarous people to betray GREECE, had written alſo to the king of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time dealt very cruelly and ſtraightly with the confederates of his countrey, and committed many inſolent partes by reaſon of the great authority he had, and through his fooliſh pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* farre otherwiſe, gentlely entertained them whom *Pauſanias* iniured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his curteous manner, the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing no eye to his doings, ſtale away the rule and commaundement of all GREECE from them, and brought the ATHENIANS to be ſole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his ſweete tongue, and gracious manner of vſing all men. For the moſt part of the confederates being no longer able to away with *Pauſanias* pride and cruelty, came willingly and ſubmitted thẽ ſelues vnder the protection of *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*: who did not onely receiue them, but wrote alſo to the counſel of the Ephores at LACEDÆMON, that they ſhould call *Pauſanias* home, for that he diſhonored SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they ſay that king *Pauſanias* being on a time in the city of BYZANCE, ſent for *Cleonice*, a yong maiden of a noble houſe, to take his pleaſure of her. Her parents durſt not keepe her from him, by reaſon of his cruelty, but ſuffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of *Pauſanias* chamber to take away the lightes, and thinking in the darke to come to *Pauſanias* bed that was aſleepe, groping for the bed as ſoftly as ſhee could to make no noiſe, ſhee vnfortunately hit againſt the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made ſuch a noiſe, that it waked him on the ſodaine, and thought ſtraight therewithall that ſome of his enemies had beene come traiterouſly to kill him, whereupon he tooke his dagger lying vnder his beddes head, and ſo ſtabbed it in the young virgine, that ſhe died immediately vppon it. Howbeit ſhee neuer let *Pauſanias* take reſt after that, becauſe her ſpirit came euery night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine haue ſlept, and ſpake this angrily to him in verſe, as followeth.

Cimon General for the Athenians by ſea.

King Pauſanias through his inſolency and pride, loſt the Lacedemonians all their rule of Greece.

Pauſanias killed the yong Bizantine virgine.

Keepe thou thy ſelfe vpright, and iuſtice ſee thou feare,
For woe and ſhame be vnto him, that iuſtice downe doth beare.

This vile fact of his did ſo ſtirre vp all the confederates hearts againſt him, that they came to beſiege him in BIZANTIVM vnder the conduction of *Cimon*: from whõ notwithſtanding he eſcaped, and ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe. And becauſe that this maidens ſpirite would not let him reſt, but vexed him continually: he fled vnto the city of HERACLEA, where there was a temple that coniured dead ſpirites, and there was the ſpirite of *Cleonice* coniured to pray him to be contented. So ſhee appeared vnto him, and told him that he ſhould be deliuered of all troubles ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA: ſignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he ſhould ſuffer there. Diuers writers doe thus report it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the GRECIANS, which were come to him to take his part: was aduertiſed that certaine great men of PERSIA, & allied to the king him ſelf, who kept the city of EIONA

vppon

vpon the riuer of Strymon in the country of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the sea with his armie, and went thither, where at his first comming he vanquished and ouerthrew the barbarous people in battell: & hauing ouerthrowen them, draue all the rest into the citie of EIONE. That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other side of the riuer of Strymon, who did commonly victuall them of EIONE: and hauing driuen them to forsake the countrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole himselfe. Whereupon he held them that were besieged at EIONE so straightly from victuals, that *Butes* the king of PERSIAES Lieutenant, dispairing of the state of the citie, set fire on the same, and burnt himselfe, his friendes, and all the goods it in. By reason wherefore, the spoile taken in that citie was but small, because the barbarous people burnt all the best things in it with themselues: howbeit he conquered the countrie thereabouts, and gaue it the ATHENIANS to inhabite, being a very pleasant and fertile soyle. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS suffered him to consecrate and set vp openly three Hermes of stone (which are foure square pillers) vpon the tops of the which they set vp heades of *Mercurie*: vpon the first of the three pillers, this inscription is grauen.

Butes burneth himselfe, citie, and friends, for feare of Cimon.

Statues of Mercurie.

The people truly were, of courage stout and fierce,
Who hauing shut the Medes fast vp (as stories do rehearce)
Within the walled towne, of Eione that tide,
Which on the streame of Strymon stands: they made them there abide
The force of famines pinch, and therewith made them feele,
The dynt of warre so many a time, with trustie tooles of steele:
Till in the end, despaire so pearced in their thought,
As there they did destroy themselues, and so were brought to nought.

Vpon the second there is such an other.

The citizens which dwell in Athens stately towne,
Haue here set vp these monuments, and pictures of renowne,
To honor so the factes, and celebrate the fame,
Their valiant chieftaines did atchiene, in many a martiall game.
That such as after come, when they thereby perceiue,
How men of seruice for their deedes, did rich rewards receiue,
Encouraged may be, such men for to resemble,
In valiant actes and dreadfull deedes, which make their foes to tremble.

And vpon the third an other.

When Mnestheus did leade forth of this citie here,
An armie to the Troyane warres, (by Homer doth appeare)
He was aboue the rest, that out of Gracia went:
A valiant knight, a worthy wight, a Captaine excellent,
To take in hand the charge, an armie for to guide:
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praise of prowesse then (ô graue Atheniens)
Is now no newes to fill the eares of these your citizens.
Since through the world so wide, the fame and worthy praise,
For martiall feates, to you of yore hath iudged bene alwaies.

Now, though *Cimons* name be not comprised in these inscriptions, yet they thought that it was a singular honor to him at that time: for neither *Miltiades* nor *Themistocles* had euer the like. For when *Miltiades* requested the people one day that they would licence him to weare a garland of oliue boughes vpon his head: there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of DECELEA, that standing vp in open assembly spake against him, and said a thing that marueilously pleased the people, though indeede it was an vnthankfull recompence for the good turne he had done to the common wealth. When you haue *Miltiades* (said he) ouercome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honoured alone also. But how was it then, that *Cimons* seruice was so acceptable to the ATHENIANS? It was in mine opinion,

Sochares Decelean spake against Miltiades request for the garland of Oline boughes.

because they had with other Captaines fought to defend themselues and their countrie only: and that vnder the conduction of *Cimon*, they had assaulted and driuen their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of EIONE and of *Amphipolis*, which afterwards they did inhabite with their owne citizens, and wan there also the Ile of SCYROS which *Cimon* tooke vppon this occasion. The DOLOPIANS did inhabite it, who were a people, and liued without labour or tillage, and had bene rouers of the sea of a wonderfull long time, vsing piracie altogether to maintaine themselues withall: so that in the end they spared not so much as the marchants & passengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine THESSALIANS that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goods from them, yet would they cast them in prison besides. Howbeit the prisoners found meanes to escape, and after they had saued themselues, repaired to the parlament of the AMPHICTIONS which is a generall councell of all the states and people of GREECE. The AMPHICTIONS vnderstanding the matter, condemned the city of the SCYRIANS to pay a great summe of money. The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, and bad them that robbed the marchantes and had the goods in their handes, pay it if they would. And therefore, because there was no other likelihood, but that the theeues themselues should be driuen to answere the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto *Cimon*, and willed him to come with his armie and they would deliuer their citie into his hands: the which was performed. And *Cimon* hauing cõquered this Iland, draue out the DOLOPIANS thence, & rid the sea Ægeum of all pirates thereby. That done, remembring that the ancient *Theseus*, the sonne of *Ægeus* flying from ATHENS came into that Iland of SCYROS, where king *Lycomedes* suspecting his comming had traiterously slaine him: *Cimon* was maruellous carefull to seeke out his tombe, because the ATHENIANS had an oracle and prophecie, that commaunded them to bring the ashes and bones backe againe to ATHENS, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the inhabitants of the Ilande would neuer before confesse where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much a doe found the tombe, put his bones abord the Admirall galley sumptuously decked and set foorth, and brought them againe into his countrie, foure hundred yeares after *Theseus* death. For this the people thanked him maruellously, and therby he wanne exceedingly the ATHENIANS good willes: and in memorie of him they celebrated the iudgement of the tragicall playes of Poets. For when *Sophocles* the Poet, being a young man had played his first tragedy, *Apsephion*, the president perceiuing there was great strife and contention amongst the lookers on would not drawe them by lottes that should be iudges of this play, to giue the victorie to that Poet that had best deserued: but when *Cimon* & the other Captaines were come into the Theater to see the same (after they had made their accustomed oblations vnto the god, in honor nor of whom these plaies were celebrated) he staied, and made them to minister an othe[r] tenne, (which were of euery tribe of the people one) and the othe being giuen, he caused them to sit as iudges to giue sentence, which of the Poets should carie away the prise. He made all the Poets striue and contend who best should do, for the honour of the iudges: *Sophocles* by their sentence bare away the victorie. But *AEschilus* (as they say) was so angry & grieued withall, that he taried not long after in ATHENS, and went for spight into Sicile where he died and was buried neere vnto the citie of GELA. *Ion* writeth that he being a young boy, newly come from CHIO vnto ATHENS, supped one night with *Cimon* at *Laomedons* house, and that after supper when they had giuen the goddes thankes, *Cimon* was requested by the company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that euery man praised him that heard him, & said he was more courteous then *Themistocles* farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play vpon the citherne, answered them, hee was neuer taught to sing nor play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich and mighty citie. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to an other, as falleth out commonly in speech, they entred in talke of *Cimons* doings: and hauing rehearsed the chiefest of them, he himselfe tolde one, which was the notablest and wisest part of all the rest that euer he plaied. For the ATHENIANS and their confederates together, hauing taken great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of SESTOS and of BIZANTIA

Cimon wanne the Ile of Scyros.

The councell of the Amphictyons.

Theseus bones brought to Athens 400. yeres after his death by Cimon

Sophocles and AEschylus contention for victorie.

AEschylus ouercome by Sophocles dwelleth in Sicilia, & dieth there.

Cimon sang passing sweetely.

the confederates to honour him withall, gaue him the preheminence to diuide the spoyle amongst them. Whereupon he made the diuision, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by themselues, and laide the spoiles and their apparell by themselues. The confederates found this distribution very vnequall: but neuertheless *Cimon* gaue them the choice to choose which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS should be contented with that which they left. So there was a SAMIAN Captaine called *Herophytus*, that gaue the confederates counsell rather to take the spoiles of the PERSIANS, then the PERSIANS themselues, and so they did: for they tooke the spoile of the prisoners goods and apparell, and left the men vnto the ATHENIANS. Whereupon *Cimon* was thought at that time of the cõmon souldiers to be but an ill deuider of spoile, because that the confederats caried away great store of chains, bankanets, and bracelets of gold, and goodly rich purple apparell after the PERSIAN fashion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labour. But shortly after, the parentes and friendes of these prisoners, came out of PHRYGIA & LYDIA, and redeemed euery man of them at a great ransome: so that *Cimon* gathered such a masse of readie money together by their ransome, as he defraied the whole charges of all his gallies with the same for the space of foure moneths after, and left a great summe of money besides in the sparing treasure of ATHENS. *Cimon* by this meanes being now become rich, bestowed the goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous people, more honorably againe, in relieuing his poore decaied citizens. For he brake vp all his hedges and inclosures, and laide them plaine and open, that trauellers passing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much frute thereof as they would, without any manner danger. And furthermore, kept a continuall table in his house, not furnished with many dishes, but with meat sufficient for many persons, and where his poore country men were daily refreshed, that would come vnto that ordinary: so as they needed not otherwise care to labor for their liuing, but might be the readier, & haue the more leasure to serue the common wealth. Yet *Aristotle* the Philosopher writeth, that it was not for al the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men only in the village of LACIA, where hee was borne. Furthermore, he had alwaies certaine young men waiting on him of his household seruants well apparelled, and if he met by chance as he went vp and downe the citie, any old citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of these young men strip himselfe, and change apparell with the old man: and that was very well thought of, and they all honored him for it. Moreouer, these young men caried euer good store of money about them: and when they met with any honest poore citizen in the market place, or else where, knowing his pouertie, they secretly gaue him money in his hand, and said neuer a word. Which the Poet selfe *Cratinus* seemeth to touche of, in a comedie of his intituled the Archiloches.

Herophytus Samian, gaue Counsell to choose the spoile.

Cimons liberalitie and hospitalitie.

Cimons Charitie.

I am Metrobius the secretarie, he
Which did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be:
At wealthy Cimons board, where want was neuer found,
Whose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound.
There thought I for to passe mine aged yeares away,
With that right noble godly man, which was the Grecians stay.

Furthermore, *Gorgias Leontine* saide, that *Cimon* got goods to vse them, and that he vsed them to be honored by them. And *Critias* that was one of the thirtie tyrants of ATHENS, he praiseth and desireth of the goddes in his elegies,

How Cimon vsed his goods.

The goddes of Scopas heyres, the great magnificence,
And noble heart of Cimon he, who spared none expence:
The glorious victories and high triumphant showes,
Of good Agesilaus king, good goddes, oh grant me those.

The name of *Lichas* SPARTAN, hath bene famous amongst the GRECIANS: and yet we know no other cause why, sauing that he vsed to feast strangers that came to LACEDEMON at their festiuall day, to see the sportes and exercises of the young men dauncing naked in the same. But the magnificence of *Cimon*, did farre exceede the auncient liberalitie, courtesie, and hospitalitie of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the first men that taught the

The hospitality of Lichas Spartan.

GRECIANS through out all GREECE, how they ſhould ſow corne, and gather it to maintaine themſelues withall, and alſo ſhewed them the vſe of wels, and how they ſhould light and keepe fire. But *Cimon* making an hoſpitall of his owne houſe, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permitting ſtrangers that trauelled by his groundes to gather ſuch fruits there, as the time and ſeaſon of the yere yeelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world the goods to be common amongſt them, as the Poets ſay they were in the olde time of *Saturnes* raigne. And now, where ſome accuſed this honeſt liberalitie of *Cimon*, obiecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good wils by that meanes the maner of life he led, accompanying his liberalitie, did vtterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For *Cimon* euer tooke part with the nobilitie, and liued after the LACEDEMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwaies againſt *Themiſtocles*, who without all compaſſe of reaſon encreaſed the authoritie and power of the people: and for this cauſe he ioyned with *Ariſtides*, and was againſt *Ephialtes*, who would for the peoples ſake haue put downe and aboliſhed *Ariopagus* court. And where all other gouernors in his time were extortioners and bribetakers: (*Ariſtides* and *Ephialtes* onely excepted) he to the contrarie led an vncorrupt life in adminiſtration of iuſtice, & euer had cleane hands, whatſoeuer he ſpake or did, for the ſtate and common wealth, and would therefore neuer take money of any man liuing. And for proofe hereof, we finde it written, that a noble man of PERSIA called *Reſaces*, being a traitor to his maſter the king of PERSIA, fled on a time vnto ATHENS: where being continually bayted and wearied, with the common accuſations of theſe tale bearers and picke thanks, that accuſed him to the people, he repaired at the length vnto *Cimon*, & brought him home to his owne dore two bowles, the one full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of ſiluer, which be peeces of money ſo called, becauſe that the name of *Darius* was written vpon them. *Cimon* ſeeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather chooſe, to haue him his friend or his hireling. The barbarous noble man anſwered him, that he had rather haue him his friend. Then ſaid *Cimon* to him againe, away with thy gold and ſiluer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy friend, that gold and ſiluer ſhall euer be at my commaundement, to take and diſpoſe it as I haue neede. About that time began the confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the warres againſt the barbarous people, deſiring thenceforth to liue quietly, and to haue leaſure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke alſo, conſidering that they had driuen their enemies out of their countrie, that now they did them no more hurt: by reaſon whereof they paied the money they were aſſeſſed at, but they would furniſh no moe men nor ſhippes as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and profecuted law againſt them that failed paiment, condemning them in great fines, and that cruelly, that they made the ſeigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIANS hateſull vnto their confederates. Howbeit *Cimon* tooke a contrary courſe to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and voide ſhips of them that would not, or could not ſerue in perſons, being very glad to ſuffer them to become ſlothfull mongrels in their houſes, for much reſt, and to tranſpoſe themſelues from good ſouldiers which they had beene, to husbanders, marchantes, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the ſlothfull deſire they had to liue pleaſantly at home. And contrarily, cauſing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after an other to ſerue in gallies, he ſo acquainted them with continuall paines in his viages: that he made them in ſhort ſpace become Lordes and maſters ouer them that gaue them pay and entertainement. For they beganne by little and litle to flatter and fauour the ATHENIANS, whom they ſaw trained continually in the warres, euer bearing armour, and caryng their weapons in their hands, becomming expert ſouldiers at their charge, by reaſon of the pay they gaue them: ſo that in the ende, they became ſubiectes and contributaries vnto them, where before they were their friends and companions. So as there neuer was GRECIAN Captaine that bridled more the crueltie and power of that mightie PERSIAN king, then *Cimon* did. For, after he had driuen him out of all GREECE, he left him not ſo much following him foot hotte, as we cõmonly ſay, before the barbarous people could take breath, or giue wiſe and direct order for their doings: he made ſo great ſpeede, that he tooke

Cimons godly acte.

Cimon brought the golden world againe.

Cimons integritie and cleane hands.

Reſaces attempted to bribe Cimon.

Darickes, whereof ſo called.

A noble ſaying of Cimon.

The benefite of paines and ſeruice: and the diſcommoditie of eaſe and idlenesſe.

Cimon plagued the Perſians.

of their cities from them by force, and other some by practise, causing them to rebell against the king, and turne to the GRECIANS side. Insomuch as there was not a man of warre left for the king of PERSIA in all ASIA, from the country of IONIA, directly downe to PAMPHYLIA. And furthermore, being aduertised that the kings Captaines were vppon the coast of PAMPHYLIA with a great armie by sea, because he would feare them in such sort, that they should not braue any more to shewe themselues vppon the sea, on this side of the Iles of the CHELIDONIANS: he departed from the Ile of GINDOS, and from the citie of TRIOPIVM, with two hundred gallies, the which at the first had beene excellently well made and deuised by *Themistocles*, as well for swift sayling, as for easie turning. Howbeit *Cimon* made them to be enlarged, to the end they might cary the greater number of men of warre in battell, to assault the enemies. And so went first against the PHASELITES (who were GRECIANS borne, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the GRECIANS part, nor receiue their armie into their hauens) landed there, destroyed all the country, and then came and camped with his armie hard at their wals. But the men of CHIO being auncient friends of the PHASELITES, and in *Cimons* armie at that iorney, did somewhat pacifie his anger, and gaue aduertisement to them of the citie of their doings by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and shot ouer the walles. So as in the end they procured their peace with condition, that the PHASELITES should pay tenne talents for a fine: and furthermore should also follow the armie of the GRECIANS, and from thencefoorth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous people. Now *Ephorus* saith, that the PERSIAN Captaine that had charge of the armie by sea, was called *Tithraustes*, and the Captaine of the armie by lande, *Pherendates*. But *Callisthenes* writeth, that *Ariomandes* the sonne of *Gobrias*, was the kings Lieutenant, hauing chiefe authoritie ouer the whole armie that lay at ancker before the riuer of Eurymedon, and had no desire to fight, because they looked for a new supply of fourescore saile of the PHENICIANS, that should come to them from CYPRVS. But *Cimon* contrarily, sought to fight before these gallies of the PHENICIANS came to ioyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, determining to giue a charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not. Which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew neerer into the mouth of the riuer Eurymedon, because they should not compasse them in behinde, nor force them to come to battell against their willes. Which notwithstanding when they saw the ATHENIANS come to set vpon them where they lay, they made out against them a fleete of sixe hundred saile, as *Phanodemus* declareth: or as *Ephorus* writeth, three hundred and fiftie saile onely. But they did nothing worthie of so great a power, at the least touching the fight by sea, but turned their prowes straight to the riuer: where such as could recouer the mouth thereof in time saued themselues, flying to their armie by lande, which was not farre from that place set also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardie by the way, they were slaine, and their gallies sunke or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great number of them: for many were lost as it is likely, and many also were splitted to peeces, and yet the ATHENIANS tooke two hundred of them prisoners. In the meane season, their armie by lande came neerer to the sea side: which *Cimon* perceiuing, stood in some doubt whether he should land his men or not, because it seemed a hard and dangerous thing vnto him, to lande in spight of his enemies: and furthermore the GRECIANS alreadie wearied with the first battell against the barbarous people, who were altogether whole, fresh, and lustie, and withall many in number against one. Nathelesse, perceiuing that his men trusted in their force, besides the courage which the victorie gaue them, and that they desired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he set them a land while they were whotte yet with the first battell. And so with great furie and loud cries they ranne immediatly against the barbarous people, who stood still and starred, and receiued their first charge very valiantly: by reason whereof, the battell grew sharpe and bloudy, insomuch as there were slaine all the greatest personages and men of best account in the ATHENIANS armie. But the other fought it out so valiantly, that in the ende they draue the field, and with marueilous difficultie made the barbarous people flie, whereof they slew great number in the place, and tooke the rest prisoners with all their tents & pauilions, which were full of all sortes of riches. Thus *Cimon* like a valiant champion of the holy games,

Cimon wanne the citie of Phaselis.

Ariomandes the kings Lieutenant of his whole armie by sea, riding at ancker before the riuer of Eurymedon.

Cimons victorie of the Persians both by sea and land.

Cimon tooke two hundred saile prisoners at the battell fought by the riuer of Eurymedon.

Cimon ouercame the battell of the barbarous people also by land.

hauing in one selfe day wonne two victories, and hauing excelled the battell by sea also which the GRECIANS had wonne within the channell of SALAMINA, with that which he wanne then vpon the land: and the battell which the GRECIANS wanne by land before the cite of PLATEES, with that which he wan the day before on the sea: yet he was not contented with all this. For, after two so famous victories obteined, he would once againe fight for the honour of the tokens of triumph: and being aduertised that the fourescore saile of the PHENICIANS (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arriued at the head of *Hydra*, he sailed thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this fleete, knewe no certaintie of the ouerthrow of their chiefest armie, but stood in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was ouerthrowen in that sort: and therefore were they so much the more affraide, when they descried a farre off the victorious armie of *Cimon*. To conclude, they lost all their ships, and the greatest part of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. This victorie against the PERSIANS did so daunt and plucke downe the pride and lofty minde of the barbarous PERSIAN king, as he made that condition of peace so much spoken of in ancient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thenceforth should come no neerer to the GRECIAN sea, then the carrere of a horse, and that he would saile no further forward, then the Iles CHELIDONIANS, and CYANEANS, with any gallies or other ships of warre. Howbeit the historiographer *Callisthenes* writeth, that it was no part of any article comprised within the condition of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of this great an ouerthrowe: and that afterwardes he kept so farre from the GRECIAN sea, that *Pericles* with fiftie saile, and *Ephialtes* with thirtie only, did saile beyond the Iles CHELIDONIA, and no barbarous fleete euer came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst the common actes of ATHENS, which *Craterus* hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found written at large, as a thing that was true in deede. And it is saide, that for this occasion the ATHENIANS built an aulter of peace, and that they did *Callias* great honor, for that he was sent Ambassador vnto the king of PERSIA to take his othe for confirmation of this peace. So when all these spoiles of the enemies were sold to the that would giue most, there was such store of gold and siluer in the sparing coffers of their treasurie, that there was enough to serue their turne for any seruice they would employ it to, & besides that, they had sufficient to build vp the side of the wall of the castle which looketh towardes the south, this voyage and great spoyle did so enrich them. And it is saide moreouer, that the building of the long walles that ioyne to the citie with the hauen, which they call the legges, was built & finished afterwards: howbeit the first foundations therof were built with the money *Cimon* gaue towardes it, for that the worke met with moorish and waterie places, by meane whereof they were driuen to fill vp the marisses, with force of flints and great logges, which they threw vnto the bottome. It was he also that first did beautifie and set forth the citie of ATHENS, with places of liberall exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plantrees to be set in the market place: and the Academie which before was very dry and naked he made is now a pleasant groue, and full of goodly springs which he brought into it, and made fine couered arbors to walke in, and goodly long smooth allies to runne a good course in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine PERSIANS dwelling in CHERSONESVS (to say a demie Ile of the country of THRACIA) would not be gotten out, but sent to the people of high THRACIA, to pray their aide to defende themselues against *Cimon*: of whom they made but litle account, because he was departed from ATHENS with a very fewe ships: who set vpon them only with foure gallies, and tooke thirteene of theirs. And so hauing driuen the PERSIANS out of CHERSONESVS, and subdued the THRACIANS, he conquered the country of CHERSONESVS, from THRACIA vnto his own country. And departing thence, went against them of the Ile of THASOS, that had rebelled against the ATHENIANS, and hauing ouercome them in battell by sea, he wanne three and thirtie of their ships, besides that tooke their citie by siege, and wanne the mines of golde lying beyonde the sea to the ATHENIANS, with all the landes that belonged vnto them. This conquest opened the way open into MACEDON, and gaue him great oportunitie to haue taken the best part thereof at that present time. But because he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he

Cimon brought the king of Persia to condition of peace.

Callias sent Ambassador to take the oth of the king of Persia.

Cimon was at the charge of certaine common buildings.

Cimon draue the Persians out of Thracia.

suspected to haue taken money, and to haue bene bribed by presents of king *Alexander*: whereupon, his secret enemies layd their heades together, and accused him. But *Cimon* to cleare himselfe before the iudges of this accusation, sayd vnto them: I haue practised friendship neither with the IONIANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very rich and wealthy people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as some other haue done, to receiue both honour and profit by them. But indeede I am a friend to the LACEDÆMONIANS, for I confesse I loue them, and desire to follow their sobrietie, and temperance of life, the which I preferre and esteeme aboue any riches or treasure: although I am very glad notwithstanding to inrich our state and common wealth with the spoyles of our enemies. *Stesimbrotus* reporteth this accusation, and sayth: that his sister *Elpinicè* went to *Pericles* house, (who was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to pray him not to deale so extremely with her brother: & that *Pericles* laughing on her, sayd, alas, thou art too old, *Elpinicè*, thou, now to ouercome these matters. Yet for all that, when *Cimons* cause came to hearing, he was a more gentle aduersarie, then any other of his accusers, and rose vp but once to speake against him, and that for manners sake onely: so that *Cimon* thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And furthermore, so long as he was present in ATHENS, he alwayes kept the seditious people in obedience, who would euer crosse and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, because they would haue all the sway and rule in their owne handes. But when *Cimon* was sent abroad any whither to the warres, then the common people hauing no body to gainesay them, turned, and altered the gouernement of the citie topsie turuey, and confounded all the ancient lawes and customes which they had obserued of long time, and that by the procurement and setting on of *Ephialtes*. For they tooke away all hearing of causes in manner from the court of *Areopagus*, and put all authoritie of matters iudiciall into the hands of the people, & brought the state of the citie into a pure Democratia, to say, a common weale ruled by the sole and absolute power of the people, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether fauoured the people's faction. Wherefore *Cimon* at his returne, finding the authority of the Senate and counsell so shamefully defaced & troden vnder foote, was maruellously offended withall, & sought to restore the ancient state of iudgement againe as it was before, and set vp the gouernement of the nobilitie (called Optimatia) that was established in the time of *Clisthenes*. But they began their enemies againe with open mouth to cry out vpon him, reuiuing the old former naughtie rumour that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne sister: and furthermore accusing him, that he did fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS. And amongst other things there ranne in the people's mouthes the verses of the Poet *Eupolis*, which were made against *Cimon*.

No wicked man he was, but verie negligent,
And there withall to wine much more, then vnto money bent.
He stale sometimes away, at Sparta for to sleepe:
And left poore Elpinicè his wife, at home alone to weepe.

And if it be so, that being thus negligent and giuen to wine, he haue gotten so many cities, and wonne such sundry great battels: it is out of doubt then that if he had bene sober and carefull, there had neuer bene before him nor since any GRECIAN Captaine, that had passed him in glory of the warres. Indeede it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS: for of two twynnes which he had by his wife *Clitoria*, he named the one of them *Lacedæmonius*, and the other *Eleus*, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth, saying that for that *Pericles* did euer twit them in the teeth with their mothers stocke. Howbeit *Diodorus* the cographer writeth that both those two, and an other third called *Thessalus*, were borne of *Isodice*, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, the sonne of *Alcmæacles*. Howsoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Cimons* credit grew the greater, by the fauour and countenaunce which the LACEDÆMONIANS gaue him, who had hated *Themistocles* of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that *Cimon* being but a young man, did beare more sway in ATHENS then he. Which the ATHENIANS perceiued well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning: for the good will of the LACEDÆMONIANS towardes him, did bring them great commodity. For when the ATHENIANS began to grow of great power, and to practise secretly that the confederats of the GRECIANS should forsake the LACEDÆMONIANS to ioyne with

Cimon accused & discharged.

Cimon praiseth the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians. Stesimbrotus the historian.

* *Areopagus was a village of Mars by Athens, where the iudges called Areopagitæ did sit to iudge causes of murther and other waightie matters concerning the cõmon wealth. Democratia rule of communaltie. Pericles in Cimons absence reduceth the cõmon wealth vnto the state Democratia. Optimatia the gouernement of the nobilitie.*

Cimõ followed the Lacedæmonian manner.

them: the LACEDÆMONIANS were not angry withall, for the honour and loue they bare vnto *Cimon*, who did alone in manner manage all the affaires of GRECE at that time, because he was very curteous vnto the confederates, and also thankefull vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. But afterwardes when the ATHENIANS were aloft and of great power, and that they saw *Cimon* stucke not for a litle matter with the LACEDÆMONIANS, but loued them more thē they would haue had him: they began then to enuie him, because in all his matters he had to do, he euer highly praised and extolled the LACEDÆMONIANS before them. But specially, when he would reproue them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perswade them to do any thing: the LACEDÆMONIANS, sayd he, I warrant ye do not so. That, as *Stesimbrotus* sayth, made him maruellously to be maliced of the people. But the chiefest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out vpon this occasion. The fourth yeare of the raigne of *Archidamus*, the sonne of *Zeuxidamus* king of SPARTA, there fortuned the wonderfullest and most fearefull earthquake in the citie of LACEDÆMON, and there abouts, that euer was heard of. For the earth in many places of the country opened, and fell as into a bottomlesse pit. The mountaine Taygetum shooke so terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the citie was layed on the ground and ouerthrowen, fiue houses onely excepted, the rest being wholly destroyed. And it is sayd also, that a litle before this earthquake came, the young men of that citie were playing with the young boyes exercising thēselues starke naked vnder a great galery couered ouer: and as they were sporting together, there started vp a hare hardby thē. The young men spying her, ranne after the hare starke naked and oyled as they were, with great laughter. They were no sooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell down vpon the boyes that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memorie of the same, the towne where they were afterwardes buried, is called vnto this day Sismatias, as much to say, as the tombe of those which the earthquake had slaine. But king *Archidamus* foreseeing straight vpō the sodaine the danger that was to come, by that he saw present, perceiuing his citizens busie in sauing their houshold stuffe, and that they were running out of their houses: made the trumpetters to sound a hot alarome vpon it, as if their enemies had come stealingly vpon them to take the citie, to the end that all the inhabitants should presently repayre vnto him (setting all busines apart) with armour and weapon. That sodaine alarome doubtlesse saued the citie of SPARTA at that time: for the ILOTÆ, which are their slaues and bondmen in the country of LACONIA, and the country clownes of litle villages there abouts, came running armed out of all parts, to spoyle and robbe them vpon the sodaine, that were escaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then began afterwardes to make open warres vpon them, when they had drawn certaine of their neighbours vnto their confederacie, and specially the MESSENIANS, who made hot warres vpon the SPARTANS. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS sent *Periclides* vnto ATHENS to demande ayde: whom *Aristophanes* the Poēt mocking, sayd.

A marueilous great earthquake in Lacedæmon.

Taygetum mons.

Archidamus sodaine policie saued the citie.

Ilots slaues & bondmen to the Lacedæmonians.

With visage pale and wanne, he on the aulter sate,
In skarlet gowne requiring ayde, to succour their estate.

Against whom *Ephialtes* also spake very much, protesting that they should not aide nor succour a city that was an enemy vnto ATHENS, but rather suffer it to fall to the ground, and spurne the pride and arrogancy of SPARTA vnder their feete. But *Cimon* (as *Critias* sayth) hauing more carefull for the benefit of SPARTA, then for the enlarging & encreasing of his owne country: brought it to passe by his perswasion, that the ATHENIANS sent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore *Ion* rehearseth the very selfe wordes that *Cimon* vsed to moue the people to graunt his request. For he besought them that they would not suffer GRECE to halt, as if LACEDÆMON had bene one of her feete, and ATHENS the other: nor to suffer their citie to lose an other citie their friend, and subiect to the yoke and deceit of GRECE. Hauing therfore obteined ayde, to lead vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, he went with his army through the CORINTHIANS country: wherewith *Lachartus* a Captaine of CORINTHE was maruellously offended, saying, that he should not haue entred into their country with an army, before he had asked licence of the of the citie. For sayd he, when one knocketh at a mans doore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the maister of the house commaunde him

Cimon procured ayde for the Lacedemonians.

him. But ye CORINTHIANS (sayd *Cimon* to him againe) haue not knocked at the gates of the CLEONÆIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to come in, but haue broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinking that all should be open vnto them that are the stronger. Thus did *Cimon* stoutly aunswere the CORINTHIAN Captaine againe, because it stood him vpon, and so went on with his army through the country of CORINTHE. Afterwardes the LACEDÆMONIANS sent againe vnto the ATHENIANS, to require ayde against the MESSENIANS and the ILOTES, (which are their slaues) who had wonne the citie of ITHOME. But when the ATHENIANS were come, the LACEDÆMONIANS were afrayd of the great power they had brought, and of their boldnesse besides: wherefore they sent them backe againe, and would not imploy them of all other their confederats that came to their succour, because they knew them to be men very tickle, desiring change and alterations. The ATHENIANS returned home, misliking much that they were sent backe againe, in somuch as euer after they hated thē that fauoured the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing. And for the LACEDÆMONIANS sake therefore, taking a small occasion of offence against *Cimon*, they banished him out of their country for ten yeares: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that were banished with the Ostraciſmon banishment. Now within the terme of these ten yeares, the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuned to vndertake the deliuery of the city of DELPHES, from the seruitude and bondage of the PHOCIANS, and to put them from the custodie and keeping of the temple of *Apollo*, which is in the sayd city. Wherfore, to obtaine their desire and purpose, they came to plant their camp neare vnto the citie of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE, where the ATHENIANS went to fight with them. *Cimon* vnderstanding this, although he was in exile, came to the ATHENIANS camp armed, with intent to do his duety to fight with his country men against the LACEDÆMONIANS, and so went into the bandes of the tribe Oeneide, of the which he was himselfe. But his owne country enemies cried out against him, and sayd, that he was come to none other end, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwardes bring them to the citie selfe of ATHENS. Whereupon the great councell of the fiue hundred men were afrayed, and sent to the Captaines to commaund them they should not receiue him into the battell: so that *Cimon* was compelled to depart the camp. But before he went, he prayed *Euthippus* ANAPHLYSTIAN, and his other friends that were suspected as himselfe was to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS doings: that they should do their best endeuour to fight valiantly against their enemies, to the intent their good seruice at that battell might purge their innocencie towardes their country men: and so they did. For the ATHENIANS keeping the souldiers *Cimon* had brought with him, which were a hundred in all, they set them apart by themselues in a squadron, and fought it so valiantly and desperatly, that they were slaine euery man of them in the field, leauing the ATHENIANS maruellous sory for them, & repenting thē that they had so vniustly mistrusted them as traitours to their county. Wherefore they kept not their malice long against *Cimon*, partly as I am perswaded, because they called his former good seruice to minde which he had done to their country aforetime, and partly also, because the necessitie of the time so required it. For the ATHENIANS hauing lost a great battell before TANAGRE, looked for no other about the spring of the yeare, but that the PELOPONNESIANS would inuade them with a great power: wherefore they repealed *Cimons* banishmēt by decree, whereof *Pericles* self was the onely authour & procurer. So mild and temperat were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publicke state and weale: and so much did their ambition (being the most vehement pasion of all other, & that most troubleth mens mindes) giue place, and yeeld to the necessities & affaires of the common weale. Now when *Cimon* was againe returned to ATHENS, he straight pacified the warre, and reconciled both cities together. And when he saw that the ATHENIANS could not liue in peace, but would be doing still, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for glories sake: to preuent them that they should not fall out with any of the GRECIANS, nor by rouing and coasting vp & downe the country of PELOPONNESVS, and the Iles of GRECE, with so great a nauie, should moue occasion of ciuill warres amongst the GRECIANS, or of complaints vnto their confederates against them: he rigged & armed out two hundred galles to go againe to make warre in CYPRVS, and in EGYPT, because he would acquaint the

Cimon banished for ten yeares.

Cimon called from exile.

ATHENIANS with the warres of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the spoyles of those their naturall borne enemies. But when all things were in readinesse to depart, and the army prest to ship & sayle away: *Cimon* dreaming in the night had this vision. It seemed vnto him that he saw a bitch angry with him, and barking earnestly at him, and that in the middest of her barking, she spake with a mans voyce, and sayd vnto him:

Cimons dream.

Come hardily, spare not for if thou come by me,
My whelpes, and I which here do stand, will quickely welcome thee.

This vision being very hard to interpret, *Astyphilus* borne in the citie of POSIDONIA, a man expert in such coniectures, and *Cimons* familiar friend, told him that this vision did betoken his death, expounding it in this sort. The dogge commonly is an enemie to him he barketh at. Againe, nothing gladdeth our enemie more, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitch, signifieth nothing else, but an enemie of the MEDES: because the armie of the MEDES is mingled with the barbarous people and the GRECIANS together. Besides this vision, as he did sacrifice to the god *Bacchus*, the Priest opening the beast after it was sacrificed, about the bloud that fell to the ground, there assembled a swarme of antes, which caried the congealed bloud off from the ground by litle and litle, and layed it all about *Cimons* great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: *Cimon* at the last spyed it by chance, and as he was looking on them to marke what they did, the minister of the sacrifice brought the beastes liuer that was sacrificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they iudged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, hauing all things ready for preparation of this iourney, so as he could not well go backe, he launched into the sea, and hoysed sayle, and sending threescore of his gallies into EGYPT, sayled with the rest vpon the coast of PAMPHYLIA. Where he wanne a battell by sea of the king of PERSIA, ouercomming the gallies of the PHENICIANS and the CILICIANS, & conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into EGYPT. For he had no small thoughtes in his minde, but reached to high enterprises, and determined vtterly to destroy the whole Empire of the mighty king of PERSIA, and specially for that he vnderstood *Themistocles* was in maruellous credit and reputation amongst the barbarous people, because he had promised the king of PERSIA to lead his armie for him, and to do him notable seruice whensoeuer he should haue occasion to warre with the GRECIANS. It is thought this was the chiefe cause that made *Themistocles* poyson himselfe, because he despaired that he could not performe that seruice against Greece which he had promised: assuring himselfe that it was no easie matter to vanquish *Cimon* courage and good fortune, who lay at that time with his army all alongst the Ile of CYPRVS, promising himselfe great matters at that instant. But in the meane season, *Cimon* sent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of *Iuppiter Ammon*, to aske him some secret question for no man euer knew neither then nor since, for what cause he had sent them thither, neither did they also bring backe any aunswere. For they were no sooner come thither, but the oracle commanded them straight to returne: saying vnto them, that *Cimon* was then comming to him. So *Cimons* men receiuing this answere, left the oracle, and tooke their iourney backe to the seawardes. Now when they were come againe to the GRECIANS camp, which at that present lay in EGYPT, they heard that *Cimon* was departed this world: and reckoning the dayes since his death, with the instant of their aunswere receiued by the oracle, that *Cimon* was then comming vnto him: they knew straight that darkely he had signified his death vnto them, and that, at that very time he was with the goddes. He dyed at the siege of the citie of CITIVM in CYPRVS, as some report, or else of a hurt he receiued at a skirmish, as other hold opinion. When he dyed, he commanded them that were vnder his charge, to returne into their country againe, and in no case to publish his death: which commaundement was so wisely and cunningly handled, that they all came home safe, and not an enemie, nor any of their confederates that once vnderstood any thing of it. So was the army of the GRECIANS gouerned and led by *Cimon*, though himselfe was dead, the space of thirtie dayes; as *Phanodemus* writeth: But after his death, there was no GRECIAN Captaine that did any notable thing worthy of fame against the barbarous people, because the Orator

The interpretation of the dreame.

Cimons death prognosticated.

The cause of Themistocles willing death.

The death of Cimon.

Cimons death kept verie secret.

Oratours & gouernours of the chiefest cities of GREECE stirred them vp one against an other, and there was no man that would once step in as a mediatour to make peace betweene them. And thus the GRECIANS now did one destroy and spoyle an other by ciuill warre amongst themselues: which happely gaue the king of PERSIA leasure and time to restore himselfe againe, and contrarily was cause of such vtter ruine and destruction of the whole power and force of GREECE, as no toung can well expresse. Indeede a long time after, king *Agesilaus* came with an armie of the GRECIANS into ASIA, and began a small warre against the Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA ES gouernours of the lower coũtryes of ASIA. But before he could do any notable exploit, he was called home againe by occasion of new troubles and ciuill warres rising among the GRECIANS, and compelled to returne into his country, leauing the treasurers of the king of PERSIA, raising of subsidies and taxes vpon the cities of the GRECIANS in ASIA, although they were confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereas in the time that *Cimon* gouerned, they neuer saw any of the kings sergeants at armes, or commissioner, that brought any letters pattents or commaundement from the king, or any souldier that durst come neare the sea, by fortie furlongs. The tombes which they call vnto this present day Cimonia, do witnesse that his ashes and bones were brought vnto ATHENS. Neuertheless, they of the citie of CITIVM do honour a certaine tombe, which they say is *Cimons* tombe: because that in a great dearth and barennes of the earth, they had an oracle that commanded them, not to neglect *Cimon*, as the Oratour *Nausicrates* writeth it, but to honour and reuerence him as a god. Such was the life of this GRECIAN Captaine.

No famous act donebyany Grecians to the barbarous people after Cimons death.

Cimons mouuments at Athens.

The end of Cimons life.

THE LIFE OF *Lucius Lucullus.*

AS for *Lucullus*, his grandfather was a Consull, & so was *Metellus* (surnamed *Numidicus*, because of his cõquest of NVMIDIA) his yncle by the mothers side. His father notwithstanding was conuict of fellony, for robbing the treasure of the state, whilest he was officer: and *Cæcilia* his mother was reported to haue led an vnchast life. But for *Lucullus* selfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of state: the first thing he touched and tooke in hand for the cause of his country was, the accusation of *Seruilius* the soothsayer (who before had accused his

Lucullus parents.

Lucullus accuseth Seruilius the Soothsayer.

father) for that he also had dealt falsly in his office, and deceaued the common wealth. And this the ROMAINES thought very well handled of him, in somuch as a pretie while after there was no other talke in ROME but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valiant act done by him. For otherwise, though priuatly they had no iust occasion, yet they thought it a noble deede to accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men pursue law-breakers in sute, as to see a notable good course of a dogge at a hare. Howbeit there followed such sturre and banding vpon this sute, that some were very sore hurt, and other slaine in the market place: but in fine, *Seruilius* was cleared and quite dismissed. *Lucullus* was very eloquent, well spoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latin tounge, in somuch as *Sylla* dedicated vnto him the commentaries of all his doings which himselfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole historie thereof, and couche it more eloquently together in writing. For he had not onely a ready toung to vtter that he would speake, and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be seene to do, hauing matters of sute or open audience.

The Romaines thought it a noble deede to accuse the wicked.

Lucullus eloquence.

Like tonny fish they be, which swiftly dine and doppe,
Into the depth of Ocean sea, withouten stay or stoppe.

But afterwardes also when ye take them out of their common practise and pleadings,

Then are they graueld straight withouten grace or skill,
Their eloquence lyes then in dyke, and they themselues be still.

For *Lucullus* had studied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall sciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refresh his wit (after great trouble) he fell to the study of Philosophie, which quickened the contemplatiue part of his soule, and mortified, or at the least betimes bridled the ambitious and actiue part, specially after the dissention betwixt him and *Pompey*. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is said, that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with *Hortensius* the Oratour, and *Sisenna* the historiographer (in iest as it were at the first, but afterwardes it fell to good earnest) that he would write the breuiary of the warres of MARSICVM in verse or prose, in the Latin or Greeke toung, which soeuer fell to his lot: and I thinke his hap was to do it in prose in the Greeke toung, because we finde a litle Greeke storie extant of the warres of the ROMAINES against the MARSIANS. He dearely loued his brother *Marcus Lucullus*, as appeared by many manifest proofes: but the chiefest & most noted proofe among the ROMAINES was this. Himselfe was elder then his brother *Marcus*, and yet for all that would neuer sue to beare office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwayes till he should be chosen, and let his own time passe ouer. This great curtesie to his brother so wanne the peoples harts, as *Lucius* being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his brother *Marcus* with him for his sake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the MARSIANS warre, wherein he did many wise and valiant deedes. The cause notwithstanding that moued *Sylla* to make choice of him, was rather for his constancy, and good courteous nature, then for any other respect. For when *Sylla* had once wonne him, he euer after employed him continually in his most waightie causes: as in a commission specially, he gaue him to coyne money. For a good deede part of the money that *Sylla* spent in the warres against king *Mithridates*, was coyned by *Lucullus* commandement within the country of PELOPONNESVS: whereupon they were called *Lucullian* peeces, and were currant a long time amongst the souldiers, to buy such things as they stood in neede of, and neuer refused by any. *Sylla* being afterwards at ATHENS the stronger by land, but the weaker by sea, so as his enemies cut off his victuals from him: sent *Lucullus* into EGYPT and LYBIA to bring him such shippes as he found in those parts. It was in the deepe of winter, and yet he spared not to sayle with three brigantines of GREECE, and many galliots of the RHODIANS, putting himselfe not onely to the danger of the sea in so long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing themselues to be the stronger went sayling euery where with a great nauie. But for all these dangers, he first arriued in the Ile of CRETA, & wanne their good wils. From thence went to the citie of CYRENE, where he found the inhabitants turmoyled with ciuill warres, and continuall oppressions of tyrants: from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them lawes to establish gouernment

Lucullus studied Philosophie in his latter time.

Lucullus booke of the warre of the Marsians, in Greeke.

Lucullus loue to his brother Marcus.

Lucius, and Marcus Lucullus both chosen ADiles.

Sylla gaue Lucullus commission to coyne money in Peloponnesus.

and ofs

amongst them, putting them in remembrance of *Platoes* words spoken to their auncesters in olde time, in the spirite of a prophecie. For when they praied *Plato* to write them lawes, and to appoint them some forme of gouernment for their commonwealth, he made them answere: it was a hard thing to giue lawes to so riche and fortunate people as they were. For to say truely, as nothing is harder to be ruled, then a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to receiue counsell and gouernment, then a man in aduersitie. This lesson framed the CYRENIANS at that time to be more ciuill and obedient to the lawes *Lucullus* gaue them. When he departed thence, he coasted towardes EGYPT, where he lost the more parte of his ships by pyrates: but for his owne person, scaping their hands, he was very honorably receiued in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. For all the kings armie came to meete him at sea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the king when he returned from any voyage by sea: and king *Ptolomy* himselfe being very young at that time, gaue him as honourable entertainment as he possible could. For amongst other honours that he did him, he lodged him in his courte, and defraied his ordinarie diet, where neuer strange Captaine was lodged before: and did not onely spend the ordinary allowance in feasting of him which he vsed vnto others, but commanded foure times as much prouision more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, *Lucullus* tooke no more then reasonable was for his person: nor yet would he receiue any maner of gift, although the king had sent him presents to the value of fourescore talents. And which more is, would not so much as go see the citie of MEMPHIS, nor any other of the famous monuments and wonderfull sights in EGYPT, saying: that it was for a man that trauelled vp and downe for his pleasure, and had leisure withall, to see such things, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the fielde, at the siege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king *Ptolomy* would in no case fall in friendship with *Sylla*, fearing least he should thereby put himselfe into warres: but gaue him men and ships to bring him into CYPRVS. And as he was ready to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gaue him a goodly rich emerode set in golde, which *Lucullus* at the first refused, vntill the king shewed him his picture grauen in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing least the vtter refusall might cause the king thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambush by sea for him. Thus hauing gotten a certaine number of ships rogebeer of the porte townes thereabouts, ouer and besides such as the Pyrates and sea-rouers had ridden, being parte of their spoiles, and bestowed with their receitors, went on with them into CYPRVS, where he vnderstood that his enemies laye close in certaine creekes vnder the mayneland, watching to bourde him as he sailed by. Whereupon he vnrigged and bestowed his ships in docks, and sent word to all the port townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to prouide him victuals and other necessarie munition to be in readinesse against the spring. But in the meane while, when he saw time conuenient, he put his whole fleete againe to the sea with all possible speede, went himselfe away, and in the day time caried a lowe saile, but in the night packt on all the cloath he could for: so that by this craftie fetche, he wanne RHODES, and lost not one ship. The RHODIANS they also furnished him with ships: and besides them, he so perswaded the GNIDIANS and other inhabitants of the Ile of CO, that they forsooke king *Mithridates*, and went to make wats with him against them of the Ile of SAMOS. But *Lucullus* himselfe alone draue king *Mithridates* men out of CHIO, restored the COLOPHONIANS againe to libertie: and tooke *Epigonus* the tyrant prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Nowe about that time, *Mithridates* was compelled to forsake the citie of PERGAMVM, and to retire to the citie PITANE, in the which *Fimbria* kept him besieged very straightly by lande. Wherefore *Mithridates* hauing the sea open vpon him, sent for his force and Naule out of all partes, not daring to hazard battell against *Fimbria*, who was very valiant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreouer was himselfe a conqueror. *Fimbria* perceiuing what *Mithridates* meant, and hauing no power by sea of his owne, sent straight to *Lucullus* to requeste him to come with his nauie into those partes to his aide, for the ouercomming of this king, the greatest and most mightie enemie that euer the ROMAINE people had. Because that so notable a prey, which they had gained with such danger and trouble, should not escape the ROMAINES, while they had

Lucullus giueth lawes to the Cyrenians.

A notable saying of Plato.

Lucullus iorney into Egypt.

A notable rich emerod giuen Lucullus by king Ptolomy.

Lucullus doings vnder Sylla by sea.

Lucullus stratagema.

Fimbria besieged Mithridates in Pitane.

him in their hands, and was come himselfe within their daunger: and that therefore he should so much the more hearken vnto it, because that if it fortuned *Mithridates* to be taken, no man should winne more honour and glory by his taking, then he that had stopped his passage, and laide hands on him, euen as he thought to haue fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betweene them both: the one that had driuen him from land, and the other that had stopped his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the ROMAINES would nothing regarde all the famous battels and victories of *Sylla* in GREECE, which he had wonne before the cities of CHÆRONEA and ORCHOMENE: in comparison of taking the king. This was the effect of *Fimbriaes* message sent vnto *Lucullus*, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelihood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if *Lucullus* would haue beleeued him at that time (& haue gone thither with his ships to stop the hauens mouth of the citie, in the which *Mithridates* was besieged, considering also that he was so neere at hand) this warre had taken end there, and the worlde besides had then bene deliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But whether *Lucullus* postponed the consideration and respect he had vnto *Sylla*, whose Lieutenant he was, before all other due regarde of priuate or common benefit: or that he detested and abhorred *Fimbria* as a cursed person, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his handes in the bloud of his Captaine: or else, that it was through the secret prouidence and permission of the gods, that he spared *Mithridates* at that time, to the end he might be reserued as a worthy enemy, against whom he might afterwardes shew his valure. Howsoeuer it was, it so fell out that he hearkened not vnto *Fimbriaes* message, but gaue *Mithridates* time and leisure to flie, and finally to scorne all *Fimbriaes* force and power. But *Lucullus* selfe also afterwards ouercame the kings armie by sea, once neere vnto the head of Lectum, which is on the coast of TROADE: and an other time neere vnto the Ile of TENEDOS, where *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenant by sea, lay in waite for him with a farre greater number of shippes then he had. And yet so soone as *Lucullus* had discried him, he sailed before all his fleete being Admirall, in a galley of the RHODES, at fiue ores to a bancke, whereof one *Demagoras* was maister, a man well affected to the seruice of the ROMAINES, and very skilfull in fight by sea. And when *Neoptolemus* on the other side rowed against him with great force, commanding his pylot that he should so order his galley, that he might stemme him right in the prowe: *Demagoras* fearing the full meeting of the kings galley which was very strong and heauie, and furthermore well armed with pointes and spurres of brasse before, durst not encounter her with his prowe, but nimbly made his galley to winde about, & turned his poupe towards him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, receiued the blowe without considering that they hit vpon the dead workes, and those partes which are alwaies aboue water. In the meane time *Lucullus* other ships were come, who commanding his men to turne the beakehead of his galley forward, did many famous actes: so that he made his enemies flie, and draue *Neoptolemus* away. And departing from thence, went to seeke out euen as he was ready to passe ouer the seas, about CHERRONESVS: holpe him to waft armie, and so passed him ouer with safetie. Afterwards when peace was concluded, and king *Mithridates* was come into his realme and countries againe, which lie vpon the sea ior: *Sylla* condemned the prouince of ASIA to pay the summe of twenty thousand for a fine, by reason of their rebellion. And for leauying of this fine, left *Lucullus* there commission to coine money: which was a great comforte and hearts ease vnto the ASIA, considering the extremitie that *Sylla* had vsed towards them. For in so grieuous odious a commission vnto them all, as that was: *Lucullus* did not onely behaue himself rightly and iustly, but also very honorably and courteously. For, as touching the MITYLENIANS that were onely in armes against him, he was very willing they should know that and that for satisfaction of the offence they had committed taking *Marius* part, they suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continue naughtinesse, he went against them, and hauing ouercome them in battell, compelled to keepe within their walles, and laide siege vnto their citie, where he vsed his policie them. At noone dayes he launched into the sea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS,

Lucullus would not aide Fimbria in besieging Mithridates.

Neoptolemus king Mithridates Lieutenant by sea.

Lucullus put to flight Neoptolemus Mithridates Lieutenant by sea.

Lucullus stratagem at the siege of the Mitylenians.

towards the citie of Elea: howbeit in the night time secretly returned backe, and making no noise, laide an ambush neere vnto the citie. The Mitylenians mistrusting nothing, went out the next morning very rashly without order, & without any maner watch or ward, to spoile the camp of the Romaines, supposing euery man had bene gone: but *Lucullus* coming sodainly vpon them, tooke a great number prisoners, slue about fiue hundred such as resisted, and wanne sixe thousand slaues, with an infinite quantitie of other spoile. Now did the goddes happely preserue *Lucullus*, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miseries and troubles, which *Sylla* and *Marius* made poore Italie suffer, euen then when he was occupied in the warres of Asia: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and fauor with *Sylla*, as any of his friends about him. For as we haue said before, he dedicated his commentaries vnto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his last will and testament appointed him Tutor vnto his sonne, leauing *Pompey* out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwards betweene them, because they were both young men, and vehemently desirous of honour. Shortly after the death of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* was chosen Consull with *Marcus Cotta*, about the three score Olympiade: and then they began to reuiue the matter againe, that it was very needfull to make warres against *Mithridates*, and specially *Marcus Cotta*, who gaue out that it was not ended, but only slept for a while. Wherefore, when the Consuls came to drawe lots what prouinces they should take charge of, *Lucullus* was maruellous sorie that the prouince of Gavle, lying betweene the Alpes and Italie, fell to his lot: because he thought it no countrie wherein any great exploits were to be done: and againe, the glory of *Pompey* grieued him greatly, whose honor daily increased by the famous battels he wanne in Spaine. So that it was most certaine, that so soone as *Pompey* had ended the warres there, they would haue chosen him generall in the wars against *Mithridates*. Wherfore, when *Pompey* sent to Rome in earnest maner, to require money to make pay to his souldiers, writing to the Senate, that if they did not send him money the sooner, he would leaue *Sertorius* there, Spaine behinde him, and bring his army back into Italie: *Lucullus* made all the meanes he could to haue it quickly sent him, fearing least he should returne into Italie vpon any occasion, while he was Consull. For he thought that if he returned againe to Rome with so great an armie, he would easily do what him list: and rather, because that *Cethegus* and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the swaye and rule at Rome, because he spake and did all that pleased the common people, being a vitious liuer, and dissolutely giuen, for which cause *Lucullus* hated him. But there was an other common Orator among the people called *Lucius Quintius*, and he would haue had all *Syllaes* ordinances reuoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole state of the commonwealth, and to turmoile the citie of Rome againe with ciuill dissention, which then liued quietly and in good peace. This *Lucius Quintius Lucullus* talked withall a part to perswade him, and openly reuoked him with such words, that he was disswaded from his euill purpose, and by reason did hide his rash ambition, handling it both wisely and as cunningly as he could possible (for the safetie of the commonwealth) because it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to growe. While these things were thus in hand, newes came that Antiochus the gouernor of Cilicia was dead. Straight whereupon many put forward themselues to sue for this charge, and to court *Cethegus*, as the only man who aboue all other might appoint any man officer whom he thought good. Now for *Lucullus* he made no great reckning of the gouernment of Cilicia in respect of the countrie, but because Cappadocia was his next adioyning to it, and perswading himselfe that if he could obtaine the gouernment there-of they would giue none other (but himselfe) the authoritie to make wars with *Mithridates*: he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none should haue it but himselfe. And hauing prooued sundry wayes, was compelled in the end, against his owne nature, to vse a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly deuise to obtaine his desire. There was a woman in Rome at that time called *Præcia*, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasant grace in talke and discourse, howbeit otherwise a meere after curtisan maner. But because she emploied the credit and fauor of them that frequented her companie, to the benefit and seruice of the commonwealth, and of them that

Lucullus honored of Sylla.

The first occasion of quarrell, betwixt Pompey & Lucullus.

Lucullus, M. Cotta, Consuls.

Cethegus a vitious liuer.

Lucius Quintius, a seditious Orator at Rome.

Lucullus ambition to make warres against king Mithridates.

Præcia a famous curtisan of Rome.

loued her: she wanne the reporte (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louing woman, and ready to fauour and further any good enterprise, and it wanne her great fame and reputation. But after she had once wonne *Cethegus*, (who ruled all the commonwealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her sight: then had she all the whole power & authority of ROME in her hands, for the people did nothing but *Cethegus* preferred it, and *Cethegus* did what euer *Precia* would will him to. Thus *Lucullus* sought to come in fauour with her, sending her many presents, and vsing all other courtesies he could offer vnto her: besides that it seemed a great reward for so proude and ambitious a woman as she, to be sued vnto by such a man as *Lucullus* was, who by this meanes came to haue *Cethegus* at his commandement. For *Cethegus* did nothing but commend *Lucullus* in all assemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CILICIA, who after it was once granted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of *Precia*, nor yet of *Cethegus*. For the people wholly of themselues with one consent did grant him the charge to make warre with *Mithridates*, because he knew better how to ouercome him, then any other Captaine, and because that *Pompey* was in the warres with *Sertorius* in SPAINE, and *Metellus* also growne too olde, both which two were the onely men that could deseruedly have contended for this office with him. Neuertheless, *Marcus Cotta* his fellow Consul, made such sute to the Senate, that they sent him also with an armie by sea, to keepe the coasts of PONTIDE, and to defend the countrie of BITHYNIA. Thus, *Lucullus* hauing his commission went into ASIA with one legion only, the which he leauied a new at ROME: & when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through couetousnesse and delicacie of the countrie. For amongst others, were the bandes which they called the *Fimbrian* bandes, men giuen ouer to their owne will, and very ill to be ruled by martiall discipline, because they had liued a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were those selfe souldiers that together with *Fimbria*, slue their generall *Flaccus*, Consull of the ROMAINE people, and that afterwards betraied *Fimbria* himselfe, and forsooke him, leauing him vnto *Sylla*, being murtherers, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwise very valiant, well trained, and painefull souldiers. Notwithstanding, *Lucullus* in short time bridled their boldnesse meetely well, and reformed the others also, who before had neuer proued (in my opinion) what the value of a good Captaine and Generall ment, that knew how to command: but were vsed to flattering leaders, that commaunded the souldiers no more then they themselues liked of. Now concerning the state of the enemies, thus it was with them. *Mithridates* that in the beginning was very braue and bolde (as these florishing Sophisters commonly are) vndertaking warre against the ROMAINES, with a vaine vnprofitable armie, but passing fresh and sumptuous to the eye: but after that he was once foiled and ouercome, with no lesse shame then losse, when he came to make this second warre, he cut off all superfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a conuenient furniture to serue for warres at all assayes. For he put by the confused multitude of sundry nations, the fierce threatnings of the barbarous people in so many sundry tongues, and clearely banisht also the riche grauen armors with goldesmiths worke, and those with pretious stones, as things that more enriched the enemies that wanne them, then gaue strēgth or courage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe swords to be made after the ROMAIN fashion, and great heauy shields, & brought to the field a marueilous number of horse, more ready for seruice, then riche in furniture. Then he ioyned sixe score thousand footmen together, appointed & set in order like vnto the battell of the ROMAINES, with sixteene thousand horse of seruice, besides those that drue his armed cartes with hookes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And besides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of shippes and gallies together, which were not decked with goodly golden pauilions, as at the first, neither with stooues nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and gentlewomen: but furnished full of armour, artillerie, and slings, and with money also to pay the souldiers. With all this armie and preparation, he went first to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receiued him very gladly, and not those onely, but all the other cities of ASIA wholly: the which were fallen againe into the

Cethegus ruled all Rome.

The gouernement of Cilicia & the warres against king Mithridates were giuen to Lucullus.

Fimbrian souldiers very dissolute and corrupted.

Mithridates armie against Lucullus.

Mithridates armie.

former miseries and diseases, by the cruelty of the ROMAINE farmers and vsurers, who raising rates and impostes vppon them, made them abide vntollerable things. It is true that *Lucullus* draue them away afterwards, like the *Harpyæ*, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mouthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he vsed vnto them and qualified a litle the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to reuolt. Now *Lucullus* being busie about these matters, *Marcus Cotta* the other Consull (and his companion) supposing that the absence of *Lucullus* was a fit occasion offered him to doe notable seruice, prepared to fight with *Mithridates*. And although he had newes brought him from sundrie places, that *Lucullus* was with his armie in PHRYGIA, and comming towards him: yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honour of triumphe assured alreadie in his hands, and because *Lucullus* should be no partaker of it, he aduaunced forwardes to giue battell. But *Mithridates* ouercame him both by sea and by lande: so that *Cotta* by sea lost three score of his ships with all the men in them, foure thousand footmen by lande, and was after with shame shut vp and besieged in the citie of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopelesse to escape, but by *Lucullus* only aide and meanes. Howbeit there were in *Lucullus* campe, that were very earnest with him to leaue *Cotta*, and to go further, assuring him that he should finde the realme of *Mithridates* both without men of warre, or any defence at all: so that he might easily be Lord of the whole. And these were the words of the souldiers that spighted *Cotta*, because his foolish rashnesse and fonde imagination had not only brought those men to the shambles to be slaine and cast away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them also, that they could not ouercome him, and end this warre without blowes, for that they were driuen to go to his helpe. Howbeit *Lucullus* making an Oration vnto them, aunswered, that he had rather saue the life of one ROMAINE citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when *Archelaus*, (who had bene *Mithridates* Lieutenant in BOEOTIA in the first warres against *Sylla*, and now in this second warre tooke part with the ROMAINES) assured him that so soone as they saw him in the realme of PONTVS, they would all rise against *Mithridates*, and yeelde themselues vnto him: *Lucullus* aunswered him thus, that he would not shew himselfe more fearefull, then the good hunters which neuer suffer the beast to recouer his denne. And when he had so said, he marched with his armie towardes *Mithridates*, hauing in all his campe nine thousand footmen, and two thousand fiue hundred horse. When he came so neere vnto his enemies, that he might easily at eye discerne all their hoast, he wondered at the great multitude of souldiers that were in their campe, and was in minde to giue battell, supposing that the better way was to prolong time, and drawe these warres out in length. But one *Marius* a ROMAINE captain, whom *Sertorius* had sent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates* with certaine number of souldiers, came forwards, and prouoked him to battell. *Lucullus* for his part did put his men also in a readinesse to fight. But euen as both battels were prepared to ioyne, the element opened vpon the sodaine, without any shewe of change of weather discerned before, and they plainly saw a great flake of fire fall betweene both armies, in forme and shape much like to a tunne, and of the colour of molten siluer. This celestiall signe put both the armies in such a feare, as they both retired, and fought not a stroake: and this wonderfull sight fortuned (as it appeared) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Otryes. Nowe *Lucullus* afterwards considering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor prouision so great in the world, that could suffice to victuall so many thousands of people as *Mithridates* had in his campe long time together, hauing his enemies campe so lying before them: willed that one of the prisoners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabin, then what corne he had left in their cabbin. And when the prisoner had aunswered to all his demandes, he returned him to prison, and sent for an other: and for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their corne, and other proportion of victuals they had, with the number of men the same should maintaine: he found that all would be spent in three or foure daies at the vtmost. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of battell. So he caused a maruellous deale of wheate to be brought into his campe out of euery

Asia fell into former miseries by the Romaine vsurers.

Cotta the Consull ouercome by Mithridates in battell.

The godly saying of Lucullus for the saueing of a citizen.

Lucullus army.

A flame of fire fell betweene both armies, out of the element.

Lucullus politike consideration to discy pher the enemie.

quarter, that the same being throughly victualed, he might easily tary the occasion which his enemies necessitie should offer him. *Mithridates* in the meane time, sought which way he might take the city of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowne before with Cottas the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had lost three thousand men, and tenne of their shippes. And because that *Lucullus* should not vnderstand of his enterprise, *Mithridates* stale away by night after supper, taking the oportunity of a darke rainie night, and marched thitherwards with such speede, that he was before the city of CYZICVS by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddesse *Adrastia* standeth, which is the goddesse of fatall destinie. *Lucullus* receiuing intelligence of *Mithridates* departure from his campe, followed him straight wayes steppe by steppe, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in disorder, lodged his armie in a village called THRACIA, in a place of great aduantage for him, and commodiously seated also vppon the high wayes, and through-fare of the neighbours thereabouts, by the which they must come of necessitie to victuall *Mithridates* campe. Wherfore *Lucullus* wisely foreseeing what would follow: would not keep his purpose secret from his souldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counsell, and there making an oration vnto them, told them openly by manifest demonstration of assured hope, that ere many dayes passed, he would giue victorie into their hands, and that without losse of one droppe of bloud. In the meane season, *Mithridates* enuironned the GRECIANS round about by land, hauing deuided his armie into tenne campes, and stopped vp the mouth of the arme of the sea, which deuideth the citie from firme lande, with his ships from one side to another. Now the CYZICENIANS were valiant men, and determined to abide all extreamitie for the ROMAINES sakes: but one thing onely troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of *Lucullus*, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe stood in such a place, where they might easily discerne it from the citie. But *Mithridates* souldiers deceiued them, for shewing them the ROMAINES campe that lay aboue hard by them, said vnto them: do yee see yonder campe there? They are the MEDES and the ARMENIANS, whom *Tigranes* hath sent to the aide of *Mithridates*. These words put the CYZICENIANS in a maruellous feare, seeing such a multitude of enemies dispersed round about them: that when *Lucullus* should come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of *Lucullus* approach, by one called *Demonax*, whom *Archelaus* sent vnto them, but they would not beleeue him at the first, taking it for a tale, only to make them be of good courage, and valiantly abide the furie of the siege: vntill such time as a litle boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had taken him prisoner, was come againe vnto them. Of whome they inquired where *Lucullus* was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they iested to aske that question of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the ROMAINES campe with his finger: then they beleeued it indeed, & were couragious againe. There is a lake neere vnto the citie of CYZICVS called Dascylitide, & is nauigable with conuenient bigge boates. *Lucullus* tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in a carte, and so caried it to the sea, and there put as many souldiers in her as she could well carry, who by night entred into the citie, the skoute of the enemies neuer descrying them. This small supply did maruellously comfort the besieged CYZICENIANS: and it seemeth that the gods, delighting to see their noble courage, would further increase and assure the same, by many manifest tokens which they sent from heauen, and specially by one which was this. The day of the feast of *Proserpina* was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a black cowe to offer in solemne sacrifice, as their ancient ceremonies required: so they made one of paste, and brought it hard vnto the aulter. Now, the cowe that was vowed to this sacrifice, & which they reserued vp of purpose to serue for that day, was feeding amongst the heard of the citie in the fields, on the other side of the arme of the sea. But that day she kept alone from all the rest of the heard, and swam ouer the arme of the sea, and came into the citie: where she went of her selfe vnto the place of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the goddesse *Proserpina* her selfe appeared vnto *Aristagoras* in his dreame, secretary of the state and commonwealth of the CYZICENIANS, and said vnto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of LIBYA, against the trumpet of Pont, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning

Mithridates besieged Cyzicus.

The stratagem of Mithridates souldiers.

A wonderfull token of a cowe that came to offer her selfe to the Cyzicenians to be sacrificed.

Aristagoras vision.

morning when the ſecretary had told them his viſion, the CYZICENIANS maruelled much at the goddeſſes words, and could not imagine what they ment. Howbeit at the breake of day there roſe a great whiſtling wind, that made the ſea billowes riſe very high: and the kings engines of battery which were brought to the walles of the city to plucke them downe (being wonderfull works that one *Niconides* a THESSALIAN enginer had made and deuiſed) began to make ſuch a noiſe, and to breake in peeces by the roughnes of the winde, that a man might eaſily iudge what would follow vpon it. Then all at one inſtant the ſouthwinde was become ſo vehement bigge, that in a moment it burſt all theſe engines a ſunder, and ſpecially a tower of wodde of the height of a hundred cubittes, which the winde ſhooke ſo vehemently, that it ouerthrew it to the ground. And it is ſayd furthermore, that in the city of ILIVM the goddeſſe *Minerua* appeared vnto diuerſe in their ſleepe, all in a ſweat, and ſhewing part of her vaile torne, as if ſhe had bene newly returned from giuing aide vnto the CYZICENIANS: in confirmation whereof, the inhabitants of ILIVM haue a piller yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memory. Now was *Mithridates* maruellous ſory for the breaking and loſſe of his engines, by meanes whereof, the CYZICENIANS had eſcaped the danger of aſſault, and of the ſiege in like maner, vntill he truely vnderſtood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be ſuch, as the ſouldiers were compelled to eate mans fleſh, which (his Captaines abuſing him) had for a time kept ſecret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth in deed, he left off his vaine ambition obſtinately to continue ſiege: knowing well that *Lucullus* made not warres with threats and bravery, but (as the common prouerbe ſayth) leapt on his belly with both his feete, that is to ſay, he did what he could poſſible to cut off all the victuals from him. And therefore one day when *Lucullus* was gone to aſſault a caſtell that troubled him very neare vnto his campe: *Mithridates* becauſe he would not loſe that oportunity, ſent the moſt part of his horſemen to get victuals in BITHYNIA, with all his cartes, and beaſtes of cariage, and his moſt vnprofitable footemen. *Lucullus* hearing thereof, returned againe the ſelfe ſame night vnto his campe, and the next morning betimes being in the winter ſeaſon, followed them by the tracke with ten enſignes of footemen only and all his horſemen. But the ſnow was ſo deepe, the cold ſo terrible ſharpe, and the weather ſo rough, that many of his ſouldiers not being able to abide it, dyed by the way. For all that he marched on ſtill, till he ouertooke his enemies about the riuer of Rindacus, where he gaue them ſuch an ouerthrow, that the very women came out of the city of APOLLONIA, and went to ſteale the victuals they had loden, and ſtrip the dead, which were a maruellous great number, as a man may iudge in ſuch a caſe: and neuertheleſſe there were taken ſixe thouſand horſe of ſeruice, an infinite number of beaſtes for cariage, and fifteene thouſand men beſides, all which ſpoile he brought to his campe, and paſſed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the hiſtoriographer *Saluſt*, who writing of this matter ſayth, that here was the firſt time that euer the ROMAINES ſaw any camels. Me thinks it ſtraunge how he ſhould thinke ſo, that they who long before had ouercome *Antiochus* the great vnder *Scipio*, and the others that a litle before had fought againſt *Archelaus*, neare vnto the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHÆRONEA, ſhould not haue ſeene camels. But to returne againe to our matter. *Mithridates* being feared with this ouerthrow, reſolued with him ſelfe immediatly to flie, with all the ſpeede he could poſſibly make: and to entertaine and ſtay *Lucullus* for a time behinde him, determined to ſend *Ariſtonicus* his Admirall with his army by ſea, into the ſea of GREECE. But as *Ariſtonicus* was ready to hoiſe ſaile, his own men betrayed him, and deliuered him into the handes of *Lucullus*, with tenne thouſand crownes which he carried with him, to corrupt if he could part of the ROMAINES army. *Mithridates* hearing of this, fled by ſea, leauing the reſt of his army by land in the handes of his Captaines, to bee brought away by them as well as they could. *Lucullus* followed vnto the riuer of Granicus, where he ſet vppon them, and after he had ſlaine twenty thouſand of them, tooke an infinite number priſoners. And they ſay there died in that warres, what ſouldiers, what ſlaues, what lackeis, and other ſtragglers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred thouſand people. This done, *Lucullus* returned to the city of CYZICVS, where after hee had ſpent ſome daies, enioying the glory due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment

Extreame famine in Mithridates campe.

Prouerbe: He lept on his belly with both his feete.

Rindacus fl.

Lucullus ouerthrew Mithridates horſemen.

Mithridates fled by ſea.

Granicus fl.

Lucullus ouerthroweth Mithridates footemen by the riuer of Granicus.

of the CYZICENIANS: he went to visite the coast of HELLESPONT, to get ships together, and to prepare an army by sea. And passing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of *Venus*: where, as he slept in the night, it seemed to him he saw the goddesse appeare before him, which saied these verses vnto him.

Lucullus dreame.

O Lion fierce and stoute: why sleepest thou so sound?
Since at thy hand so faire a prey, is ready to be sound.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his friends to him, told him the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came some vnto him from the city of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene gallies of king *Mithridates*, hauing fiue oares to euery banck, that were seen in the hauen of the ACHAIANS, and that sailed towardes the Ile of LEMNOS. Whereupon *Lucullus* tooke ship straight, went and tooke them euery one: for at his first comming he slue the Captaine called *Isidorus*, and went afterwardes to the other mariners that lay at ancker on the coast side, who seeing him come, drew towardes land with their shippes, in purpose to runne them all a shore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurt many of *Lucullus* souldiers, because they couldnot compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had laied their shippes was such, as there was no way to force them before, their gallies floting in the sea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. *Lucullus* with much a do all this notwithstanding, found meanes in the end to put a shore certaine of the best souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily land. These souldiers went straight and set vpon the enemies behinde, slue some of them euen at their first comming, and compelled the rest to cut a sunder the cables that fastned the gallies to the banckes. But when they thought to flie from land, the gallies bruised and brake one another: and that worst of all was, ranne vpon the pointes and spurres of *Lucullus* gallies. And so many of them that stoode aboue hatches were slaine, the rest taken prisoners: amongest whom, *Marius* the ROMAINE Captaine was brought vnto *Lucullus*, whom *Sertorius* had sent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates*. He had but one eie, and *Lucullus* had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eie, because *Marius* should not die so happy a death, as to be slaine, but that he should die some shamefull death, and bee condemned by order of law. That done, *Lucullus* went in person with all the speede he could possible to follow *Mithridates*, hoping to finde him yet vpon the coast of BITHYNIA, where *Voconius* should haue stayed him: for he had sent this *Voconius* before with a certaine number of shippes vnto the city of NICOMEDIA, to stay him from flying. But he taried so long in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA sacrificing to the goddes of the same, and to be receiued into the fraternity of their religion, that he could neuer after come neare *Mithridates* to stoppe him from flying: hauing already made sayle with all his whole fleete, and hasting with all possible speede to recouer the realme of PONTVS, before *Lucullus* could returne from whence he went. But in sayling thitherwardes, he met with such a terrible storme, that caried part of his shippes so away, that they ranne straggling to seeke their fortune, and part of them splitted and drowned outright: so that all the coasts and ouers thereabouts, for many daies after, were full of dead bodies and shippewrackes cast shore by waues of the sea. Now for *Mithridates* owne person, he was in a ship of great bulden, the which for her greatnesse could not saile neare the shore, nor recouer land, sheeshe also very euill to be guided by the pilots in so boisterous a storme: the mariners besides were put out of all their skill and knowledge: and the shippe her selfe moreouer tooke in such store of water, and was so heauily charged withall, that they durst no more put her out to the sea. By reason whereof *Mithridates* was compelled to goe abord a litle pinase of pyrates, and to put him selfe and his life into their handes, by whose helpe in the end, (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to land, and recouered the city of HERACLEA in the realme of PONTVS. Now here is to be noted, that the great brauery *Lucullus* shewed vnto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the fauour of the goddes. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of these warres to prepare a great nauy of shippes, and therewithall had giuen order also for three thousand talents: *Lucullus* staied them by letters that they should not doe it, writing brauely vnto them, that without all this charge

Lucullus ouercame Mithridates nauy by sea.

Mithridates in great danger vpon the sea by tempest.

charge and great preparation he would be ſtrong enough to driue *Mithridates* from the ſea, with the onely ſhippes hee would borrow of their friends and confederates. And in deede, through the ſpeciall fauour of the goddes, he brought it ſo to paſſe: for they ſay, that this terrible ſtorme that deſtroied the army of *Mithridates* was raiſed vp by *Diana*, being offended with the men of the realme of PONTVS, becauſe they had deſtroyed her temple in the city of PRIAPOS, and had caried away her image. Now there were diuerſe that counſelled *Lucullus* to deferre the reſt of this warre, vntill an other ſeaſon: but notwithſtanding all their perſwaſions, he went through the country of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to inuade the realme of *Mithridates*. In the which voyage, at the firſt beginning he lacked victuals, ſo that there were thirty thouſand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried euery one of them a buſhell of wheate on their ſhoulders: howbeit entring farther into the countrey, and conquering the whole, there was ſuch exceeding plenty of all things, that an Oxe was ſold in his campe but for a Drachma, and a ſlaue at foure times as much. And of all other ſpoile there was ſuch great ſtore, that either they made no reckonning of it, or elſe they made hauocke of it, becauſe there was no man to ſell it vnto, euery man hauing ſo much of his owne. For they ranne ouer all the countrey vnto the city of THEMISCYRA, and to the vallies that lay vpon the riuer of Thermodon, and ſtayed no where longer then they were a ſpoyling. Thereupon the ſouldiers beganne to murmur at *Lucullus*, becauſe he aſſured all the cities vpon compoſition, and neuer tooke any of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich them ſelues by ſpoile: and yet ſayd they, he would make vs now go farther, and leaue AMISVS a great rich city which we might eaſily take by force, if it were but a litle ſtraightly beſieged, and leade vs into the deſerts of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALDÆIANS to fight againſt *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* paſſed ouer all theſe complaints, and made no reckonning of them, becauſe he would neuer haue thought that they would haue fallen into ſuch mutiny and fury, as afterwardes they did: and contrarily excuſed him ſelfe the more carefully to them that blamed and reproued him, for his long tarying vpon townes and villages that were not worth the reckoning, and ſuffering *Mithridates* in the meane time to gather a new force and army together at his pleaſure. For, ſaid he, that is the matke I ſhotte at, and that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I doe, without doing nothing more, then that he might once againe make himſelfe ſtrong, and bring a ſecond army to the field, that might embolden him to come eſtſoones to the fight with vs, and not runne away no more. Doe you not ſee, ſayed he, that at his backe he hath an infinite number of deſert countries, where it is vnpoſſible euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him alſo the mount Caucaſus, and many other vnpaſſable places, which are ſufficient not onely to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings beſides that would flie battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a litle way from the country of the CAZIRENIANS vnto the realme of ARMENIA, where *Tigranes* the king of kings inhabiteth, whoſe power is ſo great, that he driueth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, and carieth whole townes and cities of GREECE vnto the realme of MEDIA, who hath all SYRIA and PALESTINE in his handes, and hath ſlaine and rooted out the kings and ſucceſſors of the great *Seleucus*, and hath caried away their wiues and daughters priſoners by force. This great and mighty king is allied vnto *Mithridates*, for he maried *Mithridates* daughter: and it is not likely that when *Mithridates* ſhall come and intreate him to helpe him in his diſtreſſe, that *Tigranes* will refuſe him, but rather we muſt thinke certainely that he will make wars vpon vs in his defence. Wherefore thus, in making haſt to driue out *Mithridates*, we ſhall bring our ſelues into great daunger, to prouoke a new enemy, euen *Tigranes* againſt vs, who of long time hath lurked for a iuſt occaſion to make warres with vs: and he can haue no honeſter cauſe to take armes, then to defend and keepe a king his neighbour, and ſo neare a kinſeman, from vtter deſtruction, and one that is compelled to ſeeke vpon him for ſuccour. What neede we then to prouoke him to ſecure it, and teach *Mithridates* (which he purpoſeth not) to whom he ſhould repaire for helpe, to make warres againſt our ſelues, and pricke him forward, or to ſay better, put him with their owne hands into the way to go ſeeke aide of *Tigranes*: which of him ſelfe he will neuer doe, (thinking it a diſhonor vnto him) vnleſſe we driue him to it for very neceſſity. Is it not better for vs to giue him leyſure and time, to gather a ſecond force againe of him ſelfe, and

Lucullus ambition commendable.

Lucullus iorney into Pontus.

A noze bought for a Drachma.

The mutiny of Lucullus ſouldiers.

Lucullus oration and excuſe to his ſouldiers.

Tigranes king of Armenia, maried Mithridates daughter.

„ his owne people, that we might rather fight with the COLCHIANS, TIBARENIANS, CAP-
„ PADOCIANS, and with such other people whom we haue so many times ouercome: than
„ with the MEDES and ARMENIANS? With this determination *Lucullus* taried a great while
before the city of AMISVS, continuing this siege of purpose, without distressing them at all.
Mithridates camped at Cabira. Afterwardes when winter was past, he left *Murena* there to continue the siege, and him self
with the rest of his army went to meete *Mithridates*: who had planted his campe neare vnto
the city of CABIRA, determining to tary the ROMAINES comming, hauing gathered toge-
Mithridates army. ther againe a new army of forty thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, in
Lycus fl. which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed ouer the riuer of Lycus, and went
and presented battell to the ROMAINES in the plaine field. There the horsemen skirmished, but
the ROMAINS had the worse: for there was one *Pomponius* a ROMANE taken, of great estima-
tion, who was brought vnto king *Mithridates* hurt as he was. *Mithridates* asked him, if he
sauing his life, and healing his wounds, he would become his seruant and friend. Straight re-
The constancy of a Romaine souldier. plied *Pomponius*, with all my heart quoth he, so that thou make peace with the ROMAINES:
Lucullus flieth Mithridates horsemen. not, I will euer be thine enemy. The king esteemed his corage much, and would doe him no
hurt. And as for *Lucullus*, he was afraied to come into the plaine, because his enemy was the
stronger of horsemen: and he doubted also on the other side to take his way by the mountains,
because it was very high, vneasie to clime, and full of woddes and forrestes. But as he stood
thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GRECIANS by chaunce that were fled, and hidden in a
caue hard by, among the which there was an old man called *Artemidorus*, who promised *Lu-*
cullus if he would beleeue and follow him, he would bring him into a sure strōg place to lodge
his campe, where was a castell aboue the city of CABIRA. *Lucullus* beleeued the olde mans
wordes, wherefore so soone as night came, he raised great fires in his campe, and went his
way: and after they had passed certaine straight and daungerous waies of the mountaine, he
came in the morning vnto the place where *Artemidorus* had promised to bring him. Now his
enemies were maruellously amazed when day light came, to see him there ouer them, in a
place where if he list to fight, he might come vpon them with aduantage: and if he liked not
to sturre, it was vnpossible to compell him. For he stoode indifferent then to hazard battell or
not. But in the meane season, they say certaine of the kings campe by chaunce were a hun-
ting the Hart. The ROMAINS perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them of by the way: and
they beganne by this meanes one to charge an other in such sort, reliefe growing still on ei-
ther side, as *Mithridates*, men grew the stronger. But the ROMAINS seeing their men flie from
the trenches of their campe aboue, were in such a rage, that they all ranne in a choller to *Lu-*
cullus to pray him he would leade them to battell, and giue them a signall to fight. *Lucullus*, be-
The fight of a Generall in a battell is of maruellous force. cause he would shew them by experience how much the presence and eie of a good wise cap-
taine in time of neede was worth: commaunded them they should not once sturre, and
him selfe in person went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the first of his men
he met withall flying, to stay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they present-
ly did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together againe, did easily make
their enemies returne, that before had them in chase, and draue them backe, fighting with
them euen hard to their owne fort. Afterwardes vppon this returne againe to his campe, he
A politicke deuise of the Romains to punish cowardly souldiers. sette his souldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to shame them withall, which the
ROMAINS are wont to vse in such a case: and that is, that he made them digge a ditch of two
foote long, being in their shirtes, all vntrussed, and their other companions present seeing them
doe it. Now there was in king *Mithridates* campe, one *Olthacus*, prince of the DARDA-
The Dardarians what people they be. RIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vppon the marishes of Mæotin) a noble
gentleman of his person, valiant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good iudgement
to doe any great enterprise as any that was in all the army, and furthermore a prince of great
good grace and entertainement in company, knowing how to fashion him selfe with all
men. This prince, being alwaies at strife with other Lords of his countrey, and contending
who should haue the first place of honor and fauor about the king: went vnto *Mithridates* and
promised him that he would do him notable seruice, and that was, that he would kill *Lucullus*.
The king was very glad of this promise, & praised him maruellously in secret: howbeit openly

of purpose he did him many iniuries, because he might haue some colour to counterfaite anger and displeasure, and to giue way for him to goe yeelde him selfe vnto *Lucullus* as he did. *Lucullus* was maruellous glad of him, because he was one of the chiefest men of name in all his campe, and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediatly: in the which he behaued him selfe so well, that *Lucullus* greatly esteemed his wisedome, and commended his diligence, in such sort that he did him this honor, to call him sometimes vnto the councell, and make him sit at his borde. One day when this DARDARIAN prince *Olthacus* thought to haue found fit occasion to execute his enterprise, he commaunded his footemen to be ready with his horse out of the trenches of the campe: and at noone daies when the souldiers tooke rest, and slept here and there in the came, he went vnto *Lucullus* tent, thinking to haue found no body there to keepe him from comming in, considering the familiarity *Lucullus* shewed him, saying also he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and sure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if sleepe that casteth away so many other Captaines, had not at that time preserued and saued *Lucullus* that slept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called *Menedemus*, who by good fortune kept the dore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, because *Lucullus* being wearied with trauell and lacke of sleepe, was but then newly layed downe to rest. *Olthacus* whatsoeuer the other said to him, would not be so answered, but told him he would come in whether he would or not, for he must needs speake with him in a matter of great importaunce. *Menedemus* answered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importaunce, nor more necessary, then the preseruation of his maisters life and health, who had neede to take rest: and with these words, he thrust him backe with both his hands. *Olthacus* was afraied then, and withdrew him selfe secretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horse backe, and rode straight to *Mithridates* campe without his purpose he came for, which was to kill *Lucullus*. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and oportunity of time, euen in great matters deliuereth meanes, to saue or destroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines giuen vnto the sicke and diseased persons. Shortly after, *Lucullus* sent one of his Captaines called *Sornatius* to get victuals, with tenne ensignes of footemen. Whereof *Mithridates* being aduertised, sent presently at his taile one of his Captaines also, called *Menander*, vnto whom *Sornatius* gaue battell, and slue him with great slaughter of his men beside. And afterwardes *Lucullus* sent an other of his Lieutenants called *Adrianus* with a great company of souldiers, to get victuals into his campe more then he should neede. *Mithridates* did not let slippe this occasion, but sent after him two of his Captaines also called *Menemachus* and *Myron*, with great number of men, as well footemen as horsemen: all which were slaine, two onely excepted, that brought newes backe to *Mithridates* campe: the which hee sought to saue as well as he could, saying that the losse was much lesse then it was thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignorance and rashnes of his Lieutenaunts. But *Adrianus* at his returne, passed by *Mithridates* campe with great pompe and maiesty, carying a huge number of carts laden with corne and spoiles he had wonne: which draue *Mithridates* selfe into so great a despaire, and all his people into such a feare and trouble, that he presently determined to remoue his place. Whereupon, the nobility and such as had place of credit about him, beganne to send their stuffe, and secretly to conuay their stuffe out of the campe, but vtterly prohibiting others to do the same. The rest of the souldiers seeing the stoutnesse of the kinges minions, beganne to runne vpon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to issue out of the campe. This mutiny grew to such a fury, that they ouerthrew their cariages and sumpter mules, and slue them presently downe. Amongst others there was slaine *Dorylaus*, one of the chiefest Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne, for the which they killed him: and *Hermæus* the Priest of the sacrifices was troden vnder foote, and smoothered at the campe gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great disorder. The king him selfe amongst others fled, but hauing neuer a one of his guard about him, nor any of the quiries of his stable to bring him a horse: *Ptolomy*, one of the groomes of his chamber, perceiuing him in the company of them that fled, lighted off his owne horse, and gaue him the king, but euen in manner too late. For the ROMAINES that followed him were euen euen hard at his taile: and it was not for lacke of speede they missed the taking of him,

Lucullus danger by Olthacus conspiracy.

Olthacus prince of the Dardarians.

Lucullus life saued by sleepe.

Lucullus victory of certaine of Mithridates Captaines.

Mithridates noble men and familiars, cause of mutiny and ouerthrow of his whole army.

Mithridates flieth.

Couetousnesse the ouerthrow of souldiers.

for they were very neare him: but the couetousnes of the souldiers was the losse of the pray they had so long sought for, with so great paine and hazard of battels, and depriued *Lucullus* of the honor and reward of all his victories. For they were so neare vnto him, that if they had but followed *Mithridates* neuer so litle further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horse that caried him away. But one of the moiles that caried his gold and siluer (whether by chaunce, or of pretended policy of *Mithridates*, as a matter purposely habandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the middest of the high way betwixt him that fled, & them MAINES that followed, who stayed there to rob the gold and siluer, fighting about it, that *Mithridates* by that meanes wanne ground so farre before them, as they could neuer after come neare him againe. And this losse was not all which the couetousnesse of the souldiers made *Lucullus* to lose. For, one of the chiefest secretaries of the king being taken, called *Callisthenes*, whom *Lucullus* commaunded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had fiue hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedinesse of them, slue him by the way, and yet notwithstanding *Lucullus* suffered them to spoile and destroy the whole campe of their enemies. After *Mithridates* flight, *Lucullus* tooke the citye of CABIRA, and many other castels and strong places, where he found great treasure, and the prisons full of poore prisoners of the GRECIANS, and many Princes a kin vnto the king himselfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then seeing them selues deliuered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefite of *Lucullus*, thought with them selues they were not onely taken out of prison, but reuiued and turned againe vnto a second life. There was also taken one of king *Mithridates* sisters called *Nissa*, whose taking fell out profitable for her: because al *Mithridates* other wiues and sisters whom they placed farthest off, as out of all daunger (and sent into a countrey of greatest safety, neare vnto the city of PHARNACIA) died pittifully, and were miserably slaine. For *Mithridates* sent one of the groomes of his priuy chamber vnto them called *Bacchides*, to bring them word that they must all die. Amonge many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kings sisters, called *Roxane* and *Statira*, which were forty yeares old a peece, and yet had neuer bene maried: and two of his wiues also whom he had maried, both of the countrey of IONIA, the one called *Berenice*, borne in the Ile of CHIO, & the other *Monime*, in the city of MILETVM. *Monime*, she was very famous amongst the GRECIANS: for notwithstanding king *Mithridates* importunate dealing, being farre in loue with her, insomuch as he sent her fifteen thousand crowns at one time, yet she would neuer giue eare vnto his sute, vntill such time as the mariage was agreede vppon betweene them, and that he had sent her his Diadeame or royall band, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore Lady after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long liued a woful life, bewailing continually her accursed beauty, that in stead of a husband, had procured her a maister: and in steade of the matrimoniall company which a noble woman should enioy, had gotten her a gard and garrison of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, farre from the sweete countrey of GREECE: in change whereof, she had but a dreame and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, hauing vnfortunatly left them within her own country she hapely enioyed before. Now when this *Bacchides* was come vnto them, and had commaunded them from the king to chuse what maner of death they would, and which euery one of them thought most easiest, and least painfull: *Monime* pluckt off the royall band from her head, and tying it on a knot about her necke, hung her selfe, but the band not being strong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cried out: O cursed and wicked tissue, wilt thou not yet serue me to end my sorrowfull daies? And speaking these words, cast it on the ground and spit vpon it, and held out her throte to *Bacchides* to be cut a sunder. The other, *Berenice*, shee tooke a cuppe full of poyson her mother being present, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which she did, and they dranke it off betweene them. The force of the poyson was strong enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not so quickly to destroy the daughter: because she had not taken that proportion which would haue serued her turne, but drue out the pains of her death in length, vntill such time as *Bacchides* hasting to dispatch her, she in the end did strangle her selfe. As for the kings two sisters, *Roxane* and *Statyra*, which were virgines vnmaried, they say, that one of them also dranke poison, cursing & detesting the cruelty of her brother.

A stratageme of Mithridates

Mithridates slue his sisters and wiues.

The corage of Monime Mithridates wife.

Monime her throte was cut.

Berenice strangled her selfe.

brother: howbeit *Statira* gaue neuer an euill word, nor was faint hearted or sorowfull to die, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that seeing himselfe in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cause them die, before they should fall as slaues into the handes of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonor them, or doe them villany. These pitifull misfortunes went to *Lucullus* heart, who was courteous & gentle of nature: neuertheless he went on farther, still following *Mithridates* at the heeles, vnto the citie of TALAVRA. And there vnderstanding that he was fled foure daies before vnto *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, returned backe againe, hauing first subdued the CHALDEANS, and the TIBARENIANS, taken ARMENIA the lesse, and brought the cities, castles, and strong places vnto his obedience. That done, he sent *Appius Clodius* vnto king *Tigranes*, to summon him to deliuer *Mithridates* vnto him: and himselfe tooke his iorney towards the city of AMISVS, which was yet besieged. The cause why this siege continued long, was the sufficiencie and great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called *Callimachus*. who vnderstood so well how all sortes of engines of batterie were to be vsed, and was so subtill besides in all inuentions that might serue to defende a place besieged, as hee troubled the ROMAINES much in this attempt: but afterwardes he was not onely met withall, and payed home for all his labor, but also outreached by *Lucullus* for all his fineneſſe. For where before he had alwaies vsed to sound the retreat at a certaine houre, and to call his men backe from the assault to rest them: one day he brake that order on the sodaine, and comming to assaulte the wall, at the first charge wanne a peece of it, before those within could come in time to resist them. *Callimachus* seeing that, and knowing it was now vnpossible to keepe the city any longer, forsooke it. But before his departing he set the citie a fire, either for the malice to the ROMAINES, because he would not they should enriche themselues with the sacke of so great a citie: or else for a policie of warre to haue the more leasure to saue himselfe, and flie. For no man gaue eye to them that fled by sea, because the flame was so great, that it dispersed it selfe euen to the very wals, and the ROMAINE souldiers, they only prepared to spoile. *Lucullus* seeing the fire without, had compassion of the citie within, and would gladly haue holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the souldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, euery one going after the spoile, making great noise with classhing of harneſſe, and being very loude besides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to spoile, hoping thereby to saue the houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the soldiers themselues in seeking all about with torches and lincks lighted, to see if any thing were hidden: they set a number of houses a fire. So as *Lucullus* comming into the citie the next morning, and seeing the great desolation the fire had made, fell of weeping, saying vnto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought *Sylla* happy, howbeit he neuer wondred more at his good fortune, then that day he did. For, *Sylla* said he, desiring to saue the citie of ATHENS, the goddes granted him that fauor that he might do it: but I that would faine follow him therein, and saue this city, fortune thwarting my desire, hath brought me to the reputation of *Mummius*, that caused CORINTHE to be burnt. Neuertheless he did his best endeuor at that time to helpe the poore city againe. For touching the fire, euen immediatly after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and *Lucullus* selfe before he left the city, made a great number of the houses which were spoiled by fire, to be built vp againe, and curteously receiued all the inhabitauntes that were fled, besides them he placed other GRECIANS there also, that were willing to dwell amongest them, and increased the boundes and confines of the city which he gaue them, one hundred and twenty furlongs into the countrey. This city was a colony of the ATHENIANS, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire florished, and that they ruled the seas: by reason whereof, many flying the tyranny of *Aristion*, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the same. This good happe fell vpon them, that forsaking their owne goodes, they went to possesse and enioy the goodes of other men: but the very citizens of ATHENS it selfe that had escaped from this great desolation, *Lucullus* clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and sent them againe into their countrey. *Tyrannion* the grammarian was taken at that time, whom *Murena* begged of

The courage of Statira Mithridates sister.

Appius Clodius sent vnto Tigranes from Lucullus

Callimachus gouernour of Amisus.

Lucullus wan Amisus.

Callimachus setteth fire of Amisus and flieth.

Lucullus curtesie towards the citie of Amisus.

Lucullus gentle saying.

Tyrannion the grammarian taken.

Lucullus: and *Lucullus* hauing granted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt verie discourteously, and did much abuse *Lucullus* liberality and gift vnto him. For in bestowing this prisoner vpon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane *Muræna* should take him for a bondman, whereby he should neede afterwardes to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and restore him to libertie: was no more but to take that freedome and libertie from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other things, and not in that only, *Muræna* laide himselfe open to the world, that he had not all the partes a worthy Captaine should haue in him. When *Lucullus* departed from AMISVS, he went to visite the cities of ASIA, to the end that whilest he was not now occupied with warres, they might haue some refreshing of lawes and iustice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long time in ASIA, the poore country was so afflicted, and oppressed with so many euils and miseries: as no man liuing would scant beleeue, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreame and horrible couetousnes of the farmers, customers, and ROMAINE vsurers did not only deuour it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were driuen to sell their goodly young sonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the interest and vsurie of the money which they had borrowed to discharge their fines withall: & publickly the tables dedicated vnto the temples, the statues of their goddes, & other church iewels: and yet in the end they themselues were also iuged to be bondmen and slaues to their cruell creditors, to weare out their daies in miserable seruitude. And yet the worst of all was, the paine they put them to before they were so condemned: for they imprisoned them, set them on the rack, tormented them vpon a litle brasen horse, set them in the stockes, made them stand naked in the greatest heate of summer, and on the ise in the deepest of winter, so as that bondage seemed vnto them a relefe of their miseries, and a rest of their torments. *Lucullus* founde the cities of ASIA full of such oppressions, but in a short time after he deliuered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he tooke order, they should account for the vsury that was payed monethly, the hundred part of the principall debt onely, and no more. Secondly he cut off all vsuries that passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor & vsurer should enioy the fourth part of the profits and reuenues of his debter. And he that ioined vsury with the principall, that is to say, tooke vsury vpon vsury: should lose the whole. So that by this order, all debts were paide in lesse then foure yeares, and the owners lands and reuenues set cleare of all maner paiments. This surcharge of vsuries, came of the twenty thousand talents, wherein *Sylla* had condemned the countrie of ASIA: the which summe they had payed twise before vnto the farmers and collectors of the ROMAINS, who had raised it, still heaping vsury vpon vsury, to the summe of fixe score thousand talents. Wherefore these collectors and farmers ranne to ROME, and cried out vpon *Lucullus*, saying that he did them the greatest wrong that could be, and by meanes of money, they procured certaine of the common counsellers to speake against him: which they might easily doe, because they had diuerse of their names in their bookes that dealt in the affaires of the common wealth at ROME. But *Lucullus* was not onely beloued of those countries who he did good vnto, but was wished for and desired also of others, who thought the countries happy that might haue such a gouernor. Now for *Appius Clodius*, whom *Lucullus* had sent before from TALAPRA vnto king *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, and whose sister at that time was *Lucullus* wife: he first tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high country, making him fetch a great compasse about, by many daies iornies spent in vaine: vntil such time as one of his infranchised bondmen that was borne in SYRIA, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leauing the wrong waies they had led him, within few daies past ouer the riuer of Euphrates, and arriued in the city of ANTIOCH, surnamed EPIDAPHNE. Where he had commaundement to abide *Tigranes* return, who was then in the country of PHENICIA, where he subdued certain cities, & had some other yet to conquer. *Appius* in the meane time wanne secretly diuers of the princes and noble men, that obeyed this ARMENIAN king but for feare, by force, and against their wils, among whom was *Zarbienus*, king of the prouince of GORDIÆNA: and promised the aide of *Lucullus* also to many the cities that sent vnto him, (which had not long before bene subdued and

Lucullus relieueth Asia from extreame vsurie.

That is after the rate of 12. in the hundred for the yeare. Lawes set downe for vsurers.

Appius Clodius Lucullus wiues brother.

Euphrates fl.

Zarbienus king of Gordiæna.

and brought into bondage) to whom neuertheles he gaue in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once sturre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of these ARMENIANS was intollerable to the GRECIANS, and specially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reason of his great prosperitie, was growen to such pride and presumption, that whatsoeuer euen did commonly esteeme best, & make most reckoning of, he would not only haue it, and take it his owne, but also tooke it that all was made for himselfe whatsoeuer: and this great ouerwening grew, by reason of fortunes speciall grace and fauour towards him. For at the beginning he had but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downe the power of the PARTHIANS as much as any man that euer was before him. He replenished the country of MESOPOTAMIA with GREEKIAN inhabitantes, which he brought by force out of CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, compelling them to inhabite there. He made the ARABIANS change their maner of liuing, who are otherwise called the SCENITES, as much to say, as tent dwellers, because they are vagarant people that dwell in no other houses but tentes, which they euer vse to carie with them, and brought them out of their naturall countrie, and made them follow him, vsing them for his commodisie in trade of marchandice. There were euer many kings in his court that waited on him: but amongest others, he had foure kings that waited continually on his person as his footemen: for when he rode abroade any whither, they ranne by his stirroppe in their diuises. And when he was set in his chaire of state to giue audience, they stood on their feete about his chaire holding their handes together, which countenance shewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could doe vnto him: as if they had shewed thereby that they resigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and maister, more ready to suffer, then any thing to do. Notwithstanding, *Appius Clodius* being nothing abashed nor feared with all this tragicall pompe, when audience was giuen him: tolde king *Tigranes* boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king *Mithridates* away with him, who was due to the triumphe of *Lucullus*: & therefore did summon him to deliuer that king into his hands, or else that he proclaimed warres vpon himselfe. They that were present at this summons, knew well enough that *Tigranes* (although he set a good countenance of the matter openly with a fainte counterfeit laughing) yet hearing these words so boldly and gallantly spoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quicke, and hit at the heart. For *Tigranes* hauing reigned, (or to say better tyrannically gouerned) fiue and twenty yeares space, had neuer heard any bolde or francke speach but that. Notwithstanding, he answered *Appius*, that he would not deliuer *Mithridates*: and if the ROMAINES made wars with him, that he would defend himselfe. And being greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letters gaue him not the title, king of kings, but onely king simply: in the letters he wrote backe to *Lucullus* againe, he did not so much as vouchsafe to call him Captaine onely. But when *Appius* tooke his leaue, he sent him goodly rich presentes which he refused. Whereupon the king sent others againe vnto him, of the which *Appius* tooke a cuppe only, because the king should not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will: and so sending all the rest againe vnto him, made great hast to returne to his Captaine *Lucullus*. Now *Tigranes* before that time would neuer once see king *Mithridates* his so neare kinseman, who by fortune of wars had lost so puissant and great a kingdome, but proudly kept him vnder in fenny, marish, and vnholesome grounds, without any honor giuen vnto him, as if he had bene a very prisoner in deede: howbeit then he sent for him honorably, and receiued him with great curtesie. When they were come together in the kings palace, they talked secretly one with an other, and excusing themselues, clearing all suspitions conceiued betweene them, to the great hurt of their seruauntes and friends, whom they burdened with all the occasion of vnkindnes between them: amongst which number *Metrodorus* the SCEPSIAN was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in speach, and one whom *Mithridates* so much loued and esteemed, that they called him the kings father. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his warres had sent him Ambassador vnto *Tigranes*, to pray aide of him against the ROMAINES. At which time *Tigranes* said vnto him: but what saiest thou to it *Metrodorus*: what aduise wilt thou giue me? *Metrodorus* eyther because he had regard vnto *Tigranes* profite, or else because he was loth *Mithridates* should escape,

Tigranes pride and power.

The boldnesse of Appius Clodius, Lucullus Ambassador vnto Tigranes.

Appius abstinence from taking of giftes

Tigranes and Mithridates meeting.

Metrodorus praise, and death.

answered him againe. As Ambassador, O king, I would wish you should do it: but as a counsellor, that you should not do it. *Tigranes* now reported this speech vnto *Mithridates*, not thinking he would haue hurt *Metrodorus* for it, though in deede he presently put him to death vpon it. Wherevpon *Tigranes* was heartily sorie, and repented him greatly to haue counselled him so much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, hauing but one yeare continued *Mithridates* euill will before conceiued against him. For he had borne him displeasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that *Metrodorus* should be put to death: but in recompence thereof *Tigranes* buried his body honorably, sparing no cost at all vnto the dead bodie of him whom liuing he had betraied. There died in king *Tigranes* court also an Orator called *Amphicrates*, if he deserue that mention should be made of him, for the citie of ATHENS sake wherein he was borne: for it is said, that when he was banished out of his country, he fled into the citie SELEVCIA, which standeth vpon the riuer of Tigris. Where the inhabitants of the same praied him to teach them the Art of eloquence in their country, he would not vouchsafe, but answered them proudly: that a platter was too litle to holde a Dolphine in, meaning that their citie was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto *Cleopatra*, *Mithridates* daughter, and king *Tigranes* wife, where he was quickly suspected & accused: so that he was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS company any more, which grieued him so much, that he famished himselfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very honorably buried by the Queene *Cleopatra*, neere vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in the countrie. Now when *Lucullus* had quieted all things in ASIA, and had established good lawes among them, he was not careless also of games and pleasant pastimes, but while he was at leisure in the city of EPHESVS, he made many games, feasts, wrestlings, and fence players set the sharpe for ioy of his victorie, delighting all the cities of ASIA with them, the which in recompence therof did institute a solemne feast also in the honor of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great ioy, shewing a true and no fained friendship and good will towards him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honour they could deuise to giue him. But after that *Appius Clodius* was returned from his Ambassade, and had tolde *Lucullus* that he must make wars with *Tigranes*: *Lucullus* went backe againe vnto the realme of PONTVS, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garrison, and brought it before the city of SINOPE to lay siege vnto it, or rather to besiege certaine CILICIANS that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of *Mithridates*. But when they saw *Lucullus* come against them, they slue a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the citie fled their way by night. *Lucullus* being aduertised of it, entred the citie, put eight thousand of the CILICIANS to the sword which he founde there, and restored the naturall citizens and inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cause that made him to be carefull to preserue the city, was this vision he had. He thought in his nights dreame that one came to him, and sayd: go a litle farther *Lucullus*, for *Autolycus* commeth, who is desirous to speake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vision meant. It was the selfe same day on the which hee tooke the city of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANS that escaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground vppon the sea side, which the CILICIANS would haue caried away: but they were taken and followed so neere, that they had no leysure to ship it. This statue (as it is reported) was one of the goodliest and notablest workes of *Sthenis* the Image grauer. And some say that it was the image of *Autolycus* who founded the city of SINOPE. For *Autolycus* was one of the princes that went with THESSALIE with *Hercules* to go against the AMAZONES, and he was the son of *Deimachus*. And they report that at the returne from this voyage, the shippe in the which *Autolycus* was imbarked, with *Demoleon* and *Phlogius*, made shippewracke vppon a rocke on the coast of CHERRONONESVS, where he was cast away: howbeit that he & his mē scaping with all their furniture, came to the city of SINOPE, which he tooke from certaine SYRIANS, who came (as they say) of one *Syrus* the sonne of *Apollo*, and of the nimphe *Sinope* *Asopus* daughter. *Lucullus* vnderstanding this matter, called a saying of *Sylla* to minde, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may giue more credite vnto, then that which

Amphicrates an Orator of Athens, died in king Tigranes court.

Seleucia a citie standing vpon Tigris fl.

A platter too litle to hold a Dolphin in, prou.

Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.

Lucullus dreame.

A statue made by Sthenis.

Autolycus founder of the city of Sinope.

The Syrians, why so called.

Syllaes note for dreames.

signified to vs by dreames. In the meane season he was aduertised that *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were ready to come downe into LYCAONIA, & CILICIA, because they might first enter ASIA. *Lucullus* maruelled much at *Tigranes* counsell, that sithence he was minded to warre with the ROMAINES, he did not vse *Mithridates* aide in his warres at such time, as when he was in his best strength and force: and that he did not then ioine his power with *Mithridates*, rather then suffer him to be destroyed and ouerthrowen, and afterwards with a cold hope goe now to begin a new warre, hazarding himselfe with those that could not helpe themselues. While these things passed in this sort, *Machares* king *Mithridates* sonne, that kept the realme of BOSPHORVS, sent a crowne of golde vnto *Lucullus*, of the waight of a thousand crownes, praying him that he would name him a friend and confederate of the ROMAINES. Whereupon *Lucullus* thought he was then at the very last end of his first warre, and leauing *Sornatius* with sixe thousand men to keepe the realme of PONTVS, he departed with twelue thousand footmen, and lesse then three thousand horsemen to goe to the second warres. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a part of him to goe with so small a companie to fight with so many warlike nations, and to put himselfe vnto the hazard of so many thousands of horsemen, in a maruellous large country, and of a wonderfull length, enuironned round about with deepe riuers and mountaines, couered with snow all the yeare through: so that his souldiers, which otherwise were no speciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an euill will, and did stubbornly disobey him. And on the other side the common counsellers at ROME cried out on him continually and openly protested before all the people, that out of one warre he sowed an other, which the common wealth had nothing to doe withall, and that he looked after none other thing but still to raise new occasions of warres, to the end he might alwayes haue armies at his commaundement, & neuer leaue the warres, because he would make himselfe great with the cost and perill of the commonwealth. These crying counsellers in the end obtained their purpose, which was: to call home *Lucullus* againe, and to substitute *Pompey* in his place. But *Lucullus* for all that, marched on with his army with all the possible speed he could, so that he came in few daies vnto the riuer of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough by reason of the winter season: which troubled him maruellously at that present, doubting least it would holde him there a long time in finding out of boats, and making of posts and plancks to build a bridge to passe ouer his armie. But towardes night the water began to fall a litle, and in the night fell so much, that the next morning the riuer was come to her ordinary streame: and moreouer, the countrymen themselues discerning certaine litle Ilands that appeared vnto them in the middest of the water course, and the riuer very calme as a marrish rounde about them, did honor *Lucullus* as a god, because it was a thing they had neuer seene chance before, as though at his comming the riuer had sodainly yeelded vnto him, and was become gentle to giue him safe and easie passage. And because he would not loose that oportunity, he passed ouer his army immediatly: and was no sooner on the other side, but he mette with a happy token of good lucke, which was this. On the other side of the riuer, there was a certaine number of kine consecrated to *Diana Persica*, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyond the riuer of *Euphrates*, do reuerence and honor aboue all the other goddes: and these kine they employ to none other vse, but onely to sacrifice them vnto this goddesse. They wander all about the countrey where they will, without any maner of tying, or shacling otherwise, hauing only the marke of the goddesse, which is a lampe printed vpon their bodies, and they are not easie to be taken when one would haue them, but with great a doe. One of these consecrated kine, after that *Lucullus* army was passed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her selfe vppon a rocke which they suppose is hallowed or dedicate vnto this goddesse, bowing downe her head, and stretching out her necke, like those that are tied short, as if she had come euen of purpose to present her selfe to *Lucullus*, to be sacrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a bull also vnto the riuer Euphrates, in token of thankes for his safe passage ouer. *Lucullus* the first day did nothing but encampe him selfe only, on the other side of the riuer: but the next morning and the other daies following, he went farther into the countrey by the riuer of SOPHENE, hurting none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly receiued his army. For when

Machares Mithridates sonne prayeth friendshippe of Lucullus.

Lucullus goeth against Tigranes with a small company.

The quarrelling counsellers at Rome, enuie Lucullus prosperitie.

Lucullus came to the riuer of Euphrates, & found it very high & rough. The strange and sodaine fall of the riuer of Euphrates, from her great swelling.

Diana Persica

Kine consecrated to Diana Persica.

A straunge thing of a cow that came to offer her selfe to Lucullus to be sacrificed.

The countrey of Sophene.

his men would haue had him to haue taken a caſtle by force, where they ſaid was great ſtore of gold and ſiluer: he ſhewed them mount Taurus a farre off, and told them it is that which we muſt rather go to take. As for the things which be in this caſtle, they be kept for them to vanquiſh: and going on ſtill with great forneyes, paſſed ouer the riuer of Tigris, and ſo entred the realme of ARMENIA with a maine armie. Now for *Tigranes*, the firſt man that ventured to bring him newes of *Lucullus* comming, had no ioy of it: for he cut off his head for his labor. And therefore from thenceforth there durſt no man ſay any thing vnto him, vntill ſuch time as he was at the laſt enuironned round with fire; which *Lucullus* armie had raiſed about him, before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was ſporting and gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that *Lucullus*, in deede were a noble Captaine, if he durſt but tarry *Tigranes* comming downe in the citie of EPHESVS onely, and how he would ſtraight be out of ASIA, ſo ſoone as he might but heare tell of his comming againſt him with ſo triumphing an armie of ſo many thouſand men. And thus may we ſee, that like as all bodies and braines, are not a like ſtrong nor able to carie much wine: ſo in like caſe, all wits be not reſolute and conſtant, neuer to doe amiſſe, nor to ſwarue from reaſons bands in great proſperitie. Howbeit in the end, *Mithrobarzanes*, one of *Tigranes* familiars, was the next man that enterpriſed to tell him the truth: whoſe boldnes had litle better reward for his newes, then the firſt that was beheaded. For *Tigranes* ſent him immediatly with three thouſand horſe, and a good number of footemen, commaunding him that he ſhould bring *Lucullus* aliue vnto him, and that furthermore, he ſhould marche vpon the bellies of his men. Now was *Lucullus* already camped with part of his armie, and the other part comming after, when his skoutes brought him newes of the barbarous Captaines approache: which at the firſt put him in feare, that if the enemy ſhould come and aſſaile them thus ſcattered in companies, and not ranged in battell, and ready to fight, he might ouerthrow them whiles they were in diſorder. And therefore he remained within his campe to fortifie the ſame, and ſent *Sextilius* one of his Lieutenants, with a thouſand ſixe hundred horſe, and as many footmen (or a fewe more) as well armed as armed: commaunding him to approach as neere to his enemie as he could without fighting, only to ſtay him there, vntill ſuch time as he heard newes that all his army was come together into his campe. *Sextilius* went to doe his commaundement, but he was compelled to fight, (though againſt his will) *Mithrobarzanes* came ſo brauely & luſtily to aſſaile him. So was the battell ſtriken betweene them, in the which *Mithrobarzanes* was ſlaine valiantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, few excepted, that onely by flying ſaued themſelues. After this ouerthrow, *Tigranes* forſooke his great roiall citie of TIGRANOCERTA that he built himſelf, & went to mount Taurus, where he aſſembled a great number of men out of all parts. But *Lucullus* would giue him no leiſure to prepare himſelfe, but ſent *Murana* on the one ſide to cut them off by the way, and to ouerthrow thoſe that were aſſembled about him: and on the other ſide *Sextilius* to ſtoppe a great company of the ARABIANS that were comming to *Tigranes*, whom *Sextilius* ſet vpon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in marueilous euery man. And *Murana* following king *Tigranes* at the heeles, ſpied an occaſion to giue the charge as he paſſed a long and narrow vally, in the bottome whereof the way was very ill, and ſpecially for an army of ſuch a length: and taking the oportunity, ſet vpon the rereward, which *Tigranes* perceiuing, fled ſtraight vppon it, making all his cariage to be throwen downe into the way before the enemies to ſtay them. There were a great number of the ARMENIANS ſlaine in this ouerthrow, and moe taken. Thoſe things hauing this ſucceſſe, *Lucullus* went to the citie of TIGRANOCERTA, the which he beſieged round. In that citie were a marueilous number of GRECIANS that had bene brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous people alſo whom they had vſed in the like forcible maner, as they had done the ADIABENIANS, the ASSYRIANS, the GORDIÆNIANS, and the CAPPADOCIANS, whoſe townes and cities *Tigranes* had deſtroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reaſon whereof, this city of TIGRANOCERTA was full of golde and ſiluer, of mettels, ſtatues, tables and pictures, becauſe euery man (as well priuate, as Princes and Lordes) ſtudied to please the king, to enrich and beautifie this city, with all kindes of furniture and ornamentes fit for the ſame. And hereuppon *Lucullus* ſtraighted the ſiege as much as he could, perſwading him ſelfe

Tigris fl.

Tigranes ſlew the firſt meſſenger that brought the newes of Lucullus approch.

Tigranes ſendeth Mithrobarzanes againſt Lucullus.

Lucullus ſendeth Sextilius againſt Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius ſlue Mithrobarzanes and ouerthrew his force.

The citie of Tigranocerta, built by Tigranes.

Lucullus beſigeth Tigranocerta.

selfe that *Tigranes* would neuer suffer, that it should be taken, but (though he had otherwise determined) yet for very anger would present him battell, thereby to enforce him to raise his siege. And surely he gessed right, had it not bene that *Mithridates* had disswaded him by expresse letters and messengers that he should in no case hazard battell, and perswaded him rather to cut off the victuals on all sides from the ROMAINES with his horsmen. The selfe same counsell and aduise did *Taxiles* (the Captaine whom *Mithridates* sent) giue him in his campe, & prayed him very earnestly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the ROMAINS. *Tigranes* patiently harkened to their reasons at the first; but when the ARMENIANS were come, and all the force of the country besides, and the GORDIÆNIANS, and that the kings of the MEDES and of the ADIABENIANS were come also with all their power, and that on the other side there came a maruellous great host of the ARABIANS that dwel vpon the sea of BABYLON, & a multitude of the ALBANIANS from the CASPIAN sea, and of the IBERIANS their neighbors, besides a great company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by the riuer of Araxes, some comming freely to doe him pleasure, other for their pensions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table, nor in councell, but of assured hope of victory, and of great bragges and barbarous threatnings, so that *Taxiles* was in great danger of himselfe, because he was against the determination taken in councell for giuing of the battell. Now was it thought that *Mithridates* did enuie the glory of king *Tigranes*, and therfore did thus disswade him from battell. For which respect *Tigranes* would not so much as tarry for him, and because also *Mithridates* should haue no part of the honour of his victory: but went into the fielde with all his great armie, vaunting amongst his familiars as they report, that nothing grieued him but one, that he should fight with *Lucullus* alone, and not with all the other ROMAINE Captains. Now this brauery was not so fond, nor so farre out of square, but that there was great likelyhood of it when he saw so many sundrie nations about him, so many kings that followed him, so many battelles of armed footmen, and so many thousand of horsemen. For he had in his army of bow-men and slings onely, twenty thousand: fiue and fifty thousand horse-men, whereof seuenteene thousand men of armes, armed from toppe to toe, as *Lucullus* himselfe wrote vnto the Senate: and a hundreth and fifty thousand armed foot-men, deuided by ensignes and squadrons: of pyoners, carpenters, masons, and such other kind of handy-craftes men, to plaine wayes, to make bridges to passe ouer riuers, to stoppe streames, to cut wood, and to make such kind of workes, of this sort of people, the number of fiue and thirty thousand, who followed in battel ray in the reereward of the army, making their campe seeme farre greater, & by so much the more stronger. When *Tigranes* shewed on the toppe of mount Taurus, and that they might plainely see his whole army from the city, and that himselfe also might easily discerne *Lucullus* army that besieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the city were so glad of this sight, that they made wonderfull shouts of ioy, and great clapping of hands, threatning the ROMAINS from their wals, and shewing them the army of the ARMENIANS. *Lucullus* in the meane time sate in councell to consider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his siege, and goe with his whole armie vndeuided against *Tigranes*. But others liked not that he should leaue so great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he should raise his siege. *Lucullus* made them answere, that neither of them both did counsell him well, but both together did counsell him right. Whereupon he deuided his armie, and left *Murena* at the siege of TIGRANOCERTA with sixe thousand men: and he with foure and twenty cohortes (in the which were not aboue tenne thousand armed foot-men) and all his horse-men, with a thousand bow-men, and slings or thereabouts, went towards *Tigranes*, and camped in a goodly broade field by the riuers side. The ROMAINES seemed but a handful to *Tigranes* campe, so that for a while *Tigranes* parasites made but a Maye-game of the to sporte withall. For some mocked them to scorne, other drewe lottes, and played away their parte of the spoyles, as if they had already wonne the field: and euery one of the kings and Captaines came and offered themselues to *Tigranes*, and besought him euery man for himselfe, that he would giue him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would please him to sit by in some place to see the sporte. *Tigranes* then, because he would shewe that he could

Taxiles perswadeth Tigranes not to fight with the Romaines.

The proude saying of Tigranes.

Tigranes whole army two hundreth thousand men.

Lucullus army against Tigranes.

be as pleasant as the rest, spake a thing knowen to euery man. If they come as Ambassadours quoth he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but fewe. And thus they played vpon the ROMAINS, and tooke their pleasure of them at that time; but the next morning by breake of day, *Lucullus* brought all his men armed into the field, and put them in order of battel. Now the camp of the barbarous people lay on the other side of the riuer toward the East, and by chance the streame of the riuer turned sodainely towards the West, where there was a better ford to passe ouer. Wherfore *Lucullus* marching with his army by the riuers side, following the streame to meet with some forde, casting to get ouer, *Tigranes* thought he had marched away, and called for *Taxiles*, and sayed vnto him, laughing. Doest thou see *Taxiles* those goodly ROMAINE legions, whom thou praisest to be men so inuincible, how they flie away now? *Taxiles* answered the king againe. I would your good fortune (O king) might worke some miracle this day: for doubtles it were a strange thing that the ROMAINS should flie. They are not wont to weare their braue coates and furniture vpon their armour, when they meane onely but to march in the fieldes: neither doe they carry their shieldes and targets vncased, nor their burganets bare on their heades, as they doe at this present, hauing throwen awaye their leather cases and couerings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we see so bright and glistering in our faces, is a manifest signe that they intend to fight, and that they march towardes vs. *Taxiles* had no sooner spoken these words, but *Lucullus* in the view of his enemies, made his ensigne bearer turne sodainly that caried the first Eagle, & the bands tooke their places to passe the riuer in order of battell. Then *Tigranes* secretly come to himselfe, as out of drunkennes: cried out aloude twise, or thrice, come they then to vs? But then was there no small sturre and tumult, to put such a world of people into battell. The king *Tigranes* himselfe vndertooke to leade the middle battell, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the ADIABENIANS, & the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the most part of the compleat armed men, who made the first front of al the battel. But as *Lucullus* was ready to passe the riuer, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wish him to take heede that he fought not that day, because it was one of those which the ROMAINS thought vnfortunate, and call them Atri, as to say, blacke: for vpon one of those dayes, one *Capio* was ouerthrown in a set battell with all his army by the CIMBRES. But *Lucullus* gaue the a prety answer againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (sayd he) for the ROMAINES. It was the sixteenth day of the month of October. And so with those wordes encouraging his men, passed ouer the riuer, and went himselfe the foremost man, and marched directly towardes his enemy, armed with an anima of steele, made with scallop shelles, shining like the sunne, and vpon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding in his sword drawn in his hand: to let his men vnderstand, that they must sodainly ioyne with their enemies, and fight at the swords poynte, that were not acquainted to fight but a farre off with shotte and slings, and that he would so quickely winne the distance of grounde they had to marche ere they could ioyne, that they should haue no leasure to shoote. And furthermore, perceiuing that the strength of their men of armes (whereof they made so great account) was ranged in battell vnder a hill, the top whereof was very plaine and euen, and the way vp the hill not passing foure furlongs trauell, and not very hard nor steepe to clime: he sent thither certaine horsemen of the THRACIANS and GAVLES which he had in pay, and commanded them to giue a charge on the flanck to disorder them, and assay to cut their launces, with their swordes. For all the strength of these men of armes consisteth in their launces, and they cannot do nothing for themselues, nor against their enemies, they are so heauily armed and loden so as it seemeth they are locked vp in their armor, as in an iron prison. And he himselfe therewithall taking two ensignes of footmen, stroue also to gaine the toppe of the hill, his souldiers following him hard at the heeles with a notable corage, because they saw him the formost man trauelling a foote, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten vp to the top, he stayed a litle in the highest place he could finde, and then cryed out with a loude voyce: oh companions, the victory is ours. And as he spake those wordes, he ledde them against these men of armes, commaunding them they should not meddle with throwing their darts, but taking their swords in their hands they should strike at their thighes and legs, becaus

The ordering of Tigranes battell.

Atri, blacke or vnfortunate dayes.

Lucullus battell with Tigranes.

Lucullus armour.

because they haue no other partes of their bodies naked. Howbeit there was no neede of such fight, for they taried not the ROMAINS, but with great crying out turned their horse heades immediately, and ranne cowardly (themselues and their horses, heauie armed as they were) through the middest of the bandes of their footemen, before they had stricken a stroke. And thus were so many thousands of men broken without any stroke striken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of blood seene to be spilt. But the greate slaughter was, when they began to flie, or (to say better) when they thought to flie: for they could not flie, they ranne so one vpon anothers necke by reason of the maruellous length and bredth of their battelles. *Tigranes* amongst the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, and seing his sonne running the same fortune, flying as himselfe did, tooke off his diadeame or royall bande from his head, and gaue it him weeping, commaunding him to saue himselfe as well as he could by some other way. But the young prince durst not put it on his head; but gaue it to one of his trusty seruauntes to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought vnto *Lucullus*: so that amongst the other spoyle and prisoners, there was taken *Tigranes* diadeame. It is thought that there were slaine at this ouerthrow, aboue a hundreth thousand footmen, and very few of all the horsmen saued. On the ROMAINS side, there were about a hundreth hurt, and fiue slaine. *Antiochus* the Philosopher speaking of this battell in a treatise he made of the gods; writeth that the sunne neuer sawe the like ouerthrow. And *Strabo* another Philosopher in a certaine abridgement he made of stories sayed, that the ROMAINES were ashamed and laughed at thē selues that they had drawen their swordes against such dastardly slaues. And *Titus Liuius* declareth also, that the ROMAINES were neuer in any battell with so small a number of fighting men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerors were not in all the world the twentith part (nothing like) of those that were ouercome. Wherefore the oldest and best experienced Captaines of the ROMAINES did highly commend *Lucullus*, because he had ouercome two of the greatest & most mighty princes of the world, by two sundry cōtrary means: the one by tract and delay, and the other by speed and swiftnes. For he vndermined and consumed *Mithridates*, by holding backe, & delaying, at that time whē al his strēgth was whole: and to the contrary he destroied *Tigranes* with great speede and haste. And thus did he that, which few Captaines could euer do: that is, vsed delay of time to execute, and valiant expedition to win the victory. This was the cause why *Mithridates* made no hast to come to the battell, thinking still that *Lucullus* had vsed his wōted policy, to delay and giue backe alwaies: and therfore he came by small iornies vnto *Tigranes* campe. But meeting at the first with a few of the ARMENIANS that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he straight mistrusted the ouerthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them naked, & sore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seeke out *Tigranes*, whom he found alone, forsaken of his men, & in very poore estate, yet did not he requite *Tigranes* in aduersity with that pride & disdaine he had vsed him before in his miserie: but lighted off his horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gaue him all his officers, & traine of a kings court that followed him to serue him, comforting him, & exhorting him to pluck vp his hart againe, and to be couragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leauied afresh the whole force & power they could from all the parts of their dominions. In the meane season, there fell out great seditiō in the city of TIGRANOCERTA, betwene the GRECIANS and the barbarous people: for the GRECIANS, they would haue yeelded vp the towne into *Lucullus* hands. Whereupon, *Lucullus* giuing an assault to the citie at that very instant, won it, and seazed vpon the kings treasure there, leauing all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thousand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gaue of the spoile that was won vpō the enemies, eight hūdreth Drachmas vnto euery souldier. And vnderstanding that there were diuerse musitians, common players, minstrels, & such kind of people meete for feastes and sport, whom *Tigranes* had sent for thither from all partes, to dedicate the Theater he had made in this city: he caused all thē to serue at the sportes and feastes of this victory. After the solemnization whereof, he sent the GRECIANS home againe vnto their country, and gaue them money to defray their charges by the way, and the barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their natiue coūtries. And so

Lucullus famous victory of Tigranes.

Tigranes flight
Tigranes diadeame taken by Lucullus.

Lucullus praise.
Two puisant kings ouercome by contrary meanes.

Lucullus teake Tigranocerta.

it fortuned, that by the desolation and destruction of a city forsaken, many others were built gaine, and stored with people: because those cities had therby recouered their naturall inhabitants againe, who euer after did loue and honor *Lucullus*, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also according to his vertue and merites. For *Lucullus* liked better the praise that came of bounty, of iustice, and of clemencie: then that that came by force of martiall prowes and chevalry. For in deedes of armes, he sayed his army partly deserued praise, & fortune also caried the best parte away: but the praise of the other, were onely due vnto himselfe. Wherby he shewed the value of an excellent good man, well taught and trained vp in vertue: and so reaped the frute of his worthy deserts. For by those good partes, he wanne the hartes of the barbarous people in such sorte, that the kings of the ARABIANS came of good will to put themselues and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the SOPHENIANS also yeeld themselues vnto him. The GORDIÆNIANS, in like manner, they liked *Lucullus* so wel, that they would willingly haue forsake their cities, houses & coūtry, to follow him with their wines and children vpon this occasion. *Zarbienus* king of these GORDIÆNIANS, as we haue recited before, had priuily entred amity with *Lucullus*, by meanes of *Appius Clodius*, who could no longer away with the tirany of *Tigranes*. This practise was bewrayed vnto *Tigranes* who put *Zarbienus*, his wife & children to death, before the ROMAINS maine army came into the coūtry of ARMENIA. Howbeit *Lucullus* did not forget it, but passing through his realme gaue him very roiall funerals, for hauing heaped vp a huge pile of wood, sumptuously set out with cloth of gold and siluer, and other rich spoyles of *Tigranes*: he himselfe in person, would needs set it a fire, and made the funerall effusions & accustomed sprinklings at burials, with his friendes and kinsmen, doing him this honor, as to call him friend and confederate of the ROMAINE people, & appointed also a great summe of money besides to erect a sumptuous tombe for him. For they found great store of gold and siluer in the kings castell, and there was plenty of prouision also of three hundreth thousand bushels of wheate: the which did enrich his souldiers maruellously, and made *Lucullus* to be wondred at, that hauing receiued not one Drachma from the sparing coffers at ROME, he had notwithstanding made the warre entertaine it selfe. About the selfe same time also, the king of the PARTHIANS sent Ambassadors vnto him to offer him his friendship and alliance: which *Lucullus* willingly accepted, and sent Ambassadors frō him also of acceptation, who made report to *Lucullus* at their returne, that the king of the PARTHIANS stood doubtfull how to resolue which part he should take, and that secretly he sent vnto *Tigranes*, to aske the realm of MESOPOTAMIA for his reward to aid him against the ROMAINS. *Lucullus* being truly enformed of the king of PARTHIAES double dealing, determined to leaue *Tigranes* & *Mithridates*, as two enemies wearied & ouercome, & a litle to proue the force & power of the PARTHIANS by making wars vpon thē, thinking it great honor vnto him, if he might discomfit & ouerthrow three so mighty kings one after an other, like a valiant conqueror that had ouercome three famous Captaines together, and had passed through the countries of three of the greatest Princes vnder the sunne, alwayes conqueror, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto *Sornatius* and other of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of PONTVS, that they should repayre to him with all speede with the bandes they had vnder their charge, for that he was determined to depart out of the country of GORDIÆNA, to go against the PARTHIANS: howbeit his purpose altered by occasion. For his Lieutenantes that had many times before founde their souldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commandements, knew plainely then their canckred stomaks & incorrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by any compulsion or perswasions they could vse but contrarily they cryed out, and tolde them plainly, that they would no longer tary where they were, but would go hom to their coūtry, and leaue the realme of PONTVS without gard or garrison at all. And farther, that worst of all was, when these newes were brought to *Lucullus* campe, they giue a full example of boldnes to his souldiers there, to mutiny in such sorte, hauing goodwill and disposition thereunto of themselues before. For their purses being full, and they acquainted with finenes, were become so dull and lasie, that they could endure no paines nor hardnes of warres, but desired to liue in all idlenes and ease. And hearing the reporte of their fellowes stoutnesse, called them lasie

Lucullus iustice and clemencie.

Zarbienus king of the Gordienians slaine by Tigranes

Lucullus prepareth to go against the Parthians.

Lucullus souldiers fall to mutiny.

Full purses & ease maketh mutinous souldiers.

ladders, saying, they must needes take the like course, and doe as they taught them, vaunting of their good seruice of long time done, which well deserued leaue now to departe home with safety, and thenceforth take their rest. *Lucullus* hearing of this their talke, & many other their words worse, & fuller of sedition then these: brake off his enterprise against the PARTHIANS, and went againe in the middest of sommer to meet with *Tigranes*. But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieued him to see the fields so full of wheate yet standing, which came by the season of the yeare, and coldnes of the aier, being so slacke and slowe in all those partes. Neuertheles, he came down into the valley, and at two or three skirmishes ouerthrew the ARMENIANS, that ventured to abide his comming downe. And ranne ouer all the valley, and destroied the whole country, without lette or stop of any man, taking away the prouision of corne that was made for *Tigranes* campe: wherby he straighted his enemies vnto that need and necessity of victuals which himselfe feared, & yet ceased not to prouoke them (by all other meanes) to come to battell. Sometime enclosing their campe with trēches about, as if he ment to famish them: sometime againe destroying and spoyling the whole coūtry before their face. But because they had so ofte bene discomfited, they would no more stirre, nor once moue against him. *Lucullus* perceiuing that, in the end raised his campe, & went and layed siege vnto ARTAXATA, the chief city of the kingdō of ARMENIA, in the which were *Tigranes* lawfull wiues and young children, hoping that *Tigranes* would rather hazard another battell, thē suffer that city to be lost. It is sayed that *Hanniball* of CARTHAGE (after king *Antiochus* was ouerthrown in battell by the ROMAINS) went vnto king *Artaxes*, whō he taught many necessary and profitable things for his realme: & amongst others, considering that one of the goodliest and pleasantest places of all his kingdome lay wast, and no reckoning made of it, drewe a plot of a city, brought the king thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The king liked his deuise maruellous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to see the worke finished. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the kings name, *Artaxata*, and held euer after the reputation of the chiefest place of the whole realme of ARMENIA. *Tigranes* being aduertised that *Lucullus* went to lay siege thereunto, could not endure it, but went with all his army to follow the ROMAINS, and the fourth day came & camped hard by them: insomuch as there was but the riuer of Arsanias betweene them, which the ROMAINS of necessitie must passe ouer to goe to ARTAXATA. *Lucullus* hauing first sacrificed vnto the gods, assuring himselfe of the victorie, as if he had it already in his handes: made his armie passe ouer in order of battell, putting twelue cohortes in the fronte, and the other behinde, fearing least the enemies hauing a great number of men of armes should enuironne them at their backes. They had against them also the MARDIAN bowmen a horse backe, & the IBERIANS with their laūces, in whom *Tigranes* trusted more then in any other, as in the best soldiers he had in pay: & yet for all that they did no notable seruice. For when they had skirmished but a litle with the horsemen of the ROMAINES, they durst not tarry the legionaries or footbandes that came behind them, but dispersed themselues, some flying one way, some an other, which intised the ROMAINE horsemen to follow the chase. But when the men of armes that were about *Tigranes* person, saw the horsemen so scattered abroad, they began straight to breake vpon the footmen. *Lucullus* seeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat afrayed thereof: sent in haste to call in his horsmen that followed the chase, and in the meane time himselfe marched foremost, against these Lordes and Satrapes, which were in the front before him with all the nobility of their hoast, whom he put in such a feare, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kings ranged in battell one hard by another, howbeit of the three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly, was *Mithridates* king of PONTVS, who had not the hart so much as to abide the cries of the ROMAINES. The chase was very long: for it cōtinued all night vntil such time as the ROMAINS were wearied with killing, taking of prisoners, and packing vp of all kindes of spoyles. *Titus Liuius* sayeth, that there were slaine moe men in the first battell: but greater personages in the second: and the chiefest of the enemies were all taken. After this battell *Lucullus* hart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to go farther into the country, euen vtterly to destroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the

Lucullus besieged Artaxata, the chiefe citie of Armenia.

Artaxes king of Armenia.

Hanniball builded Artaxata.

Arsanias fl.

Lucullus order of his armie.

Other do reade in this place against the Atropatenians, which are people of Media.

Three kings ranged in battell.

Lucullus maketh Tigranes flye againe.

equinoctiall autumne, (whē the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that ſeaſon haue thought) there fell out ſo great a cold, that for the moſt part, it did nothing but ſnow: and if the element did any thing cleere, then froſe it ſo hard, that the horſe could come by no water, the riuers were ſo extreamely congealed with iſe. And there could no man paſſe ouer by ford: for they did not ſo ſoone enter, but the iſe brake and cut the veines and ſinewes of the horſe legges aſunder, they were ſo hard and thicke withall. And furthermore the country being full of trees, woods and forreſts, and the wayes very narrowe, not being able to paſſe by the fields, they were through wet with ſnow that fell vpon them: and whē they came to their lodging, then it was worſe, for there they were conſtrained to lye in ſoft & moiſt places. And therefore the ſouldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refuſed to goe any farther. And firſt they ſent their Colonells and Captaines to intreate *Lucullus* to leaue off this iorney. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in troupes, and in the night time beganne to murmur and groyne in their tentes (which is a certaine ſigne and token of a mutinous armie, that hath a minde to rebell againſt their Generall) although that *Lucullus* vſed all gentle perſwaſions to winne them with patience to abide this iorney, at the leaſt, till time they might take the cittie of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to the end they might there deſtroy the worke & memory of the greateſt enemy that euer the ROMAINS had in the world, meaning *Hanniball*. But when he ſaw all this would not preuaile, he brought them backe againe, & paſſed ouer mount Taurus an other way, and came down into the country called MYGDONIA, a very hot and fertile ſoyle, where there is a great cittie, and maruellouſly repleniſhed with inhabitants: who call it NISIBIS, and the GRECIANS call it ANTIOCH, of MYGDONIA. In that city *Gouras* was Gouernor, who was *Tigranes* own brother: but for experiēce in engines of battery, and for ſufficiencie and skill in ſuch matters, there was *Callimachus* alſo, he that maruellouſly troubled *Lucullus* before at the ſiege of the citie of AMISVS. *Lucullus* placing his campe before this citie beſieged the ſame by all ſuch meanes as might enforce it, and that valiantly, that in very ſhort time he tooke it by aſſault. And as for *Gouras*, who ſubmitted himſelfe to *Lucullus* mercie, he was very courteouſly intreated. But for *Callimachus*, he would not once heare him ſpeake, notwithſtāding that he promiſed, if they would ſaue his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treaſure hidden, which no man knew but himſelfe onely. But *Lucullus* commanded them to bring him with gyues to receiue the puniſhment he had vnto deſerued, for ſetting the city of AMISVS on fire, and taking from him the meane to ſhew the GRECIANS his goodnes, affection and liberalitie towards them. Vntill this preſent time, it might be truly ſayed, that good fortune euer fauored & followed *Lucullus* in all his enterpriſes and affayres: but from that time forwards, it was quickly ſeene that the fauorable blaſt of fortune failed him, he did all his things with ſo great paine, and all that he did, fell out contrary vnto him, and to very ill purpoſe. Indeede he did euer ſhew the valiancie, patience, and great courage that ſhould be in a valiant Generall, or Lieutenant of an army. But his exploites and doings had neuer after that eaſie grace, nor ſhining glory they were wont to haue: but to the contrary, he was like to haue loſt all that he had wonne before, through the misfortunes that fell vpon him, and for the brawles & vaine contention he had with his people to no purpoſe. But the worſt was, that they make himſelfe the only author of all theſe euils: becauſe he could not, or would not entertaine the good will of the multitude of his ſouldiers: thinking that whatſoeuer a generall, or any other officer of ſtate or calling doth to pleaſe and content them he hath vnder his charge, is to diſhonor himſelfe, and to giue cauſe vnto his ſouldiers to deſpiſe his authoritie. But that which made moſt againſt him was this: that he gaue no eſtimation to gentlemen, and men of like quality to himſelfe, but diſdained them, and thought them vnworthy to be equall with him. For theſe they ſay were his faultes and imperfections, but otherwiſe that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes & good conditions that could be poſſibly wiſhed for, or deſired. For he was a tall gentleman, of goodly preſence, well ſpoken, wiſe and diſcreete, as well in matters of gouernment, as in warres: and as well to perſwade the people in peace, as to encourage his ſouldiers in war. *Saluſt* writeth of him, that his ſouldiers began to miſlike with him, euen from the firſt entry into theſe wars, becauſe he made them lye out two winters together in the field, one after another: the one before the city of CIZICVS,

The countrie of Mygdonia.

Niſibis, alias Antiochia, a city of Mygdonia.

Lucullus taketh Niſibis by aſſault.

Callimachus did ſet the city of Amiſus on fire.

The alteration of Lucullus good fortune.

Lucullus cauſe of all his misfortune.

Lucullus faultes.

Lucullus vertues.

The cauſe why Lucullus ſouldiers miſliked with him.

and the other before the citie of Amisvs. And euen as much did the other winters following vexe and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies countrie, or else if they lay in their friendes, yet he made them campe abroad in the field, and shrowd themselues in their tentes: for *Lucullus* neuer entred with his armie into any city or confederate towne of Greece. Now if the souldiers of themselues misliked *Lucullus*, the counsellers at Rome that were his enemies, and enuied his prosperitie and glory, gaue them yet greater occasions to mutine against him. For they continually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this war in length, purposely because he would alwaies haue occasion to rule, & meanes to get, hauing in his hands in maner all Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, & all the prouinces & regions as farre as to the riuer of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoiled the Princely houses of *Tigranes*, as if he had bene sent thither only to sacke and spoyle, and not to destroy & ouercome those kings. And they say that it was *Lucius Quintius*, one of the Prætors that spake these wordes. It was he also that most moued the people to this order that *Lucullus* should be called home, & other sent to succeede him in the charge and gouernment of the countries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane, it was also ordained that all they which were vnder his charge, should be dispensed withall for their othes, and licenced to leaue the warres when they thought good. But besides those, & such like great causes, there was yet another more dangerous plague, and that most ouerthrew *Lucullus* proceedings, passing all the other euils being put together: and that was *Publius Clodius*, a wicked, licentious, and hare brainde man. He was *Lucullus* wiues brother, and she was so light of her bodie, that *Clodius* her brother was accused of incontinencie with her. This *Clodius* being at that time in *Lucullus* campe, caried not that estimation and credit he thought himselfe worthy of. For he tooke himselfe equall with the best, and would needes haue bene holden for chiefe: when in deede there were many of farre better desert, he being noted both for a vitious and ill disposed person. Whereupon he beganne for spight to suborne the bands called Fimbrians, and to stirre them vp against *Lucullus*, sowing sweete and pleasant wordes amongst the souldiers, which being wonted thereunto, looked still to be flattered. For they were those whom *Fimbria* had procured to kill the Consull *Flaccus*, and choose him in his steede for their Captaine. By reason whereof they gaue good eare to *Clodius* words, and called him a noble Captaine, and a louer of souldiers. For when he spake vnto them, he made as though he had pitied them, for that they should neuer see an end of their great paines and warres, but should miserably consume their daies in fighting continually, sometime with one nation, and sometime with an other: and that they wandered through all the countries of the world, receiuing no worthy reward of so long and painefull seruice, seruing only to gard *Lucullus* carts & camels loden with gold and vessell of golde and siluer, and other pretious stones. Where the souldiers that had serued vnder *Pompey*, tooke now their ease at home in their country with their wiues and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly faire cities, as rich burgeses and wealthy citizens: and yet they had not driuen *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* out of their kingdomes, into desert places vnhabitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houses of Asia, but only made a litle warre in Spayne against those that were banished, & in Italie against fugitiue slaues. Shall we then, said he, carie harnesse on our backes all the daies of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped vntill this present, reserue our selues, our bodies & liues for that noble Captaine, who esteemeth the greatest honor and glory he can atchieue vnto, is to make his souldiers rich, that serue vnder him? *Lucullus* armie was so seduced and corrupted with these mutinous and seditious accusations, that the souldiers would no longer follow him, neither against *Tigranes*, nor against *Mithridates*: who went presently out of Armenia into his realme of Pontus, and began to conquer it againe, whilest the Romaine souldiers murining against their General, remained idle in the prouince of Gordiæna, excusing themselues by the winter season, and tarying vntill *Pompey* or some other Captaine should quickly come to raise the siege, and succeede *Lucullus*. Notwithstanding, when they vnderstoode that *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus* Lieutenants, and that he went against *Sornatius* & *Triarius*: they were then ashamed of themselues, and became contented to be led by *Lucullus*. But *Triarius* in a brauery, when he heard that *Lucullus* drew neere, made hast to winne the victory,

Lucullus armie euer ley in the field, winter and summer.

Phasis fl.

Publius Clodius a wicked man.

Publius Clodius stirred vp the souldiers against Lucullus.

Mithridates victorie of Lucullus Lieutenants.

Mithridates ouercame Triarius Lucullus Captain.

as if it had beene cocke sure before *Lucullus* came. And was himselfe ouerthrowen in a great battell, where some say there died aboue seuen thousand Romaines, amongst the which were a hundred and fiftie centurions, & fourteene twentie Captaines or Colloners of a thousand men a peece, and yet besides, *Mithridates* tooke their campe also. Shortly after this ouerthrow, *Lucullus* came thither, who bid *Triarius*, whom the souldiers sought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when *Lucullus* was come, he proued sundry meanes to procure *Mithridates* to battell: but *Mithridates* would not once sturre abroad, because he looked for *Tigranes* that came forward with a mightie power. Whereupon he determined to game to goe against *Tigranes* to fight with him, before *Mithridates* and he ioyned forces together. But as he was in his iourney towardes him, the Fimbrian bandes began to mislike him, and would not follow his ensignes, saying, and alleaging for themselues, that by decree of the people they had leaue to depart, and were discharged from their othe: and further more that *Lucullus* had no more to doo to commaund them, considering that the gouernment of the prouinces which he had, was giuen vnto others. *Lucullus* perceiuing this, did so humble himselfe vnto them, supposing that way to winne them, as there was no kind of vnciuilly humblie but he submitted himselfe vnto it: insomuch as he went into their tentes, to pray and intreate them one after an other, with water in his eyes, and with so great lowlinesse, as came to shake handes with them. But they fiercely reiected all his courtesies & faire intreaties, calling their penniesse purses before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, since he had with the spoile of them all so well enriched himselfe alone. Neuertheless, at the vnfeined instance and earnest request of the other souldiers, these Fimbrian bands were compelled to promise, that they would yet tarry all that sommer, so that if no man in the meane time offred battell, at the end of the tearme, they might goe where they would. *Lucullus* was forced to accept this condition, or els to remaine alone, & consequently to forsake the country of the barbarous people. With much a doe thus he kept them together, but in such sort, as he durst no more venter to compell them to come to battell, contenting himselfe that they were willing onely to stay with him, being forced to suffer *Tigranes* in the meane time to destroy and ouerrun the country of Cappadocia, & *Mithridates* also to bragge againe, of whom he had before written to the Senate that he had vtterly ouercome him: insomuch as there came commissioners & deputies from Rome by his owne procurement, to order the state of the realme of Pontus with him, as of a kingdom already won to the Romaine Empire. But when they were come, they found him not master of himselfe, and that his owne souldiers flouted him, and did him all the spight and iniury they could. For they were so vnruly towards their Captaine, and did so much disdaine him, that when the end of the sommer was come, they armed themselues with armor and weapon, and drawing out their swordes in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the fielde: and after they had made their noise and cries accustomed when they ioyned battell, and made as though they fought, hurling and swinging their swords in the aire, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promised *Lucullus* to tary. On the other side *Pompey* had written vnto the other souldiers that were yet in campe, to come vnto him: for through the peoples fauour at Rome, the practises and flatteries of the common counsellers there, he was substituted Generall in *Lucullus* place. Which much misliked the Senate and nobilitie: for they thought *Lucullus* greatly wronged to haue a successour sent, not to succeede him in troubles and dangers, but in honour and glory of triumph. And that they should compell him not onely to resigne vp the office of a Generall to an other, but (for the good seruice he long time had done) the reward of his honour due for the same: and this also more misliked them that were about him. That so soone as *Pompey* was arriued in Asia, he tooke all power & authority from *Lucullus*, to punish or reward any man for good or ill seruice done to the common weale in those warres, & did moreouer prohibite by publicke bils set vp in euery common place, that they should no more repaire vnto him, nor obey ought that he, or any of the ten commissioners sent to dispose of the state of the prouinces wonne by him, should commaund or ordaine: and because *Pompey* came with a greater power and armie then his, he was in some feare of him. Their friends thought good neuertheless they should meete together: and so they did incontinent

The Fimbrian souldiers forsooke Lucullus.

Lucullus forced to humble himselfe to his mutinous souldiers.

The Fimbrian souldiers tarie out the sommer vpon condition to depart when sommer was done.

Pompey Lucullus successor in Asia.

Iniuries offered Lucullus by Pompey.

friendly, in a village of GALATIA, where at their first meeting they saluted ech other very curteously, reioycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. *Lucullus* was the elder man, but *Pompey* of greater dignity, because he had bene Generall of the ROMAINE people in many warres, & had alreadie triumphed twise. The bundels of roddes which the sergeants caried before them, were wreathed about with laurell branches for the victories they had both atcheiued: but *Pompeys* bundels were withered away, because they had come a long iorney through hotte and dry countries. *Lucullus* officers seeing theirs withered, courteously gaue them of theirs fresh and new gathered: which *Pompeys* friendes tooke for a signe of good lucke. For to say truely, the things that *Lucullus* did in the time of his charge, were cause of the honor that *Pompey* afterwards wanne. Howbeit in the end for all their talke, they were no whit the better friends: but departed the one from the other more strange then they met. For *Pompey* by a plaine edict, brake, reuoked and disanulled all *Lucullus* ordinances, and taking from him al his other souldiers, left him but only sixteene hundred to accompany his triumph, and yet they followed him with vnwilling minds: such was *Lucullus* imperfection & mayme, either by nature or frowardnes of fortune, that he lacked the chiefest thing a Generall should haue, which was, to be beloued of his souldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongst many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimitie, wisedom, iudgement, & iustice: the riuer of Euphrates had not bene the vttermost confines of the Empire of ROME on ASIA side, but it had extended as farre as the sea Hyrcane, yea euē vnto the vtmost part of the world. For king *Tigranes* had already conquered the other nations that lie beyond that, sauing the countrie of PARTHIA, which then was not so great nor strong, as it appeared afterwards in *Crassus* time: not so ioyned and knit together, but (what through ciuill dissentions amongst them at home, and forreine warres of their neigbours abroad) was so weake, that with great difficulty they could defend themselues from the ARMENIANS, that continually harried them out of their skinnes. But to take things rightly as they be in deede, me thinkes that *Lucullus* did more hurt vnto his country by other, then he did benefit the same by himselfe. For the tokens of triumph and victories which he wanne in ARMENIA so neere vnto the PARTHIANS, the cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISIBIS which he had sacked and spoyled, the great treasure that he brought to ROME, and the Diademe also of *Tigranes*, which was shewed in triumph as a prisoner with the rest: moued *Crassus* with such a marueilous desire to passe into ASIA, as if all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an assured spoyle, and a purposed prey vnto all those that would come to take them. But *Crassus* farre other wise, finding him selfe gauled and troubled with the arrowes of the PARTHIANS, knew then by proofe, that *Lucullus* had not so much ouercome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wisedome and valiantnes. But that shall be seene hereafter. Furthermore, *Lucullus* being now returned to ROME, found first of all his brother *Marcus* accused by one *Gaius Memmius*, for that he had done in his office of treasurer in *Syllaes* time, and by his commaundement, whereof he was cleared by sentence of the iudges. But *Memmius* of spight turned his anger against *Lucullus* selfe, stirring vp the people against him, and making them vnderstand that *Lucullus* had kept backe and robbed much part of the treasure, which should haue come to the common wealth, and that to worke his feate the better, had prolonged these warres as he did: wherefore he perswaded them flatly to deny him the honor of his triumph. And truely *Lucullus* was in great danger to haue lost it vtterly: but that the noblemen of the citie, and they that were of greatest authoritie, intermedled themselues with the tribes when they came to passe it by voices of the people, whom they intreated so much through suite and perswasion, that in the end, with much a doe, the people suffered him to enter the citie in triumph. So *Lucullus* made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troublesome for the long shewe or sight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For hee caused the shewe-place (which they call Circus Flaminius at ROME) to be set out and furnished chiefely with armour and weapons of the enemies to a marueilous number: and with the kings engines and inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleasant sight to behold. And in this shew, there was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, tenne cartes of warre armed with

Lucullus and Pompeys meeting.

Misliking betweene Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus not beloued of his souldiers.

Crassus desire to conquere Asia vpon sight of Lucullus triumph.

See the life of Crassus what successe he had.

Lucullus returne to Rome.

Lucullus triumph.

sythes that passed by, and threescore of the chiefest friendes and Captaines of the two kings that were led prisoners through the citie. And there were also drawen after them, a hundred and tenne gallies all armed in the prores with strong spurres of copper, and a statue of *Mithridates* all of cleane gold, sixe foote high, with a rich target set with pretious stones. Besides all that, there were twenty cubberds as full of siluer plate as could be, and thirtie cubberds full also of golden vessell, armor and coyne of gold, caried vpon mens shoulders. After them followed eight mules laden with golden beddes, and sixe and fiftie other mules that caried siluer bullion, and a hundred & seuen other mules that caried siluer coyne, amounting to the summe of two hundred threescore and tenne thousande Sestertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of account caried also, wherin were particularly written the summes of money which *Lucullus* had deliuered before vnto *Pompey* for the warre against pyrates on the sea, & vnto the treasurers and high treasures, to put into the sparing coffers of the common wealth at ROME. And afterwardes in an article by it selfe, that he had giuen nine hundred and fiftie Drachmas to euery souldier by the polle. After the shewe of this triumph was ended, hee made a generall feast, in the which he feasted all the citie and villages thereabouts, which the ROMAINS call Vicos. And afterwardes forsooke his wife *Clodia* for her vnchast and wanton life, and maried *Seruilia Catoes* sister: howbeit he wanne nothing by the exchange, for he sped as euill with his second as he did with the first. For, sauing that she was not slandered with the incest of her owne brethren, otherwise she was as dishonest and vnchast as *Clodia*: and yet he bare with all a while for her brothers sake, but at the length grew wearie of her, and put her away as he had done *Clodia*. Now when he had filled the Senate with a maruellous hope and expectation of him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withstand *Pompeys* tyrannie, and to vphold and maintaine the authoritie of the nobility and Senate against the people, for that by his noble deedes he had atcheiued so great fame and reputation) he sodainly gaue ouer all dealings in the affaires of the common wealth: either because he sawe it so best, being a hard thing now to keepe it from ruine: or else (as other said) for that he felt himselfe sufficiently furnished with honour and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to liue quietly all at his ease after so great paines, trauelles and troubles, the ende whereof fell not out ouer fortunately. And surely some were of his minde, and liked this great change of his maruellous well: because he did not as *Marius* did, neither happened on the ill successe and end that *Marius* had. For *Marius* after the notable victories which he brought from the CIMBRIS, and after his valiant acts in warres which had won him great honor, yet would he not so leaue of, when he might haue bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an vnsatiable mind, and ambitious desire to rule and beare sway, (being withall a very old man) went and sorted himselfe amongst young men desirous of gouernment, who brought him not only to commit many outrages, but made himselfe also to suffer greater cruelties. It is thought also that Cicero had ended his aged course more happily, if after he had quenched *Catilines* conspiracy, he had then taken his ease. And so had *Scipio* in like case, if when he had ioyned NVMANTIA vnto CARTHAGE, he would then haue quieted himselfe. And therfore, some say, that there is a certaine reuolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wise man should medle any more with the affaires of the cõmon wealth: no more then a man whose youth & strength is gone and dried, is any more fit to iust, wrastle, or enter into such exercises of the bodie. But contrarily, *Crassus* and *Pompey* mocked *Lucullus*, because he gaue himselfe so much to pleasure and pastime: as if to liue pleasantly and delicately did not worse become his age, then to command in armes, or to gouerne the affaires of a common weale. And for my part, reading *Lucullus* life, me thinkes that I read an ancient comedie, the beginning whereof is tedious, and the latter end ioyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you find notable exploites done by him in warres, and great good gouernment also in peace: but in the end they all turned into feastes and banquets, and lacking litle of maskes and mummeries, dauncing with torches, and all other such delightes fit for young men. For I bring within the compasse and reckoning of his finenesse and pleasures, his sumptuous buildings, his stately walles and galleries, his hotte-houses and stoues, his tables and pictures, his statues also: and the great workmanshippe and curiositie he had besides of all other chartes by him, gotten together out of all partes to his infinite charge,

Lucullus forsaketh Clodia & marieth Seruilia Catoes sister as vnchast as Clodia.

Lucullus giueth ouer gouernment of the common wealth.

Lucullus buildings and pleasures.

charge, abusing therein the world of goods and treasure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwise. Insomuch, that notwithstanding excesse and superfluitie hath euer since increased vntill this present time, yet they reckon the gardens *Lucullus* made, to be the most sumptuous and delicatest places that the Emperors haue. And therfore *Tubero* the Stoike Philosopher, hauing seene these stately works which *Lucullus* had caused to be made neere vnto NAPLES, by the sea side (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged vpon vaults) and great ditches cast by force to make the sea passe and runne through his houses, to keepe fish therein, and lodgings also that he built in the sea it selfe: he called *Lucullus*, *Xerxes* the gowneman, as if he would haue saide, *Xerxes* the ROMAINE. For euen so did *Xerxes* in old time cause the mountaine Atho to be cut in sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his shippes through. He had also many other pleasant places within the territories of ROME neere vnto THVSCVLVM, where there were great large haules set vpon tarrasses to see round about farre off in the day time. And *Pompey* going thither sometime to see him, reproued him greatly, telling him that he had built a marueilous faire sommer house, but not to be dwelt in the winter season. *Lucullus* laughing, answered him: do ye thinke me to haue lesse wit & reason then storkes or cranes, that I can not shift houses according to the season? An other time there was a Prætor of ROME, that making plaies to shewe the people pastime, sent vnto *Lucullus* to borrow certaine purple clokes to set forth his plaiers: *Lucullus* made him answere, that he would cause his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demaunding of him how many he should neede, the other answered, that a hundred would serue his turne. Wherupon *Lucullus* told him againe, he would furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therefore the Poet *Horace* writing this story, addeth to a notable exclamation against superfluity, saying: that men thinke that a poore house, where there is no more riches then necessary, and where there is not more then appeareth in sight, and that the master knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinarie seruice at his bord, not onely in that his beddes whereon he sedde, were couered with rich carpetes of purple, and himselfe serued in gold and siluer vessell set with precious stones, & that there was dauncing, musicke, plaies, and other such like pastimes of ordinary: but also for that he was continually serued with all sorts of fine daintie dishes, with workes of pastry, banqueting dishes, and frute curiously wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondered at of men of simple vnderstanding and meane condition. Therefore was *Pompey* maruellously esteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sicke, and that the Phisitian had willed him to eate of a thrush. For when his seruants tolde him they were hard to come by in sommer, but at *Lucullus* house where they brought them vp all the yeare through: he would in no wise they should aske any of him, but saide vnto his Phisitian. What if *Lucullus* were not giuen to pleasure, could not *Pompey* liue? And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more easily come by. *Cato* was *Lucullus* friend & kinseman both, and yet he so much misliked his maner of liuing and ordinary expence: that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpose) touching meane diet, sobrietie, and temperance of life: *Cato* could no longer abide him, but rose vp, and said vnto him. What, wilt thou not leaue babbling to vs all day: thou that art rich as *Crassus*, that liuest as *Lucullus*, and speakest as *Cato*? Other affirme that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not *Cato* that spake them: neuertheless it is certaine, by the notable sayings they haue gathered of *Lucullus*, he did not only delight to liue so delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some write that he feasted certaine GRECIANS many daies together in his house, that were come out of GREECE to ROME: and that they being men brought vp with the sobrietie and simplicitie of GREECE, after they had bene feasted there diuers times, were ashamed, & refused to goe thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to *Lucullus*, supposing that he had made them this great cheere for their owne sakes. *Lucullus* hearing of it, told them: my Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that. In deede I must needes grant that there is somewhat more then ordinarie to welcome you withall: but I tell you truely, the most part is for *Lucullus* sake. An other time when he supped all alone, and his men had laide but one bord, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called

Lucullus gardens of great estimation.

Lucullus called Xerxes the gowneman.

Xerxes cut through the mountaine Atho, and made a channell for his shippes to passe thorow.

Lucullus curiositie and excesse in meates and seruice.

Catoes saying of Lucullus.

Certain sayings of Lucullus.

for his steward to know why he was serued so: the steward answered him. My Lord, because I saw you send for no bodie, I thought this supper sufficient. What, said he againe: knewest not thou that *Lucullus* should suppe to night with himself? In fine, *Lucullus* fare was cõmonly knowen through Rome, that there was no talke but of *Lucullus* noble housekeeping. Whereupon, *Cicero* and *Pompey* being desirous to see the proofe thereof, came one day to him in the market place seeing him at pleasure: (for *Cicero* was *Lucullus* very good friend, and *Pompey* also, and though there was some iarre betwene them for matters of warres, he did not let for that to come vnto him, and to speake gently one to an other) and *Cicero* after he had saluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, said he, with all my heart: I pray you come to me. Well then, said *Cicero*, *Pompey* and I will come and suppe with you to night, with condition that you prouide no more then your ordinary. *Lucullus* told him againe, they should then fare but badly, and therefore it were better they taried till to morrow. But they would none of that, no nor suffer him to speake with his men for feare he should commaund them to prouide somewhat more then for himselfe. Neuertheless, at his desire they suffered him onely in their presence aloude to tell one of his men, that hee would suppe that night in *Apollo*: (for so was one of his most stately and sumptuous haules of his house called) and with that word only he finely deceiued them both, and they neuer found him. For euery haule had his certaine summe and rate appointed for the charge and expence of euery supper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and seruice for the same. So that when his seruantes had their watch worde but in what haule he would suppe, they knew straight what charge he would be at for his supper, & what orders should be obserued therin. Now *Lucullus* manner was to spende when he made any feast in the haule of *Apollo*, fifty thousand pence, and that selfe day the supper was prepared according to that value: insomuch as *Pompey* marueiled how it could be possible that a supper of so exceeding great charge could be so sodainly prepared. In such things therefore did *Lucullus* lauishly and riotously spende his goods, his spoyles in deede gotten of slaues and barbarous people. But that specially which he bestowed vppon bookes, was very commendable and honest expence. For he had gathered together great number of notable histories, the vse wherof was more honor to him, then the hauing of them. For his librarie was euer open to all cõmers, and they suffred the Grecians to come into his goodly tarrasses and faire walkes, or other pleasant places thereabouts conuenient, sit and reason together, and neuer shut dore against them; where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the Muses being very glad when other matters were dispatched, they had so much leasure as but to go thither. And *Lucullus* selfe would also many times be amongst them, in those tarrasses and pleasant walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did euer helpe to dispatch those that had any businesse with him, and granted the thing they requested of him. To conclude his house was a common receite for all them that came from Grece to Rome. He loued maner of Philosophy, and refused no sect of the same. But from his youth vpward, he euer ued & esteemed best the Academicke sect, not that which they cal the new Academie (although it florished at that time through *Carneades* workes, which *Philo* made such alteration of) but the old Academicke, which the Philosopher *Antiochus* of the citie of Ascalon did defende and maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rethoritian and well spoken, whom *Lucullus* sought to win by all meanes to make him his friend, and to haue him in house with him: because he might inuey against *Philoes* hearers & followers, whose scholler *Cicero* among the rest was, that wrote a notable booke against this old Academicke sect. And the same he reciteth *Lucullus*, maintaining the opinion of the old Academickes: who held that a man may certainly know and comprehend something, and called that Catalepsin: but *Cicero* defended the contrarie. The booke is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we haue rehearsed before) very good friends, and had both one selfe desire for gouernement in the common wealth. For *Lucullus* did not so withdrawe himselfe from matters of state, that he would no more medle at all, nor heare speake of them: but he betimes gaue ouer all ambition & contention, as a thing of no small danger, and breeding great reproach and dishonour to *Marcus Crassus*, and *Cato*, to be chiefe in authoritie. And these two were they that defended the Senate

Lucullus hauing diuers haules, had appointed euery haule his certaine rate and charge of diet. What Lucullus supper was in Apollo.

Lucullus librarie.

Lucullus loued Philosophie.

Antiochus of Ascalon an eloquent rethoritian.

The opinion of the Academickes.

Marcus Crassus, Cato, Lucullus, against Pompey.

whom they raised vp to withstand *Pompeys* greatnesse, being afrayed of him, after that *Lu-*
er had refused the chiefe place of authoritie. But otherwise, *Lucullus* would be in the mar-
place at courts and common councels, to pleasure his friends when they requested him:
would go to the Senate also, when there was occasion to breake any new practise, or to
verthrow *Pompeys* ambitious policie. For he ouerthrew all the orders and constitutions *Lucullus and Cato against Pompey.*
Pompey had made, after he had ouercome the kings, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: and with
helpe of *Cato* hindered a distribution of money which *Pompey* had written for to ROME,
he bestowed amongst his souldiers. Whereupon *Pompey* fell in friendship, (or to speake *Pompey, Crassus, Cæsar, conspired together against the state.*
more plainly, in conspiracie) with *Crassus* and *Cæsar*, by whose helpe and assistaunce, he filled
OME with armes and souldiers: and made the people by force to passe and confirme what he
uld haue done, after he had violently expulsed *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the market place.
Whereat the noble men were much offended, and misliking the great wrong they had offred
ullus & Cato, *Pompeys* followers suborned a *BRVTIAN, & sayd he was taken lying in wait
kill *Pompey*. Whereupon the said BRVTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certaine:
when he came before the people, he named *Lucullus*, saying that he had hyered him to kill
mpey. But no man beleeued him. For they perceiued openly in the market place, that he was
oured by themselues falsly to accuse *Lucullus*, and *Pompeys* other aduersaries. And this was
ued more plainly within few dayes after, whē they threw the body of this BRVTIAN dead
the middest of the street, out of the prison: who they say dyed of himselfe with sickenesse.
wbeit the markes being plainly seene of the halter wherewith they had strangled him, and
stripes appearing also which they had giuen him: did plainly shew that they themselues
whom after they had suborned to accuse *Lucullus*, they slue in this manner. This was the
why *Lucullus* did more then before absent himselfe from medling in publicke causes: but
when he saw that they had so wickedly exiled *Cicero*, and found meanes also to conuey
farre enough off, vnder pretenced colour to send him with charge into the Ile of C-
: then he gaue vp altogether. Some write that a litle before his death, he was not perfit
wits, decaying through age by litle and litle. Howbeit *Cornelius Nepos* sayth, that it was *Lucullus fell out of his wits before his death.*
for age, nor sickenesse, that his wits did alter: but through poyson which one of his slaues
giuen him, whom he had made free, called *Callisthenes*: who gaue it him, not of any euill
t, but because his maister should loue him the more, supposing that this poyson had pow-
make him loue him. But he troubled his wits so much with this poyson, that *Lucullus* *Callisthenes poysoned Lucullus wherof he dyed.*
he liued was faine to haue his brother *Marcus* to ouersee his goods. Notwithstanding *Lucullus death.*
when he was dead, he was as much bewayled and lamented of all the people, as if he had
in his best credit, and greatest prosperitie. For all the people ranne to honour his fune-
and his body was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citie. The people
ld in any case haue buried him within the field of *Mars*, as they had before buried *Sylla*:
because no man thought of it before, and also for that things necessary were not easily to be
ded for the place: his brother *Marcus* besought the people they would be content his fu-
als might be at a towne of his owne, neare vnto the citie of THVSCVLVM, where his
tombe was prepared, and he himselfe liued not long time after. For as *Lucullus*
both in age, and honour, had not left him farre behind him: so did he not
much in his death. For as a brother that had alwayes dearely
loued him, he could not then long liue;
and suruiue him.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lucullus with Cimon.*

Lucullus death blessed.

NOthing (in my opiniõ) made *Lucullus* more happy, then to dye w he did, before he saw the change and alteration of the cõmon we which the fatall destinies plagued the ROMAINES withall with dition & ciuill wars: & that he dyed in his country yet enioying liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was vnto *Cimõ* aboue all other things: who died whileſt the GRECI were in good loue & peace with other, & not in broyle of diſſ and ciuill warres. Indeede *Cimon* dyed in his camp, being general his country, at the siege of the city of CITIVM in CYPRVS, not w drawen to his home, as one wearied, liuing idlely, or leading a voluptuous life in feaſt banquets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphs: but as said (when he wisely blamed and reproued *Orpheus*, who promiſeth perpetuall drunken in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that liued well in this life) merily. And th is a great comfort & contentation of minde, for an old man feebled with age, & compelled weakeneſſe, to withdraw himſelfe from the world, as well in matters of gouernemẽt in pe as in warres: and quietly to paſſe his time in ſtudy, where delight is ioyned with honeſt templation. But to finiſh his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleaſure, as vnto their ly end, and moreouer, to grow old by pleaſure and vanity, ſolemnizing *Venus* feaſt al the his life, after he hath made ſuch warres, & commaunded ſuch armies: that me thinkes a vnworthy of an honeſt ACADEMICKE, and altogether vnmeete for one profeſsing old *crates* doctrine, but fit rather for a man giuen ouer altogether to *Epicurus* diſcipline. The a wonderfull thing to be conſidered of in theſe two men, that the ones youth was altog vitious and reprochfull, and the others to the contrary, honeſt and vertuous. But he is the ter that chaungeth for the better: & that nature is alwayes more commendable, in whom decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time ſheweth ſtill contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one ſelfe meane: but they did not be like vſe their riches. For it were to no purpoſe to compare the buildings of the wall that deth South within the caſtell of ATHENS, which was built with the money *Cimon* bro thither: with the fine built chambers, & high raiſed turrets to gaſe a farre, & enuironned with conduits of water, which *Lucullus* erected by NAPLES, with the ſpoyles of the barb people. Neither is *Cimons* table alſo of moderate fare & dyet, but yet open to euery man, parable to *Lucullus* bord: which was ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and ſhewed the greatneſſe Lord. For *Cimons* bord fed many mouthes daily with a ſmall charge: and *Lucullus* table ded in expence, to feede a few, with ſuperfluous dainties. Vnleſſe they will ſay, that time

A good gift to decay vice and to encreaſe vertue.

this difference betweene them. But who can tell, if *Cimon* had bene at leasure to haue with-
drawn himselfe to quiet in age from gouernement, and armes, he also would not haue led a
sumptuous and dissolute life, giuen to all pleasure, then *Lucullus* did? For of his owne na-
ture loued wine, banquets, and playes, and was also giuen to women, as we haue told you
before. But prosperitie, and fortunate successe of things do bring such delight to ambitious
men of nature, and borne to great enterprises: that they make them forget to runne after their
voluptuous vaine desires. And therefore had *Lucullus* dyed abroad in the warres, whilest
he commanded armies: there had not bene that liuing man, how curious soeuer he had
been to reproue other mens faults, that could haue detected him of any reprochfull vice.
Thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres:
both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by sea as by land. And
touching games of prise and exercises of body which are shewed in GREECE, they that in one
day won the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a strange custome, not
victours onely, but victours also, to honour them withall: euen so me thinkes that *Cimon*
likewise hauing in one selfe day crowned GREECE with two notable markes of triumph,
two battels he wanne, the one by sea, and the other by land, deserueth to haue some place
of preferment before other Captaines. And moreouer, *Lucullus* receiued the authoritie to
command of his country and common wealth: but *Cimon* gaue his country both authoritie &
skill to command. *Lucullus* found his country a commanding people to all their friends &
confederates: through whose aide he ouercame his enemies. And *Cimon* contrarily, found his
country marching vnder an others enfigne, & through his valiantnesse did so behaue himselfe,
that he made his citie go before her confederates, and triumph ouer her enemies: compelling
the LACEDÆMONIANS by force to giue them the rule by sea, & perswading the LACEDÆMONIANS
perforce to giue place vnto them by land. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excel-
lent Captaine, is to make himselfe to be beloued of his souldiers, that they may delight to o-
bey him: then was *Lucullus* despised of his souldiers, and *Cimon* esteemed and wondred at, euen
of the confederates themselues. For *Lucullus* was forsaken of his own men: and *Cimon* was fol-
lowed by very strangers, for the confederates did ioyne together with him. *Lucullus* returned
home into his country, forsaken of those he caried out with him. *Cimon* returned againe, com-
manding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his
country three notable things, and hard for them to haue compassed: to wit, made peace with
their enemies, giuen them authoritie and rule of their confederates, and ioyned friendship with
the LACEDÆMONIANS. Both of them vndertooke to destroy great Empires, and conquer all
Asia. But neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his
death, which cut him off on the sodaine being generall, and when his affaires prospered best.
The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could
not, or because he would not satisfie the complaints and griefes of his men, which caused them
much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be sayd also, that in this fault he was like vn-
to *Cimon*: who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his country
for the space of ten yeares, because that in ten yeares space (as *Plato* sayth) they should no
more heare him speake. For to say truly, it seldome times happeneth, that the graue wits of
noble men do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common people: be-
cause they striuing continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieue them as much,
as Surgeons do their patients when they binde vp their sores with bandes to cure them. For
though by that binding they restore & bring to their naturall places againe the broken bones
and members out of ioynt: yet put they the patient to great paine and griefe. And therefore me
thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, *Lucullus* wēt a great deale
further with his army, thē euer *Cimon* did. For he was the first ROMAINE Captaine that pas-
sed ouer mount Taurus, & the riuer of Tigris with an army. He tooke & burnt almost in sight
both the kings, the royall cities of ASIA, TIGRANOCERTA, CABIRA, SINOPE, & NISI-
BIS. Towards the North, he went as far as the riuer of Phasis towardes the East, into MEDIA:
and Southward, euen to the red sea, and vnto the realmes of ARABIA, subduing all vnto the
ROMAINE Empire. And hauing ouerthrowen all the power of these two mightie kings, he

Cimons two victories obtained in one day.

Great difference betwixt Cimon and Lucullus.

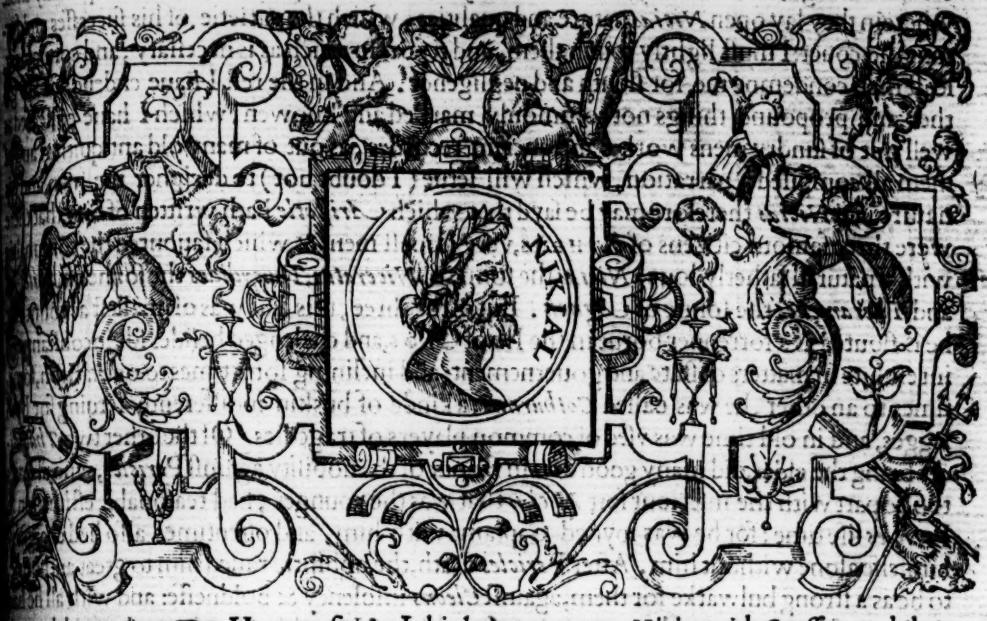
Graue Magistrates resembled by similitude vnto good Surgeons.

tooke from them all, but their persons onely: who fled and hid themselues like wild beastes, in infinite deserts and vnpassable forrestes. Wherein is easily discerned the difference betwixt the doings of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor ouerthrow at all by *Cimon*, fought a battell immediatly after against the GRECIANS, & ouerthrew the greatest part of their armie in EGYPT: where *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, after [illegible] stories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding himselfe altogether pulled downe his knees, and broken by the former battels: durst neuer once onely shew his army vnto *Pompey*, out of the strength of his camp, but fled into the realme of BOSPHORVS, where he died. And *Tigranes*, he went and humbled himselfe on his knees, vnarmed, and without weapon vnto *Pompey*: and taking his diadeame off from his head, layed it at his feete, not flattering for the victories he had won, but for those which *Lucullus* had triumphed for. By reason of he scaped good cheape, & thought himselfe happy, when *Pompey* gaue him onely the and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be the more worthy Captaine, and stoutest champion, that leadeth his enemy in weather him that followeth, and shall fight afterwardes with him. And furthermore, *Cimon* power of the king of PERSIA ouerharried, the pride and fiercenesse of the PERSIANS ground, by many great battels they had lost before vnto *Themistocles*, king *Pausanias*, *Aristides*, who had ouerthrowen them: and going now againe to fight a fresh with them an easie thing to ouercome the bodies of those, whose harts were already vanquished. *Lucullus* to the contrary, assailed *Tigranes*, that had neuer bene ouercome, but bare a courageous lofty minde with him, for the many great battels and conquestes he had wonne. And the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betweene those that *Cimon* ouercame those that were raunged in battell against *Lucullus*. So that all things weighed and considered it were hard to iudge which of them two proued the worthiest man: for that it seemeth that the goddes did fauour both the one and the other, telling the one what he should do, and the other what he should not do. And this it appeareth by testimonie of the goddes, they were both good men, and that they both obtained euerlasting glorie.

Mithridates king of Pontus, dyed in the realme of Bosphorus. Tigranes king of Armenia, submitteth himselfe to Pompey.

The end of Lucullus life.

THE LIFE OF Nicias.



I Haue reason (as I thinke) to compare *Nicias* with *Crassus*, and the euents that happened to the one in PARTHIA, with those that befell the other in SICYLE: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my writings, not to thinke me in entermedling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, *Thucydides* hath gone beyond himselfe, both for varietie and liuelinesse of narration, as also in choice and excellent words) to haue the like intent and opinion, that *Timæus* the historiographer had. Who, hoping by the grauitie and lise of his wordes & reports, to darken the glory of *Thucydides*, and make *Philistus* (in comparison of himselfe) appeare ignorant, and without any grace of historicall narration: hath in his history of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battels by sea and by land, and the report of those speaches and orations, which are deliuered by them with great iudgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neare them whom he contendes to passe, as doth the footeman to the LYDIAN coche, as sayth *Pindarus*: and besides sheweth himselfe fond and of small iudgement, or as *Diphilus* sayth.

The prayse of Thucydides.

Timæus follies.

A lubber laden with Sicylian grease.

And in diuers places, he falleth into *Xenarchus* follies. As where he sayth, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the ATHENIANS, that *Nicias* the Captaine (whose name was deriued of this word Nice, signifying victorie) dissuaded their attempts against SICYLE: and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the Hermes (to say, the images of *Mercurie*) it was foreshewed that they should receiue great ouerthrowes by the generall of the SYRACVSANS, called *Hermocrates*, the sonne of *Hermon*. And further, that it was not vnlikely that *Hercules* did iniour the SYRACVSANS, by reason of the goddesse *Proserpina*, (protectour and defendour of the citie of SYRACVSA) to requite her for that she gaue him Cerberus the dogge, porter of hell: and that he did malice the ATHENIANS besides, because they tooke the ÆGESTÆANS part: (who came of the TROYANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promise and league with him, whose city himselfe had ouerthrowen in reuenge of the wrong that *Laomedon* the king of TROY had offered him. Howbeit *Timæus* shewes as much wit and iudgement, in delighting vs such toyes in an history: as he doth in correcting the stile of *Philistus*, or in condemning and railing of *Plato* and *Aristotle*. But in my fansie, this ambition and contention to write

Timæus reproueth Plato & Aristotle.

or to speake more clarkely then others, sheweth alwayes a base enuious minde, like a scholler full of his schoole points. But when it striueth with things that are past all chalenge and correcting, then is it extreme follie and madnesse. Since therefore I may not passe ouer nor omit certaine things, which *Thucydides* and *Philistus* haue already set downe, and especially those wherein they lay open *Nicias* nature and qualities, which the varietie of his successes and fortune did couer: I must lightly touch them, and report so much as is necessary, and conuenient least men condemne me, for slouth and negligence. And in the rest I haue endeuoured to gather and propound things not commonly marked and knowen, which I haue collected well out of sundry mens workes and ancient recordes, as out of many old antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will serue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of *Nicias* therefore may be sayd that which *Aristotle* hath written of him, that there were three famous citizens of ATHENS, very honest men, & which fauoured the communaltie with a naturall fatherly loue: *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, *Thucydides* the sonne of *Milesius*, and *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*. But of the three, this last was of smallest account, for he is flouted as a forrenner borne in the Ile of CEOS, and chalenged besides for inconstant and irresolute in matters of state and gouernement: and inclining sometimes to one faction, sometimes to an other, he was called *Cothurnus*, a kinde of buskin indifferently seruing for both legges, and in old time was vsed of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, *Thucydides* being the elder, did many good acts in fauour of the nobility against *Pericles*, who always tooke part with the inferiour sort. *Nicias* that was the younger, had reasonable estimation in *Pericles* life time: for he was ioyned Captaine with him, and oftentimes also had charge by himselfe alone without him. After *Pericles* death, the nobilitie raised him to great authoritie to be as a strong bulwarke for them, against *Cleons* insolency & boldnesse: and with all he had the loue of the people, to aduaunce and preferre him. Now this *Cleon* in troth could do much with the people, he did so flatter and dandle them, like an old man, still feeding their humour with gaine: but yet they themselues whom he thus flattered, knowing his extreme couetousnesse, impudency, and boldnesse, preferred *Nicias* before him, because his grauity was not severe nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modesty, that he seemed to feare the people of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and esteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearefull & mistrustfull nature & disposition: in warres he cloked his feare with good fortune, which euer fauoured him alike in all his iourneys and exploits that he tooke in hand where he was Captaine. Now being much afrayed of accusers, this timorous manner of proceeding in the citie, was found to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good will of the people: and by meanes thereof rose daily more and more, because the people commonly feare those that hate them, & aduaunce them that feare them. For the greatest honour nobilitie can do to the communaltie, is to shew that they do not despise them. Now *Pericles*, who through his perfit vertue onely, & force of his great eloquence ruled the whole state and common wealth of ATHENS, he needed no counterfeit colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to winne their fauour and good willes: but *Nicias* lacking that, and hauing wealth enough, sought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauour. And where *Cleon* would entertaine the ATHENIANS with pleasant toyes and deuises, and could feede the peoples humour this way: *Nicias* finding himselfe no fit man to worke by such encounter, crept into the people's fauour with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with such like sumptuousnesse, exceeding in cost and pleasunt sportes, not onely all those that had bene before him, but such also as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his consecrating vnto the goddesse the image of *Pallas* in the castle of ATHENS, the gilt being worne off: and the chappell which is vnder the festiuall table of *Bacchus*: for he many times had the chiefe prise in *Bacchus* disses, and neuer went away without some game. And touching this matter, there goeth a report that at certaine playes whereof *Nicias* defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth vpon the players stage before the people, apparelled like *Bacchus*: & being a goodly tall young man without any haire on his face, the ATHENIANS tooke such pleasure to see him so attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. There withall *Nicias* stood vp, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leaue the body of a man in bondage, the

Nicias equall.

Nicias, a timorous man.

The nature of the people.

Nicias liberalitie and magnificence.

openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon forthwith made this young slaue a free man. Men write also of certaine sumptuous and deuout acts he did in the Ile of DELOS, where the dancers and singers which the cities of GREECE sent thither to sing rhimes and verses in the honour of *Apollo*, were wonte before to arriue disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ran to see them, who made them sing straight without any order, and landing in hast out of their shippes, they left their apparell, and put on such vestements as they should weare in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heads, all at one present time. But *Nicias*, being commaunded to go thither to present the singers of ATHENS, landed first in the Ile of RENIA, hard adioyning to the Ile of DELOS, with his singers, his beasts for sacrifice, and with all the rest of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had caused to be made at ATHENS, vppon measure taken of the channell betwixt the one and the other Ile set out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with nosegaies and garlands of triumphe, and with excellent wrought tapistry: which in the night he set vp vpon the channell being not very broade, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his singers to passe ouer vpon it, singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, euen vnto the very temple of *Apollo*. And when the sacrifice, the feast, and games that were to be solemnized were finished, he gaue a goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered vp to *Apollo*, beside landes besides that coste him tenne thousand Drachmas, which he consecrated also vnto the god Patron of the Ile: and ordained, that the profites of the same should be yearely followed by the DELIANS, vppon an open sacrifice and feast, in the which they should pray for their god, for the health and prosperitie of *Nicias*: and so caused it to be written and graued vpon a piller he left in DELOS, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offering, and foundation. Afterwardes, this copper palme tree being broken by windes, it fell vpon the great image of the NAXIANS gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremonie and acte of his, there was a maruellous pompe, and great shew of popular ambition: nouertheless, he that shall consider of his life and actions, may easily perswade himselfe that aboue all, he did it of very pure zeale and deuotion, and secondly, to giue pleasure and pastime to the people. For by *Thucydides* reporte of him, he was one that feared the gods with ouermuch superstition. *Nicias superstitious.*

troubling, and was wholly giuen to religion. We finde written in one of the dialogues of *Posphoon*, that *Nicias* did sacrifice dayly to the goddes, and kept a soothsayer continually in his house, giuing out abroade, that it was to counsell with him what should happen about the affaires of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquire of his owne businesse, and specially of his mines of siluer. For he had many great mines about LAVRION that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great daunger, and he was driuen continually to keepe a maruellous number of slaues at worke there. The most part of *Nicias* riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many craners and hangers on him, whome he gaue money vnto: for he gaue as well vnto wicked people that might doe him hurte, as vnto them that deserued rewarde, and were worthie of his liberalitie. Thus was his geare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was also a reuenue to the good: and herevpon the comicall Poets do deliuer vs auncient testimonie. For *Teleclides* speaking of a certaine informer saith thus: *Nicias mines of siluer.* *Nicias for feare gaue to the wicked.*

Charicles did refuse to giue one Mina for to slay,
The bruting of his secret birth, a couered close away:
But Nice, the sonne of Nicerate, did willingly bestow,
A brace of Minas double told. And though I well do know
The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him bewray:
For why? The man is my good friend, and wise I dare well say.

And he, whom *Eupolis* mocketh in his comedy intituled Maricas, bringing a plaine simple man vpon the stage, doth aske him:

The informer.

How long is it ago since thou didst speake with Nicias?

The plaine man.

I saw him standing euen right now vpon the market place.

The informer.

This man affirmes he saw him there. And wherefore should he say
He saw him, but of some intent his lewdnesse to bewray?
Now sirs yee see how Nicias here is taken in the trip,
For all his walking close in cloudes to giue the priuie slip.

The Authour.

O foolish folke, suppose ye that so good a man as he,
In any fault or shamefull fact will tardy taken be?

And *Cleon* threatning in the comedie of *Aristophanes*, intituled the Knightes, saith these wordes.

The Orators if by the throte I take,
Then sure I am, that Nicias straight will quake.

Phrynichus selfe also telleth vs glauncingly, that he was so timorous and easie to be frai when he said speaking of an other man:

A good stout man (I know full well) he was,
And not a coward like to Nicias.

Nicias warinesse to offend.

Now *Nicias* being thus timerous of nature, and fearing to giue any litle occasion to t Orators to accuse him: kept himselfe so warily, that he neither durst eate nor drinke with man in the city, nor yet put foorth himselfe in companie to talke, or passe the time among them, but altogether auoided such sports and pleasures. For when he was in office, he wo neuer out of the counsell house, but still busied him selfe in dispatching causes, from mo ning till night, and was euer the first that came, and last that went away. And when he ha matter of state in hand, then was he very hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no ceasse vnto him, but kept close in his house: and some of his friends did euer aunswere t that came to his gate, and praied them to pardon him, saying, that he was busie then ab

Nicias Hieronis schoolemaister.

affaires of the cõmonwealth. One *Hieron*, whom *Nicias* had brought vp in his house, & himselfe taught him both learning and musicke, was his greatest procurer and instrume keepe him from speech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnesse gravity. This *Hieron* (as it is reported) was the sonne of *Dionysius Chalcus*, of whom they certaine Poeticall workes at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of me were sent to dwell in ITALIE, did build there the citie of THVRIES. *Hieron* I say did serue

Dionysius Chalcus founder of the city of Thuries.

turne, and holpe him secretly to enquire what he would vnderstand of the Soothsaiers, gaue out these wordes among the people: that *Nicias* led too miserable and painefull a for the common great care he tooke to serue the commonwealth: insomuch, as though he w in his hotte house to wash him, or at his table at meate, his minde ranne still of some m about the commonwealth, and to serue the state, did neglect his owne priuate affaires that he scarce began to sleepe and take rest, when others commonly had slept their first sl and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was grown crabbed and vneoutr euen to such as before had bene his familiar friends. So that, said he, he loseth them tog with his goods, and all for seruice of the commonwealth: where others grow riche, and friends, by the credit they haue to be heard of the people, and can make merry among t and sporte with the matters of state which they haue in their hands. Now in troth, such

Nicias life.

Nicias life, that he might truely say that which *Agamemnon* spake of himselfe in the trag of *Euripides*, called *Iphigenie* in AVLIDE:

In outward shew of stately pompe, all others I exceede,
And yet the peoples vnderling I am in very deede.

And *Nicias* perceiuing that the people in some things did serue their turnes with the e rience of them, that were eloquent, and wiser then others, although they yet mistrusted sufficiencie, and had a speciall eye to them, plucking downe their courage, by taking the thority from them: as for proofe the condemnation of *Pericles*, the banishment of *Damon* the mistrust they had of *Antiphon* RHAMNVSIAN, and moreouer by that they did vnto *P* (that tooke the Ile of LESBOS) who being brought before the iudges in open councel to g vp an account of his charge, drew out his sworde, and slue himselfe in presence of them

Nicias I say, remembring these examples, sought euer to flie from these offices, which were either too great, or too small, and when he accepted any, had speciall regarde to worke surely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily coniecture, prospered maruellous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisedom, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiencie, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the gods, contented himselfe to lessen his glory, and that onely to auoide enuie: As the euent of things falling out euen in his time do sufficiently witnesse vnto vs. For the citie of ATHENS hauing susteined many great losses and ouerthrowes, he was neuer a party, nor had ought to do in any of them. As once for example: the ATHENIANS were ouercome in THRACIA by the CHALCIDONIANS, howbeit it was vnder the leading of *Calliades* & *Xenophon*, who were their Captaines. An other time, the losse they had in ÆTOLIA vnder the charge of *Demosthenes*. Moreouer at DELIVM, a city of BOEOTIA, where they lost a thousand men at one conflict, *Hippocrates* then being there Generall. And as touching the plague, the greatest number laide the fault thereof to *Pericles*, who by reason of warres, kept the men that came out of the countrie, within the walles of the citie of ATHENS: and so by changing of aire, and their wonted maner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was *Nicias* euer burthened: but contrariwise he being Captaine tooke the Ile of CYTHERA, which the LACEDÆMONIANS inhabited, being an excellent place for situation to molest and destroy the country of LACONIA. He wan diuers cities againe that had rebelled in THRACIA, and brought them once more vnder the obedience of ATHENS. At his first comming hauing shut in the MEGARIANS within their walles, he tooke the Ile of MINOA: and at his departure thence, shortly after wanne the hauen of Nisea also. Furthermore, landing in the countrie of the CORINTHIANS, he ouercame them that offered him battell, and slue a great number, and among others *Lycophron* the Captaine. At this battell he chaunsed to forget to bury two of his men that were slaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering vp of the rest: howbeit, so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his fleete to stay, and sent an Herauld to the enemies, to pray leaue to fetch away those two bodies. Now, though by lawe of armes they that sent to aske leaue to take away their dead to burie them, did thereby lose the honor of their victory, & were barred to set vp any marke or token of triumph, because it seemed by the sute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the petitioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to haue made demaund of them: *Nicias* notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honor of his victory, then to leaue the bodies of two of his countrymen in the field without buriall. So, after he had deuoided all the coast of LACONIA, and had ouercome certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that came against him in battel: he tooke the city of THYREA, which the ÆGINETES kept at that time, whom he brought prisoners vnto ATHENS. And when the PELOPONNESIANS had prepared great armies both by sea and by land to besiege the fort of PYLE, the which *Demosthenes* the Captaine had fortified: battell being giuen by sea, it chansed there remained foure hundred natural citizens of SPARTA, within the Ile of SPACTERIA. Now the ATHENIANS thought it a noble exploite of them, (as in deed it was) to take those foure hundred aliue: howbeit the siege was very sore, because they lacked water euen in the middest of summer, and were forced to fetch a maruellous compasse to bring victuals to their campe, which when winter should once come, would be very dangerous, and almost an impossible thing to do. Whereupon, they then became sory, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambassadors of the LACEDÆMONIANS which came to them to treate of peace, and that they had (through *Cleons* procurement) suffred them to depart in that sorte without resolution taken: who was against them altogether, onely to do *Nicias* a despight, being his enemy, and did earnestly solicite the matter the LACEDÆMONIANS requested. This was the cause why *Cleon* perswaded the ATHENIANS, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people sawe that this siege drew out in length, and that their campe suffered grieuous wantes and necessities: then fell they out with *Cleon*, and he againe burthened *Nicias*, saying that through his feare he would let the besieged SPARTANS escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not haue holden out so long. Thereupon the ATHENIANS saide aloude to *Cleon*: and why doest not thou

Notable actes done by Nicias.

The lawes of armes.

go thither yet to take them? Moreouer *Nicias* selfe also rising vp, openly gaue him his authoritie to take this Pyle, and bad him leauy as many souldiers as he would to goe thither, and not to brag with such impudent wordes where was no danger, but to do some notable seruice to the commonwealth. *Cleon* at the first shrunke back, being amazed withall, little thinking they would haue taken him so sodainly at his worde. But in the end, perceiuing the people vrged him to it, and that *Nicias* also was importunate with him: ambition so enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge vpon him, but in a brauerie said, that within twenie daies after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the sword, or bring them prisoners vnto ATHENS. The ATHENIANS hearing *Cleon* say so, had more lust to laugh a good, then to beleeue that he spake: for it was their maner euer to laugh at his anger & folly. For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being solemnly assembled in councell early in the morning, to heare what *Cleon* would say, and hauing taried long for him: at the length he came with a garland on his head, and praied the assemblie to dismisse the court till the next morning: for, quoth he, I shall not be at leisure to day, because I haue sacrificed, and doe feast also certaine strangers my friends that are come to see me. So the people burst out in a laughing, and brake vp the assembly. This notwithstanding, fortune fauored him at that time, and he handled himselfe so well in this charge with *Demosthenes*, that he tooke all the SPARTANS that they besieged, within the time he had appointed, sauing such as were slaine: and hauing made them yeelde, brought them prisoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to *Nicias* shame and reproache. For it appeared not only a casting away of his shield, but worse then that, a voluntary forsaking of his prouince vpon a base timerous minde, giuing his enemy occasion thereby to do some noble exploite, depriuing himselfe of his honorable charge. Wherfore *Aristophanes* mocketh him againe, in his comedie of birdes, saying:

Ieast of Cleon.

Cleons victorie of the Lacedemonians.

It is no time to sleepe and linger still,
As Nicias doth: without good cause or skill.

Also in an other place of his comedy of plowmen he saith:

I faine would follow husbandrie. VVho lets thee? Mary you.
A thousand Drachmaes I will giue to be discharged now
Of office in the commonweale. Content, so shall we haue
Two thousand Drachmaes iust, with those that Nicias lately gaue.

But herein *Nicias* did great hurt to the commonwealth, suffring *Cleon* in that sort to grow to credit and estimation. For after that victory, *Cleon* grew to so haughtie a minde, and pride of himselfe, that he was not to be dealt withall: whereupon fell out the occasion of the great miseries that happened to the city of ATHENS, which most grieued *Nicias* of all other. For *Cleon* amongst other things tooke away the modesty and reuerence vsed before in publicke Orations to the people: he of all other was the first that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, and flung vp and downe the pulpit as he spake. Of which example afterwards followed all licentiousnesse, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Orators and counsellers fell into, that dealt in matters of state and commonwealth, and was in the end the ouerthrow of all together. In that very time began *Alcibiades* to growe in credit, by practise in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply euill: but as they say of the land of EGYPT, that for the fatnesse and lustinesse of the soile,

The immoderate liberty of Cleon.

Cleons lewd & light iestures in his Orations.

It bringeth forth both holsome herbes, and also noisome weeds.

Euen so *Alcibiades* wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after *Nicias* was ridde of *Cleon*, he could not yet bring the citie of ATHENS againe to peace and quietnesse. For when the commonwealth began to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into warre, through *Alcibiades* extreame furie of ambition. And thus it began. The onely peacebreakers and disturbers of common quiet generally throughout GREECE, were these two persons, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*: for warre cloked the wickednesse of the one, and aduanced the valiantnes of the other, giuing to either occasion to do great mischiefe, and also oportunitie to worke many noble exploites. Now *Cleon* and *Brasidas* being both slaine together at a battell fought by *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* straight perceiuing the SPARTANS had long desired peace, and that the

Alcibiades diuers wit.

Cleon & Brasidas the two peacebreakers generally of all Greece.

ATHE-

ATHENIANS were no more so hotly giuen to the warres, but that both the one and the other had their hands full, and were willing to be quiet: deuised what meanes he might vse to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GREECE also from broile and miserie of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enioy a peaceable and happy life. The riche men, the olde men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to peace: and talking priuately also with diuerse others, he had so perswaded them, that he cooled them for being desirous of warres. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they sought it: the SPARTANS beleeued him, not onely for that they had found him at other times very soft and courteous, but also because he was carefull to see that their prisoners of SPARTA, (who had bene taken at the forte of Pyle) were gentlely intreated, and had made their miserable captiuitie more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betweene the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a yeare, during which abstinence, they frequenting one an other againe, and beginning to taste the sweetnesse and pleasures of peace, and the safety of free accesse one to see an others friends that were strangers: began then to wishe that they might still continue in peace and amitie together, without effusion of bloud of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them sing such songs:

Nicias reconcileth the Spartans with the Athenians.

And let my speare lye ouergrowne, with dusty spiders webs.

They did also with great ioy & gladnesse remember him which said, that in peace no sound of trumpet, but the crowing of the cock doth wake them that be a sleepe: and on the other side they cursed and tooke on with them that said it was predestined, the warre should continue thrise nine yeares. And so, vpon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an vniuersall peace throughout all GREECE. Now most men thought that surely all their sorrowes and miseries were come to an end, and there was no talke of any man but of *Nicias*, saying: that he was a man beloued of the goddes, who for his deuotion towards them, had this speciall gift giuen him, that the greatest blessing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confesse a troth, euery man was certainly perswaded that this peace was *Nicias* worke, as the warre was *Pericles* procurement, who vpon light causes perswaded the GRECIANS to runne headlong into most grieuous calamities: and *Nicias* on the other side had brought them to become friends, and to forget the great hurtes the one had receiued of the other in former wars. And euen to this present day, that peace is called Nicium, as who would say, *Nicias* peace. The capitulations of the peace were thus agreed vpon: that of either side they should alike deliuer vp the cities, and landes, which each had taken from other in time of warres, together with the prisoners also: and that they should first make restitution, whose lot it was to begin. *Nicias* (according to *Theophrastus* report) for ready money secretlie bought the lot, that the LACEDÆMONIANS might be the first that should make restitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that disliked of this peace, sought by the complaintes they made, to renue the warre againe: *Nicias* then perswaded both the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, that they should adde for strength vnto their country, the alliance and peace offensiue and defensiue made betweene them, for a more sure knot of friendship, whereby they might be the better assured the one of the other, and also the more dreadfull to their enemies that should rebell against them. These things went cleane against *Alcibiades* minde: who besides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy also vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that they sought to *Nicias* & made none account of him, but despised him. Here was the occasion that caused *Alcibiades* to proue from the beginning what he could do to hinder this peace, wherein he preuailed nothing. Yet shortly after, *Alcibiades* perceiuing that the ATHENIANS liked not so well of the LACEDÆMONIANS, as they did before, & that they thought themselues iniured by them, because they had lately made league with the BOEOTIANS without their priuity, and had not wholly rendred vp the cities of PANACTVM and AMPHIPOLIS according to the conditions articled betweene them: began then to enlarge & aggranate the peoples complaints, and to make them offended with euery one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambassadors from the city of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and so handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made league offensiue and defensiue with them.

Nicias peace.

Ambassadors sent frō Sparta to Athens.

While these matters were thus in hand, there came to ATHENS also Ambassadors from LACEDÆMON, with full power and authoritie to set all things at stay, and to compound all controuersies: who hauing first spoken with the Senate, propounded things vnto them both verie honest and reasonable. Whereupon, *Alcibiades* being affraide that they letting the people vnderstand so much, should thereby bring them to yeelde to what they desired: he finely deceiued the poore Ambassadors by this deuise. He promised vpon his othe to helpe them in

Alcibiades craft & deceit.

that they went about, so farre foorth as they would not confesse themselues to haue absolute power from the Ephores: making them to beleeue it was the only way to bring their matters to passe. The Ambassadors giuing credit to his words, relied vpon him, and so forsooke *Nicias*. Whereupon *Alcibiades* brought them before the people being set in councell, and there demanded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accorde all matters yea or no. Whereunto they made him aunswere with a loude voice, that they had not.

Alcibiades periured.

Thereupon *Alcibiades*, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne othe and promise made vnto them: began to call the councell to witnesse, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary: and so aduised the people not to trust nor giue credit vnto such men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lie, & that in one selfe matter would one while say one thing, another while an other. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambassadors were much amazed to heare *Alcibiades* words: for *Nicias* himselfe wist not what to say to the matter, the suddennesse of the cause did so confuse and grieue him, being a thing he least looked for. Nowe the people they were so moued besides, that they became indifferent whether to haue sent for the Ambassadors of ARGOS presently to haue made league with them or not: but there fell out

The earthquake holpe Nicias.

an earthquake vpon this matter, that greatly serued *Nicias* turne, and brake vp the assemblie. The people meeting againe in councell the next morning, *Nicias* with all that he could doe, or say, could scant withhold them from making league with the ARGIVES: and to get leaue in the meane time to go to the LACEDÆMONIANS, promising he would make all wel again.

Nicias sent Ambassador vnto Sparta.

Thereupon, *Nicias* going to SPARTA, was receiued and honoured there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought wel affected towards them: but for the rest, he preuailed nothing, and being ouercome by those that fauored the BOEOTIANS, returned againe to ATHENS: he departed thence. Where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, he was also in danger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his request and counsell had redeliuered such men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For indeed, the prisoners which *Cleon* had brought to ATHENS from the forte of Pyle, were all of the chiefest houses of SPARTA, and their kinsmen and friends were the noblest men of the city. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, sauing that they chose *Alcibiades* their Captaine, and made league with the ELIANS, and MANTINIANS (which had reuolted from the LACEDÆMONIANS) and with the ARGIVES also: and sent pirats to the forte of Pyle, to spoile the country of LACONIA. Vpon these occasions the ATHENIANS fell again into warres. Now when the quarrell and controuersie was greatest betwene *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, the Ostracismon (to wit, the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people

The vse of the Ostracismon.

banished for ten yeares any such of their citizens as they thought either of too great authoritie, or that was most enuied for his wealth and substance. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were then not a little perplexed, considering their present danger, being sure that the one of them two should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated *Alcibiades* life, & were afraide of his valiantnesse: as we haue more amply declared in the description of his life. And for *Nicias*, his wealth made him to be enuied, besides they misliked his strange maner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conuersant with the people than he was, and counted him too stately: moreouer they hated him also, because in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the people desired, and had enforced them against their willes to agree to that which was profitable for themselues. In fine to speake more plainly, there fell out great strife betwene the young men that would haue warres, and the olde men that coueted peace: some desirous to banish *Nicias*, and some others *Alcibiades*: but

Where discorde reignes in realme or towne,
The wicked win the chiefest renowne.

And so fell it out then. For the ATHENIANS being deuided in two factions, gaue authority to certaine of the most impudent and insolent persons that were in all the city: and among them was one *Hyperbolus* of the towne of PERITHVS, a man of no hauior nor value, why he should be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit and power, dishonoring his countrey, by the honor they gaue him. Now *Hyperbolus* thinking him selfe free at that time from any daunger of banishment, (hauing rather deserued the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him well enough that remained behinde: shewed openly that hee was glad of their discord and variance, and busily stirred vp the people against them both. *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* being acquainted with his wicked practises, hauing secretly talked together, ioyned both their factions in one: whereby they brought it so to passe, that neither of them were banished, but *Hyperbolus* selfe for tenne yeares. Which matter for the present time made the people very mery, though afterwardes it grieued them much, seeing their ordinaunce of the Ostracismon blemished by the vnworthines of the person: which punishment was an honor vnto him. For this banishment was thought a meete punishment for *Thucydides*, *Aristides*, and such like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for *Hyperbolus*, it was thought too great an honor, and too manifest an occasion of glory to be giuen to him, that for his wickednes had the selfe same punishment, which was to be inflicted vpō the chiefest estates for their greanes. And the comicall Poet *Plato* him selfe saieth in a place.

Hyperbolus.

Nicias and Alcibiades ioyned tribes against Hyperbolus.

Hyperbolus banished for tenne yeares.

Although his lewd behauiour did deserue as much or more,
Yet was not that the punishment he should haue had therefore,
The Ostracie deuised was for men of noble fame,
And not for varlets, whose lewd life deserued open shame.

After this *Hyperbolus*, there was neuer man banished with the Ostracismon. For him selfe was the last, as *Hipparchus* CHOLARGIAN, & neerest kinsman to the tyrant was the first. Sure fortune is a very vncertaine thing, and without conceit of reason. For had *Nicias* franckly put himselfe to the hazard of this banishmēt against *Alcibiades*, one of these two things must needs haue happened him: either to haue remained in the city with victory, his aduersary being banished: or being conuict by his banishment to haue scaped those extreame miseries and calamities the which he afterwardes fell into, besides the fame he had wonne of a wise Captaine, though he had bene ouercome. I know notwithstanding that *Theophrastus* writeth, how *Hyperbolus* not *Nicias*, was banished through the dissention that fell betwixt *Phaeax* and *Alcibiades*: albeit most writers agree with that I haue told you before. Now the Ambassadors of the EGESTANS and LEONTINES being come to ATHENS, to perswade the ATHENIANS to attempt the conquest of SICILIA: *Nicias* being against it, was ouercome by *Alcibiades* craft & ambition. For he, before they were called to councell, had already through false surmises filled the peoples heads with a vaine hope and perswasion of conquest. Insomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, and the old men also in artificers shoppes, and in their common schooles, or halfe circles where they sate talking together, were euery one occupied about drawing the platforme of SICILE, telling the nature of the SICILIAN sea, and reckoning vp the hauens and places looking towards AFRICKE. For they made not their accompt that SICILE should be the end of their warres, but rather the store-house and armory for all their munition and martiall prouision to make warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, and to conquer all AFRICKE, and consequently all the AFRICKE seas, euen to *Hercules* pillers. Now all their mindes being bent to warres, when *Nicias* spake against it, hee found very few men of quality to stand by him. For the rich, fearing least the people would thinke they did it to auoide charge, and the cost they should be at about these warres, they held their peace, though indeede not contented with all: yet would not *Nicias* leaue still to counsel thē to the contrary. But when they had past the decree in councel for the enterprise of SICILE, and that the people had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, to follow the same: at the first session of the councell holden in the city, *Nicias* rose vp againe, to see if hee could turne the people from this iourney with all the protestations he could possibly make, burdening *Alcibiades*, that for his owne ambition and priuate commodity, he brought the common wealth into so farre and daungerous a warre. But all his wordes preuailed not. Him selfe before all o-

The taking away of tenne yeares banishment.

Nicias chosen Captaine for the warres of Sicile.

thers was thought the meeteſt man for this charge, partly becauſe of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater ſafetie, when his timorous foreſight ſhould be ioined with *Alcibiades* valiantnes, and with *Lamachus* ſoftnes, which in deede moſt confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, *Demoſtratus* one of the Orators that moſt procured the ATHENIANS to vndertake this enterpriſe ſtepped foorth, and ſayd. It were good that *Nicias* left off, and ſet aſide all theſe excuſes and deuiſes, and preferred a decree, that the people ſhould throughly authoriſe the Captaines that were choſen, to ſet forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and ſo perſwaded the people to paſſe and authoriſe it. Yet it is ſayd that the Prieſtes obiected many things to hinder the iourney. But *Alcibiades* alſo hauing ſuborned certaine Soothſayers, alleaged in like caſe ſome auncient Oracles that ſayd, the ATHENIANS ſhould haue great honour from SICILE: and further had entiſed certaine pilgrimes, who ſayed they were lately newly come from the Oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, and had brought this Oracle thence, That *the Athenians ſhould take all the Syracuſans*. But worſt of all, if any knew of contrary ſignes or tokens to come, they held their peace, leaſt it ſhould ſeeme they entermedled to prognoſticate euill for affections ſake, ſeeing that the ſignes them ſelues, which were moſt plaine and notorious, could not remoue them from the enterpriſe of this iourney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes, and images of *Mercury*, which in one night were all to be mangled, ſauing one image onely called the Hermes of *Andocides*, which was giuen and conſecrated in old time by the tribe of the ÆGEIDES, and was ſet vppe directly ouer againſt a citizens houſe called *Andocides*. Furthermore, the chaunce that happened by the aulter of the twelue gods: where a man leaping ſodainely vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut off his priuities with a ſtone. And in a temple alſo in the city of DELPHES, where was a litle image of *Minerua* of gold, ſet vpon a palme tree of copper, which the city of ATHENS had giuen of the ſpoiles won of the MEDES. Vppon that palme tree ſate certaine crowes many daies together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the fruite of it which was all of gold, vntill they made the ſame to fall from the tree. But the ATHENIANS ſayd, that the DELPHIANS (when the SYRACVSANS had ſubdued) had finely fained this deuiſe. There was a prophecy alſo that commanded them to bring one of *Mineruaes* Nuns to ATHENS, that was in the city of CLAZOMENES. So they ſent for this Nun called *Heſychia*, which is, reſt: and it ſeemeth it was for which the goddes by this prophecy did counſell them vnto, that for that time they ſhould be quiet. *Meton* the Aſtronomer hauing charge in the army leuied for the warre of SICILE, being afraied of this prophecy, or otherwiſe miſliking the celeſtiall ſignes, and ſucceſſe of the iourney: fained him ſelfe mad, and ſet his houſe a fire. Others ſay he counterfeited not madneſs but did one night in deede ſet his houſe a fire, and that the next morning looking ruefully vpon it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pitifull ſtate, to ſue to the people, that in conſideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would diſcharge his ſonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gally at his owne coſt, and ready to make ſaile. Moreuer, the familiar ſpirite of wiſe *Socrates* that did vſe to tell him before what ſhould happen, told him then that this iorney would fall out to the deſtruction of ATHENS. *Socrates* told it to certaine of his very familiar friends: and from them the rumor became common. And it alſo troubled a number of them, for the vnlucky daies on the which they did imbarke: for they were the very daies on the which the women celebrated the feaſt and yeareday of Adonis death: and there were alſo in diuerſe partes of the city, images of dead men caried to burial, and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that ſuch as did put any confidence in thoſe ſignes, ſayed they miſliked it much, and that they were afraied leaſt the ſame ſignified that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was ſet out with ſuch pompe and bruery) would come to nothing. Now for *Nicias*, that he ſpake againſt this warre in open counſell, whileſt they were deliberating vpon it, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of ſo honorable a charge to make him chaunge his mind therein ſurely he ſhewed him ſelfe an honeſt man, wiſe, and conſtant. But when he ſaw plainly that he could by no perſwaſions remoue the people from the enterpriſe of this warre, neither yet by ſute nor intreaty get him ſelfe diſcharged from being a Captaine thereof, but

Signes to feare the Athenians not to attempt the enterpriſe of Sicile.

St tues mangled at Athens.

The madnes of Meton the Aſtronomer.

they would in any case make him one of the heades of the army: then was it out of time to be fearefull, and still giuing backe, turning his head so ofte like a childe to looke vpon his gally behinde him, and euer to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of his iorney. For in deede this was enough to discorage his companions, and to mar all at their first setting out: where, to say truly, he should sodainly haue set vpon his enemies, and haue gone to it with a lusty corage, to haue assayed fortune. But he took a cleane contrary course. For when *Lamachus* thought good at their first comming to go straight to SYRACVSA, and to giue them battell as neare the wals as might be, and that *Alcibiades* on the other side was of opinion first of all to goe about to winne the cities that were in league with the SYRACVSANS, and after that they had made them rebell, then to goe against the SYRACVSANS themselues. *Nicias* to the contrary spake in councell, and thought it better to goe on faire and softly, deferring the coasts of SICILE round about, to view their gallies and preparation, and so to returne straight to ATHENS againe, leauing only a few of their men with the EGESTANS, to helpe to defend them. But this from the beginning maruellously cooled the corage of the souldiers, and quite discoraged them. Shortly after also, the ATHENIANS hauing sent for *Alcibiades* to aunswere to certaine accusations, *Nicias* remaining Captaine with *Lamachus* (the other Captaine in sight, but *Nicias* selfe in power and authority the Lieutenaunt generall of all the army) still vsed delayes, running vp and downe, and spending time so long in consultation, till the souldiers were eleft without both hope and corage: & the feare the enemy had of them at their first comming to see so great an army, was now in maner cleane gone. Yet *Alcibiades* being in the army, before he was sent for from ATHENS, they went with three score gallies to SYRACVSA, of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the hauen, and sent the other ten into the hauen to discouer: which approaching neare the city, caused an Herauld to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the LEONTINES to their lands and possessions, and tooke a shippe of the enemies, in the which among other things they found tables, wherein were written the names of al the inhabitants of SYRACVSA, according to their tribes and houses. These tables were kept farre from the city, in the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, but at that time they had sent for them to know the number of men of seruice, and of age to beare weapon. The same tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and caried to the generals of the army, the Soothsayers seeing this long rolle of names, at the first misliked it, fearing least the prophecy had bene fulfilled, which promised them, that the ATHENIANS one day should take all the SYRACVSANS. Howbeit it is reported this prophecy came to passe in an other exploit, when *Calippus* ATHENIAN hauing slaine *Dion*,, wanne also the city of SYRACVSA. Now when *Alcibiades* was gone from the campe, *Nicias* bare all the sway and commaunded the whole army. For *Lamachus*, though otherwise he was a stout man, an honest man, and very valiant of his handes, and one that would not spare him selfe in time of neede: neuertheless he was so poore and miserable, that euen when he was in state of a Generall and gaue vp an accompt of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his bookes, so much for a gowne, and so much for a paire of pantophles. Where *Nicias* authority and reputation contrariwise was of an other maner of cut, as well for other respects, as for his riches, and for the honour of many noble things which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and sitting in councell with his companions in the counsell house at ATHENS, about the dispatch of certaine causes, he spake vnto *Sophocles* the Poet, then present amongest them, and bad him speake first and say his opinion, being the oldest man of all the whole company. *Sophocles* aunswered him againe: in deede I confesse I am the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom euery man regardeth best. So hauing at that time *Lamachus* vnder him, a better Captaine and man of war then him selfe was, yet by being so slow to imploy the army vnder his charge by deferring off time still, and houeling about SICILE as farre from his enemies as he could: he first gaue the enemies time and leasure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to besiege HYBLA, being but a pelting litle towne, and raising the siege without taking of it: he fell into so great a contempt with euery man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckonning of him. At last, he retired vnto CATANA with his army, without any other exploite done, sauing that hee

Nicias foolish fearefulnes.

Nicias councell for inuading the Syracusans.

Lamachus valiant, but simple.

Lais the courtisan caried out of Sicille into Peloponnesus.

tooke Hyccara, a baggage village of the barbarous people, and where it is sayed Lais the courtisan was borne, and that being then a young girle, shee was sold among other prisoners and afterwards caried into Peloponnesus. And in fine, the summer being farre spent, Nicias was informed that the Syracusans had taken such corage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge vppon them first: and that their horsemen were approached already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the Athenians in mockery, if they were come into Sicile to dwell with the Catanians, or to restore the Leontines their landes againe. Hereupon with much a do, *Nicias* determined to go to Syracusa.

Nicias notable stratageme.

because he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hazard: he sent one of Catana before to Syracusa, to tell them (as if he had bene a spie) that if they would sodainely come and set vpon the campe of the Athenians & take all their cariage, he wished them to come with all their power to Catana at a day certain which he would appoint them. For the Athenians (said he) for the most part are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens which fauoring the Syracusans, haue determined so soone as they heare of their comming to keepe the gates of the city, and at the same time also to set the Athenians shippes on fire, and how there were also a great number in the city of this confederacy, that did but looke euery hower for their comming. And this was the noblest stratageme of warre, that Nicias shewed all the time he was in Sicile. For by this deuise hee made the Syracusans come into the field with all their power, so that they left their city without guard: and he himself departing in the meane time from Catana with all his fleete, wanne the hauen of Syracusa at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him in the which he was both the stronger, & might without let or difficulty set vpon them where that, wherein he most trusted. The Syracusans returning straight from Catana and offering him battell hard by the wals of Syracusa, he came out into the field, and ouerthrew them. There were not many of the Syracusans slaine at this battell, because their horsemen did hinder the chase: but *Nicias* breaking vp the bridges vpon the riuer, gaue *Hermocrates* occasion to mock him. For, comforting and encoraging the Syracusans, he told them Nicias deserued to be laughed at, because he did what he could that he might not fight, as if hee had not purposely come from Athens to Syracusa to fight. This notwithstanding, he made the Syracusans quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they chose but three only, to whom the people were sworne, that they would suffer them to haue full power and authority to command and take order for all things. The temple of *Iupiter Olympius* stood hard by the Athenians campe, which they would gladly haue taken, for that it was full of rich iewels and offerings of gold and siluer, giuen vnto the temple afore time. But Nicias of purpose still draue off time, and delayed so long, till the Syracusans at last sent a good garrison thither to keepe it safe: thinking with him selfe, that if his souldiers came to take and spoile the temple, his countrey should be nothing the richer by it, and him selfe besides should beare all the blame of sacrilege. So, hauing obtained victory without profite, (which neuertheless straight through Sicile) within few dayes after he returned vnto the city of Naxos, where he lay all the winter, consuming a wonderfull masse of victuals with so great an army, for nothing doing of things of small moment, vppon certaine Sicilians that yeelded to him. The Syracusans in the meane time being in hart againe, & coragious: returned to Catana, where they spoiled and ouerranne all the countrey, and burnt the campe of the Athenians. Hereupon euery man blamed *Nicias* much, because through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all things sure, he let slippe sundry occasions of notable exploites, wherein good service might haue bene done. Yet when he would doe a thing in deede, he did it so thoroughly that no man could take exception to his doings, for that he brought it to so good a passe: and once taking it in hand, he did execute it with all speede, though he was both slow to determine and a coward to enterprise. Now when he remoued his army to return to Syracusa, he brought it so orderly, and also with such speede and safety: that he was come by sea to Thapsus, and landed and taken the fort of Epipolis, before the Syracusans had any intelligence of it, or could possibly helpe it. For the choise men of the Syracusans being set out against him, hoping to haue stopped his passage: he ouerthrew them, tooke three hundred prisoners

Nicias winneth the hauen of Syracusa.

Nicias forbeareth to spoile the temple of Iupiter.

Nicias besiegeth Syracusa.

and made their horsemen flie, which before were thought inuincible. But that which made the SYRACVSANS most afraied, and seemed most wonderfull also to the other GRECIANS, was this: that in a very short space he had almost enuironned SYRACVSA with a wall, which was as much in compasse about, as the wals of ATHENS, and worse to performe, by reason of the woddy countrey, and for the sea also that beateth vppon the wals, besides that there were diuerse marishes hard by it: and yet (sicke as he was of the stone) hee had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, vnto his sickenesse. For mine owne part I wonder maruellously both of the care and diligence of the Captaine, and of the valiauntnesse and dexterity of the souldiers, which appeareth by the notable feats they did. For *Euripides* after their ouerthrow and vtter ruine, made a funerall Epitaphe in verse, and sayeth thus.

Nicias wall at the siege of Syracusa.

Eight times our men did put the men of Syracusa to flight,
So long as with indifferency the goddes did vse their might.

But we finde it written, that the SYRACVSANS were not only eight times, but many times more ouerthrowen by them: a time at length there was in deede, that both the gods and fortune fought against them, euen when the ATHENIANS were of greatest power? Now *Nicias* in his owne person was euer in the greatest and most weighty affaires, striuing with his sicke body. Howbeit one day when his disease grew sore vpon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men: and *Lamachus* in the meane time alone hauing charge of the whole army, fought with the SYRACVSANS, who then had brought a wall from the city, vnto the wall with the which the ATHENIANS had purposed to haue shutte them in, to keepe that they should not compasse it rounde. And because the ATHENIANS commonly were the stronger in these skirmishes, they many times ouer rashly followed the chase of their enemies that fled. As it chaunced one day that *Lamachus* went so farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horsemen of the city, before whom *Callicrates* marched formost, a valiant man of his handes, who challenged *Lamachus* hand to hand. *Lamachus* abode him, and in the conflict was first hurt: but he gaue *Callicrates* also such a wound therewithall, that they both fell downe dead presently in the place. At that time the SYRACVSANS being the stronger side, tooke vp his body, and caried it away with them: but they spurred out for to the ATHENIANS campe, where *Nicias* lay sicke, without any gard or succour at all: nevertheless, *Nicias* rose with speede out of his bed, and perceiuing the daunger he was in, commaunded certaine of his friendes to set the wodde a fire which they had brought within the trenches of the campe, to make certaine deuises for battery, and the engines of timber also that were already made. That deuise onely stayed the SYRACVSANS, saued *Nicias*, and the strength of their campe, together with all the siluer and cariage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACVSANS perceiuing a farre off, betwixt them and the strength of their campe, such a great flame as rose vp in the aire: vpon sight of it turned taile straight, and made towardes their city. Things falling out thus, *Nicias* being left sole Captaine of the army without anie companion, in great hope notwithstanding to do some good: diuers cities of SICILY yeelded vnto him, shippes fraught with corne came out of euery quarter to his campe, and many submitted themselues, for the good successe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS also sent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defend their city any longer against him. *Gylippus* also a Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, coming to aide the SYRACVSANS, vnderstanding by the way how the city of SYRACVSA was shut in with a wall round about, and in great distresse: held on his voyage notwithstanding, not with any hope to defend SICILIE (supposing the ATHENIANS had won the whole country) but with intent neuertheless to helpe the cities of ITALY if he could possibly. For it was common rumor abroade, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wisdome and good fortune was inuincible. *Nicias* him selfe now contrary to his wonted wisdome and foresight, trusting altogether to the good successe which he saw to follow him, and specially beleuing the reports that were told him of SYRACVSA, and the newes that were brought him thence by some of them selues, which came secretly vnto him, perswading him that within few dayes he should haue SYRACVSA by composition: took no care to with-

The death of Lamachus.

Nicias sole Captaine of the whole army.

Gylippus a Lacedæmonian aideth the Syracusans.

ſtand *Gylippus* comming hither, neither ſent any men to keepe him from landing in Sicil
By which negligence, *Gylippus* landed in a paſſenger, without *Nicias* knowledge: ſo
reckonning they made of him, and ſo much did they fondly deſpiſe him. *Gylippus* being
landed farre from SYRACVSA, beganne to gather men of warre together, before the SYRA-
CVSANS them ſelues knew of his landing, or looked for his comming: inſomuch as they
already appointed the aſſembly of a councell to determine the articles and capitulation
peace, which they ſhould conclude vpon with *Nicias*. Moreouer, there were ſome
ſwaded they ſhould doe well to make haſt to conclude the peace, before the incloſure of
as wall was altogether finiſhed, which then lacked not much to performe, hauing all the
for the purpoſe brought euen ready to the place. But as theſe things were euen thus a
Gongylus a Corinthian. arriued one *Gongylus* at SYRACVSA, that came from CORINTHE with a gally. At
landing, the people vppon the peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he told
that *Gylippus* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other
after to their aide. The SYRACVSANS would hardly beleeue him, vntill there came an
meſſenger alſo ſent from *Gylippus* ſelfe of purpoſe, that willed them to arme, and come
into the field. Thereupon the SYRACVSANS being maruellouſly reuiued, went all ſtraight
Gylippus arriuall at Syracuſa. armed them ſelues. And *Gylippus* was no ſooner come into SYRACVSA, but hee preſently
his men in battell ray, to ſet vppon the ATHENIANS. *Nicias* for his part had likewiſe
the ATHENIANS in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both the armies were now
proached neare each to other, *Gylippus* threw downe his weapons, and ſent a Herauld
Nicias to promiſe them life and baggage to depart ſafely out of SICILE. But *Nicias*
make the Herauld none aunſwere to that meſſage. Howbeit there were certaine of his
ers that in mockery asked the Herauld, if for the comming of a poore cape and
LACEDÆMON, the SYRACVSANS thought themſelues ſtrengthned ſo much, that they
deſpiſe the ATHENIANS, which not long before kept three hũdred LACEDÆMONIA
ſoners in irons, farre ſtronger and more haire on their heades, then *Gylippus* had, and
ſo ſent them home to their citizens at LACEDÆMON. And *Timæus* writeth alſo, that
CILIANS them ſelues, made no reckonning of *Gylippus*, neither then, nor at any time after
ter, becauſe they ſaw his extreame couetouſneſſe and miſery: and then, for that he
meanely apparelled, with a threede bare cape, and a long buſh of haire, which made
ſcorne him. Yet in an other place he ſayth, that ſo ſoone as *Gylippus* arriued in SICILE,
came to him out of euery quarter with very good will, like birds wondering at an owle.
ſecond report ſemeth truer then the firſt: for they ſwarmed about him; becauſe in this
wand they ſaw the tokens of the maieſty of the city and ſeigniory of SPARTA. *Thucydides*
ſaith, that it was *Gylippus* only that did al there. And much like doth *Philiſtus* ſelfe a SYRA-
SAN confeſſe, who was preſent then in priſon and ſaw al things that were done. Notwith-
ding at the firſt battell the ATHENIANS had the vpper hand, & ſlue a nũber of the SYRA-
Gongylus the Corinthian ſlaine. SANS, among the which *Gongylus* the CORINTHIAN was one. But the next morning
ing, *Gylippus* made them know the skill and experience of a wiſe Captaine. For, with
ſame weapons, with the ſame men, with the ſame horſes, and in the ſame places, chan
only the order of his battell, he ouerthrew the ATHENIANS: and (fighting with them
uing driuen them euen into their campe, he ſet the SYRACVSANS a worke to build vp
ouerthwart, (with the very ſelfe ſame ſtones and ſtuffe which the ATHENIANS had
and layed there for the finiſhing of their incloſure) to cut off the other, and to keepe it
ing forward, that it ioyned not together. So, all that the ATHENIANS had done before
that preſent, was vtterly to no purpoſe. Things ſtanding in theſe tearmes, the SYRACV
being couragious againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running vp and downe the fields
their horſemen and ſlaues, tooke many priſoners. *Gylippus* on the other ſide, went in
to and fro through the cities of SICILE, perſwading and exhorting the inhabitaunts
Nicias good fortune changed. ſort, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. *Nicias*
things thus fall out, fell to his olde trade againe, and conſidering the chaunge of his
and former good lucke, his heart beginning to faint: wrote ſtraight to the ATHENIANS
ſend an other army into SICILE, or rather to call that home which he had there, but

...e to giue him leaue to returne, and to discharge him of his office, for cause of his sickenesse. The ATHENIANS were indifferent before he wrote, to send aid thither: howbeit the enuy the ...bility bare vnto *Nicias* good fortune, did euer cause some delay that they sent not vntil then, ...d then they determined to send with speed. So *Demosthenes* was named to be sent away im...diately after winter, with a great nauie. In the middest of winter *Eurymedon* went to *Nicias*, ...t caried him both money & newes, that the people had chosen some of them for his com...sions in the charge, which were already in seruice with him, to wit, *Euthydemus* and *Me...nander*. Now *Nicias* in the meane time being sodainly assailed by his enemies both by sea and ...d: though at the first he had fewer gallies in number then they, yet he budged diuerse of ...s and suncke them. But by land againe, he could not aide his men in time, because *Gylip...* at the first onset had taken a fort, of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay the store ...d pickle for many gallies, and a great masse of ready money which was wholly lost. Besides, ...the same conflict also were many men slaine, and many taken prisoners. Yet further, the ...reatest matter of weight was, that thereby he tooke from *Nicias* the great commodity he had ...bring his victuals safely by sea to his campe. For while the ATHENIANS kept this fort, ...y might at their pleasure bring victuals without danger to their camp, being couered with ...e same: but when they had lost it, then it was hard for them so to do, because they were euer ...en to fight with the enemies that lay at ancker before the fort. Furthermore the SYRA...SANS did not thinke that their armie by sea was ouerthrowen, because their enemies were ...e stronger, but for that their men had followed the ATHENIANS disorderedly: and therfore ...re desirous once againe to venture, in better sort and order than before. But *Nicias* by no ...ans would be brought to fight again: saying, that it were a madnes looking for such a great ...y & a new supply as *Demosthenes* was comming withall, rashly to fight with a fewer num...e of shippes than they, and but poorely furnished. But contrarily, *Menander* and *Euthyde...* newly promoted to the state of Captaines with *Nicias*, being pricked forwards with am...ion against the two other Captaines (*Nicias* and *Demosthenes* that was then comming) de...d to preuent *Demosthenes*, in performing some notable seruice before his arriuall, & there...also to excell *Nicias* doings. Howbeit the cloke they had to couer their ambition withall ...the honor & reputation of the city of ATHENS, the which (said they) were shamed and ...onored for euer, if they now should shew themselues afraid of the SYRACVSANS, who pro...ed them to fight. Thus brought they *Nicias* against his will to battell, in the which the A...NIANS were slaine and ouercome, by the good counsell of a CORINTHIAN Pilot called ...ax. For the left wing of their battell (as *Thucydides* writeth) was clearely ouerthrowen, & ...lost a great number of their men. Whereupon *Nicias* was wonderfully perplexed, con...ring on the one side that he had taken maruellous paines, whilest he was sole Captaine of ...whole army: and on the other side, for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had ...n him companions. But as *Nicias* was in this great despaire, they descried *Demosthenes* vp...*Demosthenes arriuall at Syracusa.*
...pere of the hauen, with his fleete brauely set out and furnished, to terrifie the enemies. ...e had threescore and thirteene gallies, and in them he brought fiue thousande foote...well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with slings about three ...sand, and the gallies trimmed and set foorth with goodly armors, numbers of ensignes, ...with a world of trumpets, howboyes, and such marine musicke, and all set out in this tri...phant shew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the SYRACVSANS themselues ...e in a pecke of troubles, perceiuing they stroue against the streame, and consumed them ...s to no purpose, when by that they saw there was no likelyhood to be deliuered frō their ...bles. And *Nicias* also reioyced, that so great aide was come, but his ioy helde not long. ...*Demosthenes rashnesse.*
...soone as he began to talke with *Demosthenes* of the state of things, hee found him bent ...with to set vpon the SYRACVSANS, and to hazard all with speed, that they might quick...e SYRACVSA, and so dispatch away home againe. *Nicias* thought this more hast then ...speede, and feared much this foolehardinesse. Whereupon he praied him to attempt no...*Nicias counsell vnto Demosthenes.*
...g rashly, nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the ...re against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soone be forsaken ...eir confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of victuals: that

they would then quickely seeke to him for peace, as they had done afore time. For there many within SYRACVSA that were *Nicias* friends, who wished him to abide time: for were weary of warre, and waxed angry also with *Gylippus*. So that if they were but stri a litle more with want of victuals, they would yeeld straight. *Nicias* deliuering these p sions somwhat darkly, & keeping somewhat also from vtterance, because he would not them openly: made his colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardlinesse, and that he re againe to his former delayes to keepe all in security, by which manner of proceeding from the beginning killed the hearts of his armie, for that he had not at his first com vpon the enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the courage of his souldiers wa and done, and himselfe also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the Captaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) *Eurhydemus* and *der*, stucke to *Demosthenes* opinion: wherunto *Nicias* was also forced against his will to

Demosthenes rashnesse.

So *Demosthenes* the selfe same night taking the footemen, went to assault the fort of E where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he slew many of them, a the rest flie that offered resistance. But not content with this victory, he went farther fell vpon the BOEOTIANS. They gathering themselues together were the first that resi ATHENIANS, basing their pikes with such fury and loude cries, that they caused the to retire, and made all the rest of the assailantes affraide and amased. For the formost backe, came full vpon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and the for a charge, resisted them with all their force, & so mistaking one another, both were ded and slaine, and the hurt they ment vnto their enemies, did vnfortunately light vppo owne fellowes. For this multitude meeting thus confusedly together, what throug great feare, & what for that they could not discerne one an other in the night, the whi neither so darke that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleare, as they might certainly by sight what they were that met them: (for then the moone declined a pace, and th light it gaue was diffused with the number of men that ran to and fro) the feare they had euemie, made them mistrust their friendes. All these troubles and disaduantages had THENIANS, and beside, the moone on their backes, which causing the shadow to fall fro did hide their number, and glistering of armour: and contrarily, the enemies targets in their eyes by the reflection of the moone that shone vppon them, encreased their fe making them seeme a greater number and better appointed then they were in deede.

The slaughter of the Athenians at Syracusa.

the enemies giuing a lusty charge vppon them on euery side, after they once beganne backe and turne taile: some were slaine by their enemies, others by their owne compa others also brake their neckes falling from the rockes. The rest that were dispersed a in the fieldes, were the next morning euery man of them put to the sworde by the bot So the account made, two thousand ATHENIANS were slaine, and very few of them by flight, that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore *Nicias* that alwaies mis it would thus come to passe, was maruellously offended with *Demosthenes*, and condem rashnes. But he excusing himselfe as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in th ning betimes, and so to hoise saile homewardes. For, saide he, we must looke for no re from ATHENS, neither are we strong enough with this army to ouercome our enemi though we were, yet must we of necessity auoide the place we are in, because (as it is re it is alwaies vnholsome for an army to campe in, and then specially most contagious, son of the autumne and season of the yeare, as they might plainly see by experience. F ny of their people were already sicke, and all of them in maner had no minde to tary. N no case liked the motion of departing thence, because he feared not the SYRACVSA rather the ATHENIANS, for their accusations & condemnation. And therefore in open cell he tolde them, that as yet he saw no such danger to remaine: and though there were that he had rather die of his enemies hands, than to be put to death by his owne countr

The courage of Leo Bizantine.

Being therein of a contrary mind to *Leo* BIZANTINE, who after that said to his citizens rather suffer death by you, than to be slaine with you. And furthermore, as for remouing campe to some other place, they should haue leasure enough to determine of that m they thought good. Now when *Nicias* had deliuered this opinion in councell, *Dem*

ning had ill lucke at his first comming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing *Nicias* stucke not so hard against their departure, but that he relied vpon the trust & confidence he had of some within the citie: they all agreed to *Nicias*. But when newes came that there was a new supply come vnto the SYRACVSANS, and that they saw the plague encreased more and more in their campe: then *Nicias* selfe thought it best to depart thence, and gaue notice to the souldiers to prepare themselues to shippe away. Notwithstanding, when they had put all things in readinesse for their departure, without any knowledge of the enemy, or motion thereof: the moone beganne to eclipse in the night, and sodainly to lose her light, to the great feare of *Nicias* and diuerse others, who through ignorance and superstition quailed at such sightes. For, touching the eclipse and darkening of the sunne, which is euer at any coniunction of the moone, euery common person then knew the cause to be the darknesse of the bodie of the moone betwixt the sunne and our sight. But the eclipse of the moone it selfe, know what doth darken it in that sort, and how being at the full it doth sodainely lose her light, and change into so many kinde of colours: that was aboue their knowledge, and therefore they thought it verie strange, perswading themselues that it was a signe of some great mischiefes the goddes did threaten vnto men. For *Anaxagoras*, the first that euer determined and deliuered any thing for certaine and assured, concerning the light and darkenesse of the moone: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally knowen but only to a few, who durst not talke of it but with feare euē them they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the people could not at that time abide men that professed the knowledge of naturall Philosophy, & inquired of the causes of things: them they called then Μετεωρολεσχης, as much to say, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things aboue the reach of reason, done in heauen and in the aire. Because the people thought they ascribed that which was done by the goddes onely, vnto certaine naturall and necessarie causes, that worke their effectes not by prouidence nor will, but by force, and necessary consequences. For these causes was *Protagoras* banished from ATHENS, and *Anaxagoras* put in prison: frō whence *Pericles* had much a do to procure his deliuery. And *Socrates* also, though he did not medle with that part of Philosophie, was notwithstanding put to death for the suspition thereof. In fine, the doctrine of *Plato* being receiued and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessitie of naturall causes vnto the controlement and direction of diuine power, as vnto a more excellent and supreame cause: tooke away all the ill opinion which the people had of such disputations, and gaue open passage and free entry vnto the Mathematicall sciences. And therefore *Dion*, one of *Platoes* schollers and friendes, an eclipse of the moone chaunced euen at the very same time that he was weying vp his anckers to saile from ZACYNTHE, to make warre with the tyrant *Dionysius*: being nothing affraid nor troubled therewithall, made saile notwithstanding, and when he came to SYRACVSA, draue out the tyrant. But then it fell out vnfortunately for *Nicias*, who had no expert nor skilfull southsaier: for the party which he was wont to vse for that purpose, and which tooke away much of his superstition, called *Stilbides*, was dead not long before. For this signe of the eclipse of the moone (as *Philochorus* saith) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contrarily very good: for said he, things that men doe in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemie vnto them. But this notwithstanding, their custome was not to keepe themselues close aboue three daies in such eclipses of the moone and sunne, as *Autoclides* selfe preseribeth in a booke he made of such matters: where *Nicias* bare them then in hande, that they should tarie the whole and full reuolution of the course of the moone, as though he had not seene her straight cleere againe, after she had once passed the shadow and darkenesse of the earth. But all other things laide a side and forgotten, *Nicias* disposed himselfe to sacrifice vnto the goddes: vntill such time as the enemies came againe as well to besiege their fortes, and all their campe by lande, as also to occupie the whole hauen by sea. For they had not onely put men aborde into their gallies able to weare armor, but moreouer young boyes into fisher botes and other light barkes, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and shamefully reuiled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble house, called *Heraclides* whose bote being forwarder than his companions, was in danger of taking by a gallie of the

The eclipse of the moone.

The eclipse of the moone not knowen of long time.

Anaxagoras the first that wrote of the eclipse of the moone.

The Athenians do persecute the Philosophers.

Socrates put to death for Philosophie.

Dyon very skilfull in naturall causes.

Nicias ignorant of naturall causes.

ATHENIANS, that rowed against him. *Pollichus* his vncle being afraid of it, lanched forth with tenne gallies of SYRACVSA for his rescue, of the which himselfe was Captaine. The other gallies doubting also least *Pollichus* should take hurt, came on likewise a mayne: so there fell out a great battell by sea, which the SYRACVSANS wanne, and slew *Eurymedon* Captaine, and many other. This made the souldiers of the ATHENIANS so affraid, that they beganne to crie out, it was no longer tarying there, and that there was none other way but to depart thence by land. For after the SYRACVSANS had wonne that battell, they had streight shut vp the hauens mouth. *Nicias* could not consent to such a retire. For, said he, it would be too great a shame for them to leaue their gallies and other shippes to the enemie, considering the number not to be much lesse than two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme two hundred and tenne gallies with the best and valiantest of their footmen, and darters, that were in the army, because the other gallies had spent their owers. And for the rest of the army, *Nicias* forsaking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of *Hercules*) did set them in battell ray vpō the pere of the hauen. Insomuch, that the SYRACVSANS which vntill that day could not performe their wonted sacrifices vnto *Hercules*: did then sende their Priestes and Captaines thither to do them. The souldiers being imbarked into the gallies, the Priestes and Soothsayers came and told the SYRACVSANS, that vndoubtedly the signes of their sacrifices did promise them a noble victory, so that they gaue no charge, but onely stood vpon their defence: for so did *Hercules* euer ouercome, defending when he was assailed. With good hope the SYRACVSANS rowed forward, and there was such a hotte & cruell battell by sea, as had not beene in all this warre before: the which was as dreadfull to them that stood on the shore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, seeing the whole conflict and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as much hurt themselues by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranckes of their shippes, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great shippes together, fighting with the heauie, against the enemies that were light and swift, which came on on euery side of them hurling stones at them which were made sharpe to wound how euer they lighted: whereas the ATHENIANS onely casting their dartes, and vsing their bowes and slings, by meanes of their rowing vp and downe, could not lightly aime to hit with the head. That maner of fight *Aristo* a CORINTHIAN (an excellent shippe master) had taught the SYRACVSANS, who himselfe slaine valiantly fighting, when they were conquerers. The ATHENIANS thereupon being driuen to fight, hauing susteined a maruellous slaughter & ouerthrow, (their way to flie by sea being also clearely taken from them) and perceiuing moreouer that they could hardly saue themselues by land: were then so discouraged, as they made no longer resistance, when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their shippes, before their faces. Neither did they aske leaue to take vp their dead mens bodies to burie them, taking more pity to forsake their diseased & sore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already slaine. When they considered all these things, they thought their owne state more miserable than theirs, which were to end their liues with much more cruelty, than was their misery present. So they being determined to depart thence in the night, *Gylippus* perceiuing the SYRACVSANS through all the citie disposed themselues to sacrifice to the goddes, and to be merry well for the ioy of their victorie, as also for *Hercules* feast: thought it booteles to perturbe them, and much lesse to compell them to take armes vpon a sodaine, to set vpon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit *Hermocrates* deuising with himselfe how to deceiue *Nicias*, sent some of his friends vnto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from those as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all things during this warre: and willed him to take heede not to depart that night, least he fell into the ambushes which the SYRACVSANS had laid for him, hauing sent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should passe. *Nicias* being ouerreached by *Hermocrates* craft and subtilty, staied there that night, as though he had beene affraide to fall within the danger of his enemies ambush. The next upon the SYRACVSANS the next morning by peepe of day, hoysed saile, got the straights of *Nicias* passage, stopped the riuers mouthes, & brake vp the bridges: and then cast their horsemen in a squadron in the next plaine fieldes adioyning, so that the ATHENIANS had no

The Syracusans ouercome the Athenians by sea.

The soothsaiers do promise victorie to the Syracusans.

The Athenians againe ouercome on the sea by the Syracusans.

Nicias deceiued by Hermocrates.

to escape and passe by them without fighting. At last notwithstanding, hauing staied all the day and the next night following, they put themselues in iorney, and departed with great cries & lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall country, and not out of their enemies lande: as well for the great distresse and necessity wherein they were, (lacking all things needfull to sustaine life) as also for the extreame sorow they felt to leaue their sore wounded companions and diseased kinsemen and friends behinde them, that could not for their weakenesse followe the campe, but specially for that they looked for some worse matter to fall to themselues, than that which they sawe present before their eyes to be happened to their fellowes. But of all the most pitifull sightes to beholde in that campe, there was none more lamentable nor miserable, than the person of *Nicias* selfe: who being tormented with his disease, and waxen very leane and pale, was also vnworthily brought to extreame want of naturall sustenance, euen when he had most neede of comfort, being very sickely. Yet notwithstanding his weaknesse and infirmitie, he tooke great paines, and suffered many things which the soundest bodies doe labour much to ouercome and suffer: making it appeare euidently to every man, that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of himself, or desire that he had to saue his owne life, so much as for their sakes in that he yeelded not vnto present despaire. For where the souldiers for very feare & sorrow burst out into teares & bitter wailing: *Nicias* he shewed, that if by chance he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather vpon remembrance of the shame and dishonour that came into his minde, to see the vnfortunate successe of this voyage, in steede of the honor and victory they hoped to haue brought home, and not for any other respect. But if to see *Nicias* in this misery, did moue the lookers on to pitie: it did this much more encrease their compassion, when they remembred *Nicias* wordes in exhortations continually to the people, to breake this iorney, and to disswade them from the enterprise of this warre. For then they plainly iudged him not to haue deserued these troubles. And furthermore, this caused the souldiers vtterly to despaire of helpe from the goddes, when they considered with themselues, that so deuout and godly a man as *Nicias* (who left nothing vndone that might tend to the honor and seruice of the goddes) had no better successe, than the most vile and wicked persons in all the whole armie. All this notwithstanding, *Nicias* maintained himselfe in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his cheerefull wordes, and his kind vsing of euery man: to let them know that he fainted not vnder his burden, nor yet did yeeld to this his misfortune and extreame calamitie. And thus trauelling eight daies iorney out right together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually set vpon, wearied and hurt: yet he euer maintained his bandes, and led them whole in company vntill that *Demosthenes* with all his bandes of souldiers was taken prisoner, in a certaine village called Polyzelios: where remaining behinde, he was enuironned by his enemies in fight, and hauing himselfe so compassed in, drewe out his sworde, and with his owne handes thrust him selfe thorow, but died not of it, because his enemies came straight about him, and tooke hold of him. The SYRACVSANS thereupon went with speede to *Nicias*, and told him of *Demosthenes* case. He giuing no credite to them, sent presently certaine of his horsemen thither to vnderstand the truth: who brought him word that *Demosthenes* and all his men were taken prisoners. Then he besought *Gylippus* to treate of peace, to suffer the poore remaine of the ATHENIANS to depart out of SICILE with safetie, and to take such hostages for the sure payment of all such summes of money the SYRACVSANS had disbursed by meanes of this warre, as himselfe should like himselfe: which he promised he would cause the ATHENIANS to performe & satisfie vnto them. Howbeit the SYRACVSANS would in no wise hearken to peace, but cruelly threatning and reuiling them that made motion hereof, in rage gaue a new onset vpon him, more fiercely then euer before they had done. *Nicias* being then vtterly without any kind of victuals, did notwithstãding hold out that night, & marched al the next day folowing (though the enemies dartes still flew about their eares) vntill he came to the riuer of Asinarus, into the which the SYRACVSANS did forcibly driue them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, entred the riuer of themselues, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the most cruell slaughter of the poore wretches, euen as they were drinking: vntill such time as *Nicias* falling downe flat at *Gylippus* feete, saide thus vnto him. Since the goddes haue giuen thee (*Gylippus*)

The miserable state of the Athenians departing from Syracusa.

Nicias extreame misserie.

Demosthenes taken of the Syracusans.

Nicias maketh treaty of peace.

Nicias army ouercome at the riuer of Asinarus.

Nicias words yeelding him selfe vnto Gylippus.

victorie, shew mercy, not to me that by these miseries haue won immortall honor and fame, but vnto these poore vanquished ATHENIANS: calling to thy remembrance, that the fortunes of warre are common, and how that the ATHENIANS haue vsed you LACEDEMONIANS courteously as often as fortune fauored them against you. *Gylippus* beholding *Nicias* perswaded by his words, tooke compassion of him (for he knew he was a friend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS at the last peace concluded betwixt them, and furthermore thought it great honor to him, if he could carie away the two Captaines or Generals of his enemies prisoners) shewed him mercy, gaue him wordes of comfort, and moreouer commaunded beforehand they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commaundement was not knowen in time to all: insomuch as there were many moe slaine than taken, although some priuate souldiers saued diuers notwithstanding by stealth. Now the SYRACVSANS hauing brought all the prisoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, first vnarmed them, then taking their weapons from them hung them vp vpon the goodliest young trees that stoode vpon the riuers side in token of triumph. And so putting on triumphing garlands vpon their heades and hauing trimmed their owne horses in triumphant maner, & also shorne all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing sort they made their entry into the citie of SYRACVSA, hauing gloriously ended the most notable warre that euer was amongst the GREEKES one against an other, and attained also the noblest victorie that could be atchieued, and that only by force of armes and valiancy. So at their returne, a councell and assembly was holden at SYRACVSA by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, *Eurycles* one of the orators (a practiser in publicke causes) first made petition, that the day on the which they had taken *Nicias*, might for euer thenceforth be kept holy day, without any maner of worke, or labour, but only to do sacrifice to the goddes: and that the feast should be called, Asinarus feast, after the name of the riuer where the ouerthrow was giuen. This victory was had the sixe & twenty day of the moneth of Iuly. And as touching the prisoners that the confederates of the ATHENIANS had their slaues should be openly sold by the dromme: and that the naturall ATHENIANS which were free men, and their confederates of the country of SICILE, should be clapped in irons and laid in prison, the Captaines only excepted, whom they should put to death. The SYRACVSANS confirmed this decree. And when the Captaine *Hermocrates* went about to perswade them that to be mercifull in victory, would be more honor vnto them, than the victory itself, they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when *Gylippus* made sute that for the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, he might carie them aliue with him to SPARTA: he was not onely shamefully denied, but most vilely abused, so lustie were they growen vpon this victorie, beside also that in the time of the warre they were offended with him, & could not endure his straight seuere LACONIAN gouernement. *Timæus* saith moreouer, that they accused him of couetousnes and theft, which vice he inherited from his father. For *Cleandrides* his father was conuict for extortion, and banished ATHENS. And *Gylippus* selfe hauing stolen thirtie talents out of a thousande which *Lysander* sent to SPARTA by him, and hauing hid them vnder the eauings of his house, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to flie his countrie, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lysander*. So *Timæus* writeth, that *Nicias* & *Demosthenes* were not stoned to death by the SYRACVSANS, as *Thucydides* and *Philistus* report, but that they killed themselues, vpon word sent them by *Hermocrates* (before the assembly of the people was broken vp) by one of his men whom the keepers of the prison let in vnto them: howbeit their bodies were cast out at the iaile dore, for euery man to beholde. I haue heard there is a target at this present to be seene in a temple at SYRACVSA, which is said to be *Nicias* target, couered all ouer with golde and purple silke, passing finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, the most of them died of sickneſſe, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to liue withall but two cõtinus of barley for their bread, and one of water for ech man a day. In deede many of them were conueyed away, and sold for slaues: and many also that scaped vnknowen as slaues, were also solde for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the print of a horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this paine. But such, their humble patience and modestie did greatly profite them. For either shortly after they were made free men,

Gylippus sheweth mercy to Nicias.

The Syracusans enter into Syracusa with triumph.

Asinarus feast.

The Captaines of the Athenians condemned to die.

Gylippus, a couetous man. Cleandrides condemned for extortion.

Nicias and Demosthenes slew themselues.

or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloued of their maisters. Some of them were saued also for *Eurypides* sake: For the SICILIANS liked the verses of this Poet better, than they did any other GRECIANS verses of the middest of GREECE. For if they heard any rimes or songs like vnto his, they would haue them by hart, and one would present them to an other with great ioy. And therefore it is reported, that diuers escaping this bondage, and returning againe to ATHENS, went very louingly to salute *Euripides*, & to thanke him for their liues: and told him how they were deliuered from slauery, onely by teaching them those verses which they remembred of his workes. Others told him also, how that after the battell, they scaping by flight, and wandering vp and downe the fields, met with some that gaue them meate and drinke to sing his verses. And this is not to be maruelled at, weighing the report made of a ship of the citie of CAVNVS, that on a time being chased in thither by pyrates, thinking to saue themselues within their portes, could not at the first be receiued, but had repulse: howbeit being demanded whether they could sing any of *Euripides* songs, and answering that they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable ouerthrow, was not beleeued at the first, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a stranger that landed in the hauen of PIRÆA, went and sat him downe (as the manner is) in a barbers shop, and thinking it had bene commonly knowen there, began to talke of it. The barber hearing the stranger tell of such matter: before any other had heard of it: ranne into the citie as fast as he could, and going to the gouernours told the newes openly before them all. The Magistrates thereupon did presently call an assembly, and brought the barber before them: who being demaunded of whom he heard these newes, could make no certaine report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the citie in feare and trouble: he was presently bound, and layed on a wheele, whereon they vse to put offenders to death, and so was there tormented a great time, vntill at last there arriued certaine men in the citie, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told euery thing how the ouerthrow came. So as in fine they found *Nicias* wordes true, which now they beleeued, when they saw all those miseries light fully vpon them, which he long before had prognosticated vnto them.

Eurypides verses saued many of the Athenians liues.

The Athenians do torment the bringer of the newes of their ouerthrow. Nicias foreshewed the miseries of the Athenians.

The end of Nicias life.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Craſſus.

Marcus Craſſus was the ſonne of a Cenſor, who had alſo receiued the honour of triumph: but himſelf was brought vp in a litle houſe with two other of his brethrē, which were both maried in their fathers & mothers life time, and kept houſe together. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that he was a man of ſuch ſober and temperate dyet, that one of his brethren being deceaſed, he maried his wife by whō he had children. For womē, he liued as continent a life, as any Romaine of his time: notwithſtanding, afterwardes being of riper yeares, he was accuſed by *Plotinus* to haue defloured one of the Veſtall Nunnes called *Licinia*. But in troth the cauſe of that ſuſpitiō grew thus: *Licinia* had a goodly pleaſant garden hard by the ſuburbes of the citie, wherewith *Craſſus* was maruellouſly in loue, and would faine haue had it good cheape: and vpon this onely occaſion was often ſeene in ſpeach with her, which made the people ſuſpect him. But for aſmuch as it ſeemed to the iudges that couetouſneſſe was the cauſe that made him follow her, he was cleared of the inceſt ſuſpected: but he neuer left following of the Nunne, till he had got the garden of her. The Romaines ſay there was but that onely vice of couetouſneſſe in *Craſſus*, that drowned many other good vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, ſince it grew ſo great, as the note of that onely did hide and couer all his other vices. Now to ſet out his extreme couetous deſire of getting, naturally bred in him, I proue it by two manifeſt reaſons. The firſt, his manner and meanes he vſed to get: and the ſecond, the greatneſſe of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worth then three hundred talents. And during the time that he delt in the affaires of the common wealth, he offered the tenthes of all his goods wholly vnto *Hercules*, kept open houſe for the people of Rome, and gaue alſo to euery citizen of the ſame as much corne as would ſerue him three monthes: & yet when he went from Rome to make warre with the Parthians, himſelfe being deſirous to know what all he had was worth, found that it amounted to the ſumme of ſeuen thouſand one hundred talents. But if I may with licence vſe euill ſpeach, in ſetting a troth: I ſay he got the moſt part of his wealth by fire and bloud, raiſing his greateſt reuenue of publicke calamities. For when *Sylla* had taken the citie of Rome, he made port of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to thoſe that gaue moſt, terming them

Marcus craſſus kinred, and youth,

Craſſus couetouſneſſe.

Craſſus riches.

How Craſſus came by his goods.

booty, onely for that he would the nobilitie, and greatest men of power in the citie should be partakers with him of this iniquitie: and in this open sale *Crassus* neuer left taking of giftes, nor buying of things of *Sylla* for profit. Furthermore, *Crassus* perceiuing that the greatest decay commonly of the buildings in ROME came by fire, and falling downe of houses, through the ouermuch weight by numbers of stories built one vpon an other: bought bondmē that were masons, carpenters, and these deuisours and builders, & of those he had to the number of fiue hundred. Afterwardes, when the fire tooke any house, he would buy the house while it was burning, and the next houses adioyning to it, which the owners sold for litle, being then in feare as they were, and a burning: so that by proces of time, the most part of the houses in ROME came to be his. But notwithstāding that he had so many slaues to his workemen, he neuer built any house from the ground, sauing his owne house wherein he dwelt: saying, that such as delighted to build, vndid themselues without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mynes of siluer, many ploughes, and a number of hyndes and ploughmen to follow them: yet all that commoditie was nothing, in respect of the profit his slaues and bondmen brought him dayly in. As readers, scriuenors, goldsmithes, bankers, receiuers, stewardes of houshold, caruers, and other such officers at the table, taking paines himselfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to instruct them what they should do: and to be short, he thought the greatest care a good housholder ought to haue, was to see his slaues or seruants well taught, being the most liuely cattell and best instruments of a mans house. And surely therein his opinion was not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake; that all things must be done by seruaunts, and his seruaunts must be ruled by him. For we see that the art and skill to be a good husband, when it consisteth in gouernement of things without life or sence, is but a base thing, onely tending to gaine: but when it dependeth vpon good order and gouernement of men, me thinkes then it is to know how to gouerne well a common wealth. And as his iudgement was good in the other, so was it very bad in this: that he thought no man rich, and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole armie with his owne proper goods. For warre (as king *Archidamus* was wont to say) is not made with any certaintie of expence: and therefore there must no sufficiencie of riches be limited for the maintenance of the same. Herein *Marius* and he differed farre in opinion: who hauing allowed euery ROMAINE fourteen acres land (called with them, Iugera) vnderstanding that some were not pleased, but would haue more, made them this answer. The gods forbid any ROMAINE should thinke fourteen land litle, which indeed is enough to suffise for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, *Crassus* was curteous to straungers, for his house was open to them all, and he lent his friends money without interest: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he rough, and demaunde his money of them. So, his curtesie to lend many times without interest, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great vsurie. Indeede when he had any man to come to his table, his fare was but euen ordinarie, without all excesse: but his fine and cleanly seruice, & the good entertainement he gaue euery man that came to him, pleased them better, than if he had bene more plentifull of dyet and dishes. As for his learning and study, he chiefly studied eloquence, and that sort specially that best would serue his turne to speake in open audience: so that he became the best spoken man in ROME of all his time, and by his great industry and diligence indeuour excelled all them that euen by nature were most apt vnto it. For some say, he had neuer so small nor litle a cause in hand, but he alwayes came prepared, hauing studied his case before for pleading: and oftentimes also when *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Cicero* refused to rise, and speake to matters, *Crassus* would defend euery cause if he were requested. And therefore was he generally beloued & well thought of, because he shewed himselfe pain-full, & willing to helpe euery man. Likewise was his gentlenesse marvellously esteemed, because he saluted euery body curteously, & made much of all men for, whom so euer he met in the streetes that spake to him as he passed and saluted him, were he neuer so meane, he would speake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is sayd also he was very well studied in stories, and indifferently seene in Philosophy, specially in *Aristotles* workes, which once *Alexenus* did read vnto him, a man that became very gentle and patient of nature, by vsing of *Crassus* company: for it were hard to say, whether *Alexander* was poorer when he came to *Crassus*

Crassus saying of builders.

Crassus care about seruants.

What belongeth to good husbandry, & in what it consistes.

Crassus iudgement who was a rich man.

Archidamus saying of warre.

Crassus fare at his board.

Crassus eloquence.

or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his friendes he would euer haue *Alexander* abroad with him, and while they were abroad, would lend him a hat to couer his head by the way: but so soone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull patience of a man! to see that he making profession of Philosophie as he did, the poore man being in great pouertie, did not place pouertie in things indifferent. But hereof we will speake more hereafter. *Cinna* and *Marius* being now of greater power, and comming on directly towards ROME, euery man suspected straight their comming was for no good to the common weale, but as appeared plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of ROME. For it fell out indeede, that they slue all the chiefe men they found in the citie, among whom *Crassus* father & his brother were of the number, and himselfe being at that time but young, escaped the present danger onely by flight. Furthermore, *Crassus* hearing that they layed wait to take him, and that the tyrants sought him in euery place, tooke three of his friends in his company and ten seruants onely, and fled into SPAYNE with all possible speede, where he had been with his father before, and had got some friends when he was Prætor, and ruled that country. Neuertheless, seeing euery body afrayed, and mistrusting *Marius* crueltie as if he had been at their doores, he durst not bewray himselfe to any man, but went into the fieldes, and hid himself in a great caue being within the land of one *Vibius Piciacus* by the sea side, from whence he sent a man of his to this *Piciacus*, to feele what good will he bare him, but specially for that his victuals began to faile him. *Vibius* hearing that *Crassus* was safe, and had scaped, became very glad of it: and vnderstanding how many persons he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not himselfe to see him, but called one of his slaues (who was his receiuer and occupied that ground for him) and bringing him neare the place where *Crassus* was, commaunded him euery night to prouide meate for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this caue whereunder was the caue, & make no wordes of it, neither be inquisitiue for whom it was: for if he did, he should dye for it: and otherwise, for keeping the thing secret as he commanded, he promised to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the sea side, & is closed in round about with two rocks that meet together, which receiue a soft coole wind into them. When ye are entred into the caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownesse therof are many other caues of great receit one within an other, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of passing good water running hard by the rocke, and there are all rifts of the rockes also receiuing the light without, where they meet together, do send it inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruellous light, and hath no dampe at all, but very pure and dry, by reason of the thickenesse of the rocke, which sendeth all the moisture and vapour into that springing well. *Crassus* keeping close in this caue, *Vibius* secretly brought victuals thither dayly to relieue him, and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could vnderstand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, obseruing the hour and time of his comming when he brought the same. He prouided them no more then would euen necessarily serue their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheare withall. *Vibius* was bent to entertaine *Crassus* as honorably as he could possible, in somuch as he considered he was a young man, and therefore reason would he should offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieue his necessitie only he thought that rather a part of feare, than any shew of loue towardes him. One day he came with two fayre young damsels, and brought them with him to the sea side: and when he came to the caue, shewed them where they should get vp, and bad them not be afrayed. *Crassus* at the first, when he saw the young wenches, was afrayed he had bene betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whom they sought. They being instructed by *Vibius* what they should say, answered, that they sought their maister that was hidden there. Then *Crassus* knew it was *Vibius* mirth to shew him curtesie: so he receiued them into his caue, and kept them so long as he lay there, letting *Vibius* vnderstand by them what he lacked. *Fenestella* writeth that he saw one of them when she was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this many a time with great delight. In fine, *Crassus* (after he had lyen hidden in this caue eight monthes) vnderstanding that *Cinna* was dead, came out: and so soone as he made himself to be knowen, there repayred a great number of souldiers vnto him, of whom he onely

Crassus flieth Marius and Cinna.

Vibius curtesie vnto Crassus.

Crassus caue.

two thousand fiue hundred, and with them passed by many cities, and sacked one called MARACA, as diuers do write, but he flatly denied it, and stoutly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwardes hauing gotten shippes together, went into AFRICKE, to *Metellus Pius*, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit he taried not long with *Metellus*, but iarring with him, went vnto *Sylla*, who welcomed and honored him as much as any that he had about him. *Sylla* afterwardes arriuing in ITALIE, intending to imploy all the young nobility he had in his company, gaue euery one of them charge vnder him, and sent *Crassus* into the country of the MARSIANS, to leauy men of warre there. *Crassus* desiring certaine bandes of *Sylla* to aide him, being driuen to passe by his enemies: *Sylla* aunswered him angerly againe. I giue thee thy father, thy brother, thy friendes and kinsemen to aide those whom they most wickedly haue slaine and murthered, and whose deathes I pursue with hot reuenge of mayne army, vpon those bloudy murtherers that haue slaine them. *Crassus* being nettled with these wordes, departed thence presently, and stoutly passing through his enemies leauied a good number of souldiers: and was euer after ready at *Syllaes* commaundement in all his warres. Here began first (as they say) the strife and contention betwixt him and *Pompey*. For *Pompey* being younger than *Crassus*, and borne of a wicked father in ROME, whom the people more hated thā euer they did man: came yet to great honour by his valiancy, & by the notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that *Sylla* did *Pompey* that honor many times, which he seldome did vnto them that were his elders, nor yet vnto those that were his equals; as to rise vp when he came towardes him, to put off his cappe, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieutenant generall. And this galled *Crassus* to the hart, although he had no wrong in that *Pompey* was taken before him, because he had no experience in matters of warre at that time, and also because these two vices that were bred in him, misery and couetousnesse, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the sacke of the citie of TVDER, which he tooke, he priuily got the most part of the spoyle to himselfe, whereof he was accused before *Sylla*. Yet in the battell of all this ciuill warre (which was the greatest and most daungerous of all other) before ROME it selfe, the wing that *Sylla* led, was repulsed and ouerthrowen: but *Crassus* that led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sent *Sylla* word of his victory, and demaunded victuals for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confiscate goodes of the outlawes appointed to be solde for litle or nothing. And it is sayd also, that he made one an outlaw in the country of the MARSIANS, without *Syllaes* priuitie or commaundement onely to haue his goodes. But *Sylla* being told of it, would neuer after vse him in any open seruice. Surely this is a straunge thing, that *Crassus* selfe being a great flatterer of other, & could creepe into any mans fauour: was yet himselfe easie to be won through flattery, of any man that would seeke him that way. Furthermore, it is sayd of him that he had this propertie: that though himselfe was as extremely couetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproued and vtterly misliked them that had his owne humour of auarice. *Pompeyes* honour that he attained vnto dayly, by bearing great charge & rule in the warres, did greatly trouble *Crassus*: both because he obtained the honour of triumph before he came to be Senatour, & also for that the ROMAINES commonly called him, *Pompeius Magnus*, to say, *Pompey* the great. *Crassus* being in place on a time when one sayd that saw *Pompey* comming, see, *Pompey* the great is come. And how great I pray ye, sayd he scornefully? Howbeit despayring that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gaue himselfe to the affaires of the citie: and by his paines and industry of pleading, and defending mens causes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that sued for any office, or demaunded any thing else of the people, he attained in the end to the like estimation and authoritie that *Pompey* was come vnto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For *Pompeyes* fame & power was greater in ROME, whē him selfe was absent: and contrariwise when he was there present, *Crassus* oftentimes was better esteemed than he. *Pompey* caried a great maiesty and grauity in his maner of life, would not be seene often of the people, but kept from repayring to open places, and would speake but in few mens causes, and that vnwillingly: all to keepe his fauour and credit whole for himselfe, when he stood in neede to employ the same. Where *Crassus* diligence was profitable to ma-

Crassus viage into Africke.

Crassus sent by Sylla into the country of the Marsians.

The emulation betwixt Crassus and Pompey.

Sylla called Pompey Imperator.

Crassus tooke the citie of Tuder.

The valiantnes of Crassus.

Crassus enuieth Pompey.

The Romaines called Pompey the great.

Crassus industrie and cause of rising in the cōmon wealth.

ny, becauſe he kept continually in the market place, and was eaſie to be repayred vnto by any man that required his helpe, dayly following thoſe exerciſes, indeuouring himſelfe to pleaſure euery man: ſo that by this eaſie acceſſe and familiaritie, for fauour and good will he grew to exceede the grauity and maieſty of *Pompey*. But as for the worthineſſe of their perſon, their eloquence of ſpeach, and their good grace and countenance: in all thoſe (it is ſayd) *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were both alike. And this enuy and emulation neuer caried *Craſſus* away, with any open malice and ill will. For though he was ſory to ſee *Pompey* and *Cæſar* honoured about him: yet the worme of ambition neuer bred malice in him. No, though *Cæſar* when he was taken by pyrates in ASIA (as he was once) and being kept priſoner cryed out aloude: O *Craſſus*, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou ſhalt heare I am in priſon. This notwithſtanding they were afterwardes good friendes, as it appeareth. For *Cæſar* being ready on a time to depart out of ROME for Prætor into SPAYNE, and not being able to ſatisfie his creditours that came flocking all at once about him, to ſtay and arreſt his cariage: *Craſſus* in that time of need forſooke him not, but became his ſurety for the ſumme of eight hundred and thirty talents.

Three factions in Rome.

In fine, all ROME being deuided into three factions, to wit, of *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus* for *Cato*, the eſtimation they had of his fidelitie was greater, than his authority: and his vertue more wondered at then practiſed. In ſomuch as the graueſt and wiſeſt men tooke part with *Pompey*. The liueliеſt youthes, and likelieſt to runne into deſperate attemptes, they followed *Cæſars* hope. *Craſſus* keeping the middeſt of the ſtreame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes chaunged his minde and purpoſe. For in matters of gouernement in the common weale, he neither ſhewed himſelfe a conſtant friend, nor a daungerous enemy: but for gaine was eaſily made friend or foe. So that in a moment they ſaw him prayſe and reproue, deface and condemne, the ſame lawes, and the ſame men. His eſtimation grew more, through the peoples feare of him: than for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the anſwere that one *Sicinius* (a very buſie headed man, and one that troubled euery gouernour of the common weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not buſie with *Craſſus* amongſt the reſt: and how it happened that he ſo ſcaped his handes? O, ſayd he, he caſt hay on his horne. The manner was then at ROME, if any man had a curſt bullocke that would ſtrike with his horne, to winde hay about his head, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commotion of fenſers, which ſome call *Spartacus* warre, their waſting and deſtroying of ITALIE came vpon this occaſion. In the citie of CAPVA, there was one *Lentulus Batiatus*, that kept a great number of fenſers at vnrebated foyles, whom the ROMAINES call Gladiatores, whereof the moſt part were GAVLES & THRACIANS. Theſe were kept locked vp, not for any fault they had committed, but onely for the wickednes of their maiſter that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with another at the ſharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to ſteale away: but their conſpiracie being bewrayed, three ſcore and eighteen of them entred into a cookes houſe, and with ſpittes and kitching kniues, which there they got, went quite out of the citie. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes loden with fenſers weapons, that were brought from CAPVA going to ſome other citie: thoſe they alſo tooke by force, and arming themſelues therewith got them then to a ſtrong place of ſituation. Where amongſt themſelues they choſe three Captaines, & one *Spartacus* a THRACIAN borne (and of thoſe countrymen that go wandring vp and downe with their heards of beaſtes neuer ſtaying long in a place) they made their generall. This *Spartacus* was not onely valiant, but ſtrong made withall, and endued with more wiſedome and honeſty, than is commonly found in men of his ſtate and condition: and for ciuilitie and good vnderſtanding, a man more like to the GRECIANS, than any of his countrymen commonly be. It is reported, that whē *Spartacus* came firſt to ROME to be ſold for a ſlaue there was found as he ſlept, a ſnake wound about his face. His wife ſeeing it, being his own countrywoman, & a wiſe woman beſides, poſſeſt with *Bacchus* ſpirit of diuination: ſaid plainly that it did ſignifie, that one day he ſhould be of great power, much dread, and haue very good ſucceſſe. This ſame woman propheteſſe was then with him, and followed him likewiſe when he fled. Now firſt they ouerthrew certaine ſouldiers that came out of CAPVA against them, thinking to take them: and ſtripping them of their armour & weapons, made them

Sicinius prouerbe.

The warre of the bondmen, called Spartacus warre.

The wit and behauiour of Spartacus, the chiefe Captaine of the bondmens warre.

make the seruers weapons, which they threw away as vile and vnseemly. After that, the Romaines sent *Clodius* Prætor against them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in a certaine fort, situate vpon a hill that had a verie steepe and narrowe ascent vnto it, and kept the siege vp to them: all the rest of the ground round about it, was nothing but high rocks hanging ouer, and vpon them great store of wilde vines. Of them the bondmen cut the strongest ropes, and made thereof ladders, like to these ship ladders of ropes, of such a length and so long, that they reached from the top of the hill euen to the very bottome: vpon those they came safely downe, sauing one that taried aboue to throwe downe their armor after them, who afterwards by the same ladder saued himselfe last of all. The Romaines mistrusting no harme matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, assailed them behinde, and put them in such a feare with the sodaine onset, as they fled vpon it euery man, and so was their campe taken. Thereupon diuerse heardmen and sheapheards that kept cattell hard by the hill, ioyned with the Romaines that fled, being strong and hardy men: of which some they armed, and others they vsed as scoutes and spials to discouer. Vpon this ouerthrowe was sent an other captaine from Rome, called *Publius Varinus*, against these bondmen: who first ouercame *Furius* the Lieutenant of *Varinus* in battell, and two thousand of his men: & after that againe they ouercame one *Cossinius*, and ouerthrew a great army of his, being ioyned with *P. Varinus*, as his fellow and counseller. *Spartacus* hauing intelligence that *Cossinius* was bathing himself at a place called the salte pits, had almost taken him tardie, hauing much a do by flight to saue himselfe: notwithstanding, *Spartacus* wanne all his cariage at that time, and hauing him hard in chase, tooke his whole cãpe with great slaughter of his men, among whom *Cossinius* self was slaine. *Spartacus* hauing thus now in sundry battels and encounters ouercome the Prætor himselfe, *Varinus*, and at the length taken his sergeants from him that caried the axes before him, and his owne horse whereon he rode himselfe: was growne then to such a power, as he was feared of euery man. Yet all this notwithstanding, *Spartacus* wisely considering his owne case, thinking it not good to tary till he might ouercome the power of the Romaines: marched with his armie towards the Alpes, taking it their best way after they had passed them ouer, euery man to repaire home to his owne countrey, some into Gavle, the rest into Thracia. But his souldiers trusting to their multitude, and persuading themselues to do great things: would not obey him therein, but went againe to spoile and ouerrune all Italie. The Senate of Rome being in a great perplexitie, not onely for the shame and dishonor that their men should be ouercome in that sort by slaues and rebels, but also for the feare and danger all Italie stood in besides: sent both the Consulles together, *Gelius* and *Lentulus*, vnto as difficult and dangerous a warre, as any that could haue happened vnto them. This *Gellius* one of the Consuls, setting sodainly vpõ a band of the Germaines, which in a braue and contempt as it were, dispearsed themselues from their campe, put them to the sworde euery man. *Lentulus*, his colleague & fellow Consull on the other side, campassed in *Spartacus* and with a great armie. but *Spartacus* charged his Lieutenants that led the army, gaue them battell, ouerthrew them, and tooke all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on still with his armie towards the Alpes, *Cassius* the Prætor, and Gouernor of Gavle about the Po, came against him with an armie of ten thousand men. *Spartacus* ioyned battell with him, and ouercame him. *Cassius* hauing lost a great number of his men, with great difficultie saued himselfe by flying. The Senate hearing of *Cassius* ouerthrow, were maruellously offended with the Cõsuls, and sent commaundement vnto them, to leaue off the warre: and thereuppon gaue the whole charge thereof vnto *Marcus Crassus*, who was accompanied in this iorney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houses, both for that he was maruellously esteemed, and also for the good will they bare him. Now went *Crassus* from Rome, and camped in Romania, tarying *Spartacus* comming, who was marching thitherward. He sent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenants with two legions, to fetche a compasse about to intrappe the enemie behinde, straightly commanding him to follow *Spartacus* rereward, but in no case to offer him skirmish nor battell. But *Mummius* notwithstanding this straight commaundement, seeing some hope giuen him to doe good, set vpon *Spartacus*, who gaue him the ouerthrowe, slue numbers of his men, and moe had slaine, sauing that certaine of them saued themselues by

Clodius a Romaine Prætor, sent against Spartacus with 3000 men.

Clodius the Prætor ouercome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinus Prætor, sent against Spartacus.

Spartacus victorie of P. Varinus.

Gellius and Lentulus, both Consuls, sent against Spartacus.

Cassius ouercome by Spartacus.

Crassus sent against Spartacus.

Mummius, Crassus Lieutenant.

Mummius ouerthrowen of Spartacus.

flight, hauing only loſt their armor and weapons. Hereupon *Craſſus* was grieuouſly offended with *Mummius*, and receiuing his ſouldiers that fled, gaue them other armour and weapons, but yet vpon ſureties, that they ſhould keepe them better thencefoorth, than they had before done. Now *Craſſus* of the fiue hundred that were in the firſt ranckes, and that firſt fled, them he deuided into fiftie times ten, and out of euery one of thoſe he put one of them to death by lot fell out: renuing againe the ancient diſcipline of the ROMAINES to puniſh cowardly ſouldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in vſe. For it is a kinde of death that bringeth open ſhame withall, and becauſe it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the reſt due afraide to ſee the terror of this puniſhment. *Craſſus* hauing done execution in this ſort vpon his men, led his armie againſt *Spartacus*: who ſtill drue backe, vntill he came to the ſea ſide through the country of the LVCANIANS, where he found in the ſtraight of the Farre of MESSINA, certaine pirats ſhips of CILICIA, and there determined to go into SICILIA. And hauing put two thouſand men into SICILE, he then reuiued the warre there of the ſlaues, which was but in maner newly ended, and lacked ſmall prouocation to begin it againe. But theſe pirats hauing promiſed *Spartacus* to paſſe him ouer thither, and alſo taken giftes of him, deceiued him, and brake their promiſe. Whereupon *Spartacus* returning back againe from the ſea ſide, went and camped within a litle Ile of the RHEGIANS. *Craſſus* comming thither to ſeeke him, and perceiuing that the nature of the place taught him what he ſhould do: determined with a wall to choke vp the bar or channell entring into this litle Iland, both to keepe his men occupied from idleneſſe, and his enemies alſo from victuall. This was a maruellous huge and long peece of worke, notwithſtanding, *Craſſus* finiſhed it beyond all mens expectation in a very ſhort time, and brought a trenche from one ſide of the ſea to the other ouerthwart the barre, which was three hundred furlongs in length, fifteene foote broade, and ſo many in height: and vpon the top of this trenche built a high wall, of a maruellous ſtrength, whereat *Spartacus* at the firſt made light account, and laughed at it. But when pillage began to faile him, & trauelling all about the Ile for victuals, perceiuing himſelf to be ſhut in with this wall, and that there was no kinde of victuals to be had within all the compaſſe of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boiſterous night, the winde being very great, when it ſnowed exceedingly, ſet his men a worke, and filled vp a peece of the trenche (being a ſmall breadth) with earth, ſtones, and boughes of tree, whereupon he paſſed ouer the third part of his army. *Craſſus* at the firſt then became afraide, leaſt *Spartacus* would haue taken his way directly vpwarde ROME: but he was ſoone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling againſt *Spartacus*, went & camped by themſelues by the lake of LVCANIA, which water by reporte hath this variable propertie, that in certaine times it changeth and becommeth very ſweete, and at ſome other times againe ſalt and brackiſh, as no man can drinke it. *Craſſus* going to ſet vpon them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow them very farre: becauſe *Spartacus* came preſently to the reſcue with his armie, who ſtayed the chaſe. *Craſſus* had written letters before to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* home out of THRACIA, & *Pompey* out of SPAINE, when of he then repented him, and made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to end this warre, leaſt either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them ſo euer came to his helpe, to him would the people giue the honour of ending this warre, and not to him ſelfe. Wherefore he firſt determined to aſſaile them that had reuolted from *Spartacus*, and camped by themſelues, who were led by *Caius Canisius*, and an other called *Caſtus*. So *Craſſus* ſent ſix thouſand footmen before to take a hill, commaunding them to lie as cloſe as they could, that their enemies might not diſcouer them: and ſo they did, and couered their morians and headpeeces as well as might be, from being ſeene. Neuertheleſſe they were diſcouered by two women doing ſacrifice for the ſafetie of their armie: and thereupon were all in great hazard of caſting away, had not *Craſſus* bene, who came in time to their aide, and gaue the enemies the cruelleſt battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were ſlaine of the ſlaues at that battell, twelue thouſand and three hundred, of which, two onely were found hurt in the backes, and all the reſt ſlaine in the place of their ranckes, valiantly fighting where they were ſet in battell ray. *Spartacus* after this ouerthrowe, drew towards the mountaines of Petelie, whither *Quintius*

The Romaines maner of puniſhing cowardly ſouldiers.

Craſſus wonderfull trenche and wall.

A wonderfull nature of the water of the lake of Lucania.

Ambuſh laide by Craſſus.

The valiantnes of Spartacus ſouldiers.

Spartacus retyred to the mountaines of Petelie.

me of *Crassus* Lieutenants, and *Scrofa* his treasurer followed him, still skirmishing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, *Spartacus* turned sodainly vpon them, made the ROMAINES flie that stil harried his men in that sort, and hurt *Scrofa* *Crassus* treasurer so sore, that he hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the ROMAINS by this ouerthrow, fell out in the ende to the vtter destruction of *Spartacus*. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitive bondmen, grew to such a stoutnesse and pride of themselues, that they would no more flie from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their leaders and Captaines: but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their weapons, and tolde them, that they should go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through LVCANIA against the ROMAINES. All this made for *Crassus* as he wished, for he had receiued newes that *Pompey* was comming, and that diuers were suters for him at ROME to be sent in this iorney, saying, that the last victory of this warre was due to him, and that he would dispatche it at a battell, as soone as he came thither. *Crassus* therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as neere the enemie as he could, and made his men one day cast a trenche, which the bondmen seeking to preuent, came with great furie, & set vpon them that wrought. Whereupon fell out a hotte skirmish, and still supplies came on of either side: so that *Spartacus* in the ende perceiuing he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had set them in order, and that they brought him his horse he was wonte to fight on: he drew out his sworde, and before them all slue the horse dead in the place, saying: if it be my fortune to winne the field, I know I shall haue horse enow to serue my turne: and if I chance to be ouercome, then shall I need no more horses. After that, he flew in among the ROMAINS, thinking to attaine to fight with *Crassus*, but he could not come neere him: yet he slue with his owne hands two ROMAINE Centurions that resisted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forsooke him and fled, so as *Spartacus* was left alone among his enemies: who valiantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though *Crassus* fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had shewed himselfe a noble and valiant Captaine, venturing his person in any danger, yet he could not keepe *Pompey* from the honour of ending this warre: for the slaues that escaped from this last battell where *Spartacus* was slaine, fell into *Pompeyes* hands, who made an end of all those rebellious rascals. *Pompey* hereupon wrote to the Senate, that *Crassus* had ouercome the slaues in battell, but that he him selfe had pulled vp that warre euen by the very rootes. After this *Pompey* made his entrie into ROME, and triumphed for his victorie of *Sertorius*, and the conquest of SPAYNE. *Crassus* also sued not for the great triumphe, neither thought he the small Ouation triumphe a foote, which they granted him, any honour vnto him, for ouercomming a few fugitiue bondmen. But for this small triumphe, whereby it was called Ouatio, how much it differeth from the great triumphe: see *Marcellus* life, where we haue at large discoursed thereof. Now *Pompey* being called to be Consull: *Crassus*, though he stood in good hope to be chosen Consull with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his friendship and furtherance. *Pompey* was very willing to helpe him, and was euer desirous to make *Crassus* beholding to him: wherupon he delt friendly for him, and spake openly in the assemblie of the city, that he would no lesse thanke the people to appoint *Crassus* his companion and fellow Consull with him, then for making himselfe Consull. But notwithstanding they were both Consuls together in office, their friendship held not, but were euer at iarre, and the one against the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulship, without any memorable act done: sauing that *Crassus* made a great sacrifice to *Hercules*, and kept an open feast for the people of ROME of a thousand tables, and gaue to euery citizen corne to finde him three moneths. But in the ende of their Consulship, at a common councell holden, there was a knight of ROME called *Onatius Aurelius*: (a man not greatly knowne, for that he had no dealings in the state, and kept most in the country) who getting vp to the pulpit for orations: told the people what a vision he had seene in his dreame. *Iupiter*, said he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put *Crassus* and *Pompey* out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken the wordes, but the people commaunded them to be friends. *Pompey* sate still, and saide neuer a word to it. But *Crassus* rose, and tooke *Pompey* by the hand, & turning him to the people, tolde

The noble courage of Spartacus.

Spartacus slaine.

Pompeyes triumphe for Spaine.

Ouatio see Marcellus life.

Crassus made Consull with Pompey.

Crassus great feasting of the people of Rome.

The dreame of Onatius Aurelius.

Crassus and Pompey made friends.

them alowd: my Lords of ROME, I do nothing vnworthy of my selfe, to seeke *Pompeys* friendship and fauour first, since you your selues haue called him the great, before he had any haire vpon his face, and that ye gaue him the honor of triumphe, before he was Senatour. And this is all that *Crassus* did of any account in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it ouer without any acte done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the men of warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the peoples goods: although *Luctatius Catulus* was his colleague and fellow Censor, as gentle a person as any of that time that liued in Rome. Now *Crassus* at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent acte to bring EGYPT to pay tribute to the ROMAINES, *Catulus* did stoutly withstand him: whereby dissention falling out betwene them, they both did willingly resigne their office. In that great conspiracie of *Catiline*, which in manner ouerthrew the whole state and commonwealth of ROME, *Crassus* was had in some iealousie and mistrust: because there was one of the conspirates that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credit vnto him. Yet *Cicero* in an oration of his, doth plainly accuse *Crassus* & *Cæsar*, as confederats with *Catiline*: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authority of Consul ceased, he said: that *Crassus* came one night to him, & shewed him a letter touching *Catiline*, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause *Crassus* euer after hated him: and that he did not openly reuenge it, the let was by meane of his sonne. For *Publius Crassus* much fauouring eloquence, and being giuen to the booke, bare great good will vnto *Cicero*: in such sorte, that vpon his banishment he put on changed garments as *Cicero* did, and procured many other youthes to do the like also, and in fine, persuaded his father to become his friend. *Cæsar* now returning to ROME from the prouince he had in gouernement, intended to sue for the Consulship: and perceiuing that *Pompey* and *Crassus* were againe at a iarre, thought thus with himselfe, that to make the one of them his friend to further his sute, he should but procure the other his enemy: and minding therfore to attaine his desire with the fauor of them both, sought first the meanes to make them friends, and persuaded with them, that by their controuersie the one seeking the others vndoing, they did thereby but make *Cicero*, *Catulus*, and *Cato*, of the greater authoritie, who of themselues were of no power, if they two ioined in friendship together: for making both their friends & factions one, they might rule the state and commonwealth euen as they would. *Cæsar* hauing by his persuasion reconciled *Crassus* and *Pompey*, ioyning their three powers in one, made themselues vnuincible, which afterwards turned to the destruction of the people and Senate of ROME. For he made them not onely greater than they were before, the one by the others meanes: but himselfe also of great power through them. For when they began to fauour *Cæsar*, he was straight chosen Consull without any deniall: and so behaued himselfe in his Consulship, that at the length they gaue him charge of great armies, and then sent him to gouerne the GAVLES: which was, as a man may say, euen themselues to put him into the cattel that should keepe all the citie in subiection: imagining that they two should make spoile and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a gouernment. Now for *Pompey* the cause that made him commit this error was nothing else, but his extreame ambition. But as for *Crassus*, besides his old vice of couetousnesse rooted in him, he added to that a new auarice and desire of triumphes and victories, which *Cæsars* fame for prowesse and noble actes in warres did throughly kindle in him, that he being otherwise his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferior: which furie tooke such holde as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the commonwealth to great misery. Thus *Cæsar* being come out of his prouince of GAVLE vnto LVCA, diuerse ROMAINES went thither to see him, and among other *Pompey* and *Crassus*. They hauing talked with him in secret, agreed among them to deuise to haue the whole power of ROME in their hands: so that *Cæsar* should keepe his armie together, and *Crassus* and *Pompey* should take other prouinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should againe sue the second time to be Consuls, and that *Cæsars* friends at ROME should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of choosing the Consuls. Thereupon *Pompey* and *Crassus* returned to ROME to that ende, but not without suspition of their

Crassus Censor with Catulus.

Crassus suspected for Catilines conspiracie.

Crassus and Cæsar confederates with Catiline.

Crassus Ciceroes enemie.

Cæsar reconciled Crassus and Pompey together.

Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, all three ioyned in friendship.

Pompey and Crassus did meete with Cæsar at Luca.

their practise: for there ranne a rumor in the citie, that their meeting of *Cæsar* in Lvca, was for no good intent. Whereupon, *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* asked *Pompey* in open Senate, if he went to make sute to be Consull. *Pompey* aunswered them: peraduenture he did, peraduenture he did not. They asking him againe the same question: he aunswered, he would sue for the good men, not for the euill. *Pompeys* answers were thought very proud & haughty. How- beit *Crassus* aunswered more modestly, that if he saw it necessarie for the commonwealth, he would sue to be Consull: if not, that he would not stand for it. Vpon these words, some were bolde to make sute for the Consulship, as *Domitius* among other. But afterwards *Pompey* and *Crassus* standing openly for it, all the rest left off their sute for feare of them; *Domitius* only excepted: whome *Cato* so prayed and intreated, as his kinseman and friend, that he made him to seeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defence of their libertie, and saw that it was not the Consulship *Crassus* and *Pompey* looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyranny: and that they sued not for the office, but to get such prouinces and armies into their hands as they desired, vnder colour and countenance of the Consulship. *Cato* bringing these words into their eares, and beleeuing it certainly to be true as he said, brought *Domitius* as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men ioyned with thē: because they wondred what the matter meant that these two noble men should sue the second time to be Consuls, and why they made sute to be ioyned together, and not to haue any other with them, considering there were so many other worthie men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. *Pompey* fearing he should be preuented of his purpose, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongst other, when the day came to choose the Consuls, *Domitius* going earely in the morning before day, accompanied with his friends to the place where the election should be: his man that caried the torche before him was slaine, by some whom *Pompey* had laid in waite, and many of his companie hurt, and among others, *Cato*. And hauing thus dispersed them, he beset a house rounde about whither they fled for succour, and inclosed them there, vntill they were both chosen Consuls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and draue *Cato* out of the market place, and hue some of them that resisted and would not flie. They also then prolonged *Cæsars* gouernment of the Gavles for fiue yeares more, and procured for themselues by decree of the people, the countries of Syria and Spaine. Againe, when they drew lots together, Syria fell to *Crassus*, and Spaine to *Pompey*. Euery man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one side were loth *Pompey* should go farre from Rome: and himself also louing his wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so neere her, that he might remaine the most of his time at Rome. But *Crassus* of all other reioyced most at his hap, that he should go into Syria: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happiest turne that euer came to him, for he would euer be talking of the iourney, were he in neuer so great or strange company. Furthermore, being among his friends and familiars, he would giue out such fonde boasts of it, as no young man could haue made greater vauntes: which was cleane contrary to his yeares and nature, hauing liued all his life time as modestly, and with as small ostentation as any man liuing. But then forgetting himselfe too much, had such fonde conceits in his head, as he not only hoped after the conquest of Syria, and of the Parthians, but flattered himselfe that the world should see all that *Lucullus* had done against king *Tigranes*, and *Pompey* against king *Mithridates*, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the Bactrians, the Indians, and the great Ocean sea toward the East, though in the decree passed by the people, there was no mention made of any warres against the Parthians. Now euery man saw *Crassus* ambition and greedie desire of honor: insomuch as *Cæsar* himselfe wrote vnto *Crassus* out of Gavle, commending his noble intent and forwardnesse, and wished him to goe thorow therewith. But *Atteius* one of the Tribunes being bent against *Crassus* to withstand his departure: (hauing diuers other confederates with him to further his purpose, who much misliked that any man of a brauery & lustines should make war with any nation or people that had no way offended the Romaines, but were their friends & confederates) *Crassus* fearing this conspiracy, praied *Pompey* to assist and accompany him out of the city, because he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then.

Pompeys flouts aunswer.

Crassus modest aunswer.

Pompey made himselfe and *Crassus* Consuls by force.

Pompey and *Crassus* Consuls the second time.

Crassus had the gouernment of Syria.

Atteius the Tribune, against *Crassus* departure

For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let *Crassus* of his departure, and to crie out vpon him: yet when they saw *Pompey* go before him, with a pleasant smyling countenance, they quieted themselues, and made a lane for them, suffering them to passe on, and said nothing. This notwithstanding, *Atteius* the Tribune stepped before them, and commaunded *Crassus* he should not depart the city, with great protestations if he did the contrary. But perceiuing *Crassus* still held on his way notwithstanding, he commanded then one of the officers to lay hold of him, and to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not suffer the officer to do it. So the sergeant dismissed *Crassus*. Then *Atteius* running towards the gate of the city, got a chafingdish with coles, and set it in the middest of the streete. When *Crassus* came against it, he cast in certaine perfumes, and made sprinclings ouer it, pronouncing horrible curses, and calling vpon terrible and strange names of gods. The ROMAINES say that those manner of curses are very auncient, but yet very secret, and of so great force: he that is once cursed with that curse can neuer escape it, nor he that vseth it dooth euer prosper after it. And therefore fewe men do vse it, and neuer but vpon vrgent occasion. But then they much reproued *Atteius*, for vsing of these dreadfull ceremonies and extreame curses, which were much hurtefull to the commonwealth, although he for his countries sake had thus cursed *Crassus*. *Crassus* setting forward notwithstanding, sailed on, and arriued at BRYNDVSIVM, when winter stormes had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his ships: howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the country of GALATIA. There he found king *Deiotarus*, a very old man and yet building a new city: and to taunt him pretily, said vnto him, What, O king, begin you to builde now in the afternoone? To whom the king of the GALATIANS againe smiling made aunswer. And truely Syr Captaine, you goe not very early (me thinkes) to make warre with the PARTHIANS. For indeed *Crassus* was threescore and vpward, and yet his face made him seeme elder then he was. But to our story againe. *Crassus* being come into the country, had as good luck as he looked for: for he easily built a bridge vpon the riuer of Euphrates, and passed his armie ouer it without any let or trouble. So entring into MESOPOTAMIA, receiued many cities, that of good will yeelded themselues vnto him. Howbeit there was one city called ZENODOTIA, wherof *Appolonius* was tyrant, whom *Crassus* lost a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooke it by force, sacked their goods, and solde the prisoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this citie ZENODOTIA, and for winning of the same *Crassus* suffered his men to call him Imperator, to say, soueraigne Captaine: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a base minde, as one that had small hope to attaine to great things, making such reckoning of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seauen thousand of his foote men in garrison, in those cities that had yeelded vnto him, and about a thousand horsmen: he returned backe to winter in SYRIA. Thither came his sonne *Publius Crassus* to him out of GAVLE from *Iulius Cæsar*, who had giuen him such honours, as Generals of ROME did vse to giue to valiant souldiers for rewarde of their good seruice: and brought vnto his father a thousand men of armes, all choise men. This me thinkes was the greatest fault *Crassus* committed in all his enterprise of that warre. For when he should presently haue gone on still, and entred into BABYLON and SELEVCIA, (cities that were euer enemies vnto the PARTHIANS) he tracted time, & gaue them leisure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come against them. Againe they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in SYRIA, seeming rather to leade a marchants life, than a chiefetaines. For he neuer sawe his armie, nor trained them out to any martiall exercise, but fell to counting the reuenue of the cities, and was many daies busily occupied weying of the golde and siluer in the temple of the goddesse *Hierapolis*. And worse then that: he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him, to furnish him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would discharge them for a summe of money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, & despised of euery body. The first token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddesse *Hierapolis*, whom some suppose to be *Venus*, other say *Iuno*, and others, that she is the mother and chiefe cause that giueth beginning of moisture to euery thing that commeth forth and hath a being, and taught men the originall cause also of euery good thing. For as *Crassus* the father, & sonne both,

Obseruations of cursings among the Romaines.

Crassus iorney into Syria.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia.

Crassus passeth ouer the riuer of Euphrates.

Zenodotia taken by Crassus.

Publius Crassus came to his father in Syria

Great faults committed by Crassus.

both, were comming out of the temple: *Crassus* the younger fell first on his face, and the father afterwardes vpon his sonne. Likewise as he was gathering his garrisons together, calling them out of the cities into the field, there came Ambassadours vnto him from *Arsaces*, king of the PARTHIANS: who deliuered him their message in few words, and told him, that if this army he brought came from the ROMAINES to make warre with their maister, then that he would haue no peace nor friendship with them, but would make mortall warres against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard say) that *Crassus* against the peoples mindes of ROME, for his owne couetous desire, and peculiar profite was come in a iolity to make warre with the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their countrey; then in that respect *Arsaces* would deale more fauorably, in consideration of *Crassus* yeares, and was contented also to suffer his men to depart with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in prison, then in garrison within his cities. Thereto *Crassus* coragiously aunswered, that he would make them aunswere in the city of SELEVCIA. Therewith *Vagises* one of the eldest Ambassadors fell a laughing, and shewing *Crassus* the palme of his hand, told him thus: hair will sooner grow in the palme of my hand, *Crassus*, then you will come to SELEVCIA. In this sort the Ambassadors tooke their leaue of *Crassus*, and returned to their king *Hyrodes*, telling him he was to prepare for warre. In the meane space, certaine of *Crassus* souldiers whom he had left in garrison in the cities of MESOPOTAMIA, hauing scaped maruellous daungerously and with great difficulty: brought him newes of importance, hauing themselues seene the wonderfull great campe of the enemy, and their maner of fight in the assaults they made to the cities where they lay in garrison. And, as it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any daunger, making things more fearefull and daungerous then they be in deede: they reported that it was vnpossible by flying to saue themselues, if they did follow in chase: neither to ouertake them also, if they fled. And further, that they had such kinde of arrowes as would flie swifter, then a mans eye could discerne them, and would pearce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who shot them. Besides, for the horsemens weapons they vsed, that they were such, as no armour could possibly hold out: and their armors on the other side made of such a temper and metall, as no force of any thing could pearce them through. The ROMAINES hearing these newes, fell from their former stoutnes and courage, being borne in hand before, that the PARTHIANS differed nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, whom *Lucullus* had ouercome and spoiled so oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made account, that their greatest paines in this warre, was but the tediousnes of the iourney they had to make, and the trouble they should haue to follow those men that would not abide them. But then contrarie to expectation, they looked to come to strokes, and to be lustely fought withall. Hereupon, diuers Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom *Cassius* the treasurer was one) aduised *Crassus* to stay, and to deliberate in councell to know whether he were best to goe on, or to remaine where he was. The Soothsaiers them selues did partly let *Crassus* vnderstand, that the goddes shewed no good tokens in all their sacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But *Crassus* gaue no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him as much, but only listned to them that counselled him to make hast. Yet *Crassus* chiefest comfort and incoragement, was of *Artabazes*, king of ARMENIA, who came to his campe with fiue thousand horse, which were but onely the kings cornet and guard. Againe he promised him other tenne thousand horsemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thousand footemen which he kept continually in pay, and counselled *Crassus* to enter the PARTHIANS country vpon ARMENIAES side: because his campe should not onely haue plenty of victuals, which he would send him out of his country, but for that he should also march in more safety, hauing a countrey full of mountaines and wods before him very ill for horsemen, which was the onely strength and force of the PARTHIANS. *Crassus* coldly thanked *Artabazes* for his good will, & al his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his iorney through MESOPOTAMIA, where he had left many good souldiers of the ROMAINS. And thus departed the king of ARMENIA from him. But now as *Crassus* was passing his army vpō the bridge he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, there fell out sodaine strange and terrible cracks of thunder, with fearefull flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: moreouer, out of a great blacke cloude

The first signes of Crassus ill lucke.

This name of Arsaces, or Arsacides, was common to all the kings of the Parthians.

Ambassadors of the Parthians sent to Crassus.

Vagises words, shewing Crassus the palme of his hand.

Hyrodes king of the Parthians.

Cassius treasurer vnder Crassus.

Crassus forewarned by the Soothsayers of his ill successe.

Artabazes king of Armenia, came to Crassus campe.

wonderfull signes & tokens to Crassus.

came a wonderfull ſtorme and tempeſt of winde vpon the bridge, that the maruellous force thereof ouerthrew a great part of the bridge, and carried it quite away. Beſides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twiſe ſtriken with two great thunder clappes. One of his great horſe in like caſe, being brauely furniſhed and ſet out, tooke the bit in his teeth, and leapt into the riuer with his rider on his backe, who were both drowned, and neuer ſeene after. They ſay alſo, that the firſt Eagle and enſigne that was to be taken vp when they marched, turned backe of it ſelfe, without any handes layed vppon it. Further it fortuned that as they were diſtributing the victuals vnto the ſouldiers, after they had all paſſed ouer the bridge, the firſt thing that was giuen them, was ſalt, and water lintels, which the ROMAINES take for a token of death and mourning, becauſe they vſe it at the funerals of the dead. After all this, when *Craſſus* was exhorting his ſouldiers, a word ſcaped his mouth that troubled the army maruellouſly. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which hee had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, of purpoſe, becauſe there ſhould not a man of them returne backe againe. Wherein deede when he had ſeene that they tooke this word in ill part, he ſhould haue called it in againe, or haue declared his meaning, ſeeing his men ſo amazed therewith: but he made light of it, he was ſo wilfull. In the end he made ordinary ſacrifice for the purging of his army: and when the Soothſayer gaue him the intrailes of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, they fell out of his handes. *Craſſus* perceiuing that the ſtanders by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them, you ſee what age is: yet ſhall you not ſee my ſword fall out of my hand. So hauing ended his ſacrifice, he beganne to march forward into the countrey by the riuer ſide, with ſeuen legions of footemen, and little lacke of foure thouſand horſe, and in manner as many ſhot and ſlings lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his ſkoutes that had viewed the countrey, and told him there was not an enemy to be ſeen in the field: howbeit that they had found the tracke of a maruellous number of horſe, which ſeemed as they were returned backe. Then *Craſſus* firſt of all beganne to hope well: and his ſouldiers alſo, they fell to deſpiſe the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet *Caſſius* his treaſurer euer perſwaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to refreſh his army a litle in one of the cities where he had his garriſon, vntill ſuch time as he heard more certain news of the enemies: or elſe that he would march directly towards SELEVCIA by the riuers ſide, which lay fit for him to victuall himſelfe eaſily by botes that would alwaies follow his campe, and ſhould be ſure beſides that the enemies could not enuiron him behind, ſo that hauing no way to ſet vpon them but before, they ſhould haue none aduantage of them. *Craſſus* going about then to conſult of the matter, there came one *Ariamnes* vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine ſubtill fellow, which was the greateſt miſchiefe and euill that fortune could ſend to *Craſſus* at that preſent time, to bring him to vtter ruine and deſtruction. For there were ſome of *Craſſus* ſouldiers that had ſerued *Pompey* before in that countrey, who knew him very well, and remembred that *Pompey* had done him great pleaſures: whereupon they thought that he bare great good will to the ROMAINES. But *Ariamnes* had bene laboured at that time by the king of PARTHIAES Captains, and was won by them to deceiue *Craſſus*, and to entiſe him all he could, to draw him from the riuer and the woddy countrey, & to bring him into the plaine field, where they might compaſſe him in with their horſemen: for their determent nothing leſſe then to fight with the ROMAINES at the ſwordes point. This barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* comming to *Craſſus*, did highly praiſe and commend *Pompey*, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent ſpoken man) and extolled *Craſſus* army, reproouing him that he came ſo ſlowly forward, tracting time in that ſort as he did, preparing himſelfe as though he had neede of armor and weapon, and not of feete and hands ſwift and ready againſt the enemies: who (for the chiefeſt of them) had of long time occupied themſelues to flie with their beſt moueables, towards the deſerts of SCYTHIA and HYRCANIA. Therefore if you determine (ſaid he) to fight, it were good you made haſt to meete them, before the king haue gathered all his power together. For now you haue but *Surena* and *Syllaces*, two of his Lieutenaunts againſt you, whom he hath ſent before to ſtay you that you follow him not: and for the king him ſelfe, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lied in all. For king *Hyrodes* had deuided his army in two partes at the firſt, whereof him ſelfe tooke the one, and

Craſſus army was fifty thouſand men.

Ariamnes, a Captaine of the Arabians.

Ariamnes deceiueth Craſſus

Surena and Syllaces, Arſaces Lieutenants.

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went to spoile the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king *Artabazes*: and with the other he sent *Surena* against the ROMAINES, not for any contempt he had of *Crassus* (for it was not likely he would disdaine to come to battel with him, being one of the chiefest noble men of ROME, & to thinke it more honorable to make warre with king *Artabazes* in ARMENIA) but I thinke rather he did it of purpose to auoide the greater daunger, and to keepe farre off, that he might with safety see what would happen, and therefore sent *Surena* before to hazard battell, and to turne the ROMAINES backe againe. For *Surena* was no meane man, but the second person of PARTHIA next vnto the king: in riches, reputation, valure, and experience in warres, the chiefest of his time among all the PARTHIANS, and for execution, no man like him. *Surena*, whē he did but remoue into the country only with his houshold, had a thousand camels to cary his sumpters, and two hundred coches of Curtisans; a thousand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many moe besides lightly armed: so that his whole traine and court made aboue ten thousand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancesters, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the roiall crown or diademe vpon the kings head. Moreouer, he had restored king *Hyrodes* that then raigned, to his crowne, who had bene before driuen out of his realme: and had wonne him also the great city of SELEVCIA, him selfe being the first man that scaled the wals, and ouerthrew them with his owne handes that resisted him. And though he was vnder thirty yeares of age, yet they counted him a wise man, as well for his counsell, as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he ouercame *Crassus*. Who through his rashnes and folly at the first, and afterwards for very feare and timerousnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* hauing then brought *Crassus* to beleeue all that he said, and drawen him by perswasion from the riuer of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plaine country, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, because they entred into sandes where their feete suncke deepe, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could discerne by eye, so that not onely extreame thirst, and miserable way maruellously amazed the ROMAINS, but the discomfort of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight vpon: that, aboue all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For, neither far nor neare any sight of tree, riuer, brooke, mountaine, grasse, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an endlesse sea of desert sandes on euery side, round about their campe. Then beganne they to suspect that they were betraied. Again, when newes came that *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, was kept in his country with a great war king *Hyrodes* made vpon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towardes ARMENIA, that both their armies being ioyned together they might the better fight with king *Hyrodes*, if not, that he would alwaies keep the woddy country, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountaines: *Crassus* was so wilfull, as he would write no aunswere to it, but angrily told the messenger, that he had no leysure then to hearken to the ARMENIANS, but that afterwardes he would be reuenged well enough of *Artabazes* treason. *Cassius* his treasurer was much offended with *Crassus* for this answere: howbeit perceiuing he could do no good with him, and that he tooke euery thing in euill part, he said vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking *Ariamnes* this Captaine of the ARMENIANS a side, he rebuked him roundly, and said: O thou wretch, what cursed deuill hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched & charmed *Crassus*: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captaine of theeues, then for a Generall and Consull of the ROMAINES? *Ariamnes* being crafty and subtil, speaking gently vnto *Cassius*, did comfort him, and prayed him to haue patience, and going and comming by the bandes, seeming to helpe the souldiers, he told them merily: O my fellowes, I beleeue you thinke to marche through the countrey of *Naples*, and looke to meete with your pleasaunt springs, goodly groues of wodde, your naturall bathes, and the good innes round about to refreshe you, and doe not remember that you passe through the desertes of ARABIA and ASSYRIA. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMAINES a while: but afterwardes he dislodged betimes, before he

Surena sent against Crassus.

Surena what he was.

Surenas court and traine.

Surena a yong man, but very wise.

Artabazes sendeth an Embassage vnto Crassus.

Crassus wilfulnes.

was openly knowen for a traitor, and yet not without *Crassus* priuity, whom he bare in hand that he would goe set some broile and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that *Crassus* the very same day came out of his tent not in his coate armor, of scarlet, (as the manner was of the ROMAINE Generals) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembring him selfe, he straight chaunged it againe. It is saied moreouer, that the ensigne bearers when they should march away, had much a doe to plucke their ensignes out of the ground, they stucke so fast. But *Crassus* scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to march forward, compelling the footemen to goe as fast as the horsemen, till a few of their skowtes came in, whom they had sent to discouer: who brought newes how the enemies had slaine their fellowes, and what a doe they had them selues to scape with life, and that they were a maruellous great army, and well appointed to giue them battell. This newes made all the campe afraied, but *Crassus* selfe more then the rest, so as he beganne to set his men in battell ray, being for hast in maner besides him selfe. At the first following *Cassius* minde, he set his ranckes wide, casting his souldiers into a square battell, a good way a sunder one from an other, because hee would take in as much of the plaine as he could, to keepe the enemies from compassing them in, and so deuided the horsemen into the wings. Yet afterwardes he chaunged his minde againe, and straighted the battell of his footemen, fashioning it like a bricke, more long then broad, making a front, and shewing their faces euery way, For there were twelue cohorts or ensignes imbatteled on either side, and by euery cohort a company of horse, because there should be no place left without aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be a like defended. Then he gaue *Cassius* the leading of one wing, his sonne *Publius Crassus* the other, and him selfe led the battell in the middest. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called Balissus where there was no great store of water, but yet happily lighted on for the souldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painefull way, where they had meete with no water before. There the most part of *Crassus* Captaines thought best to campe all night, that they might in the meane time finde meanes to know their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But *Crassus* yeelding to his sonnes and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to march on with his army, and to set vpon the enemy presently: commaunded, that such as would eate, should eate standing, keeping their ranckes. Yet on the sodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole army, he commaunded them againe to march, not faire and softly as when they go to giue battell, but with speede, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the ROMAINES at the first to be so great a number, neither so brauely armed as they thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, *Surena* had of purpose hid them with certaine troupes he sent before: and to hide their bright armors, he had cast cloakes and beasts skins vpon them, but when both the armies approached neare the one to the other, and that the signe to giue charge was lift vp in the aire: first they filled the fielde with a dreadfull noise to heare. For the PARTHIANS doe not encorage their men to fight with the sound of a horne, neither with trumpets nor howboies, but with great kettle drums hollow within, and about them they hang litle bels and copper rings, & with them they all make a noise euery where together, and it is like a dead sound, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wilde beast, & a fearefull noise as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the sences that sooneste moueth the heart and spirit of any man, and maketh him sooneste besides him selfe. The ROMAINES being put in feare with this dead sound, the PARTHIANS straight threw the clothes & couerings from them that hid their armor, & then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered steele, that glared like fire, & their horses barbed with steele and copper. And *Surena* also, General of the PARTHIANS, who was as goodly a personage, and as valiant, as any other in all his hoast, though his beauty somewhat effeminate, in iudgement shewed small likelihood of any such corage: for he painted his face, and ware his haire after the fashion of the MEDES, contrary to the maner of the PARTHIANS, who let their hair grow after the fashion of the TARTARES, without cõbing or tricking of them, to appeare more terrible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the first thought to haue set vpon the ROMAINES with their pikes, to see if they could breake their first ranckes. But when they drew neare, and saw

Crassus army against the Parthians.

Surenes stratageme, for the hiding of his great army.

Crassus battell with the Parthians.

The Parthians kettle drums.

The person of Surena, Generall of the Parthians described.

saw the depth of the ROMAINES battell standing close together, firmely keeping their rancks: then they gaue backe, making as though they fled, and dispersed them selues. But the ROMAINES maruelled when they found it contrary, and that it was but a deuise to enuiron them on euery side. Whereupon *Crassus* commanded his shot and light armed men to assaile them, the which they did: but they went not farre, they were so beaten in with arrowes, and driuen to retire to their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both feared and troubled the ROMAINES, when they saw the vehemency and great force of the enemies shot, which brake their armors, and ran through any thing they hit, were it neuer so hard or soft. The PARTHIANS thus still drawing backe, shot al together on euery side, not a foro hand, but at aduenture: for the battell of the ROMAINES stoode so neare together, as if they would, they could not misse the killing of some. These bowmen drew a great strength, and had big strong bowes, which sent the arrowes from them with a wonderful force. The ROMAINS by means of these bowes were in hard state. For if they kept their rancks, they were grieuously wounded: againe if they left them, and sought to run vpon the PARTHIANS to fight at hand with them, they saw they could do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme them selues. For, as fast as the ROMAINES came vpon them, so fast did the PARTHIANS flie from them, and yet in flying continued still their shooting: which no nation but the SCYTHIANS could better doe then they, being a matter in deede most greatly to their aduantage. For by their flight they best doe saue them selues, and fighting still, they thereby shunne the shame of that their flying. The ROMAINES still defended them selues, and held it out, so long as they had any hope that the PARTHIANS would leaue fighting, when they had spent their arrowes or would ioyne battell with them. But after they vnderstoode that there were a great number of camels loden with quiuers full of arrowes, where the first that had bestowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quiuers: then *Crassus* seeing no end of their shotte, began to faint, and sent to *Publius* his sonne, willing him in any case to charge vpon the enemies, and to giue on set, before they were compassed in on euery side. For it was on *Publius* side, that one of the wings of the enemies battell was neareste vnto them, and where they rode vp and downe to compasse them behinde. Whereuppon *Crassus* sonne taking thirteene hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thousand were of the men of armes whom *Iulius Cæsar* sent) and fiue hundred shot, with eight ensignes of footemen hauing targets, most neare to the place where him selfe then was: he put them out in bredth, that wheeling about they might giue a charge vpon them that rode vp and downe. But they seeing him comming, turned straight their horse and fled, either because they met in a marishe, or else of purpose to beguile this young *Crassus*, minding him thereby as farre from his father as they could. *Publius Crassus* seeing them flie, cried out, these men will not abide vs, and so spurred on for life after them: so did *Censorinus* and *Megabacchus* with him (tho one a Senatour of ROME a very eloquent man, the other a stout coragious valiant man of warre) both of them *Crassus* well approued friendes, and in maner of his owne yeares. Now the horsemen of the ROMAINES being trained out thus to the chase, their footemen also would not abide behinde, nor shew them selues to haue lesse hope, ioy and corage, then their horsemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chase till they were gone farre from the army, and then they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, sodainely turned againe, and a number of others besides came and set vpon them. Whereuppon they staied, thinking that the enemies perceiuing they were so few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. Howbeit they sette out against them their men at armes with their barbed horse, and made their light horsemen wheele round about them, keeping no order at all: who gallowping vp and down the plaine, whirled vp the sand hils from the bottome with their horse feete, which raised such a wonderfull dust, that the ROMAINES could scarce see or speake one to an other. For they being shut vp into a litle roome, and standing close one to another, were sore wounded with the PARTHIANS arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting them selues vppon the sand, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Againe, striuing by force to plucke out the forked arrowe heades, that had pearced farre into their bodies through their vains and sinewes: thereby they opened

The Parthians fought retyring.

The maner of the Parthians fight.

The praise of Censorinus and Megabacchus.

The miserable fight of the Romaines against the Parthians.

their woundes wider, and ſo caſt them ſelues away. Many of them died thus miſerably martyred: and ſuch as died not, were not able to defend them ſelues. Then when *Publius Craſſus* prayed and beſought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horſe, they ſhewed him their hands faſt nailed to their targets with arrowes, and their feete likewiſe ſhot through and nailed to the ground: ſo as they could neither flie nor yet defend them ſelues. Thereupon him ſelfe encoraging his horſemen, went and gaue a charge, and did valiantly ſet vpon the enemies, but it was with too great diſaduantage, both for offence, and alſo for defence. For him ſelfe and his men with weake and light ſtaues, brake vpon them that were armed with curaces of ſteele, or ſtiffe leather iackes. And the PARTHIANS in contrary maner with mighty ſtrong pikes gaue charge vpon theſe GAVLES, which were either vnarmed, or elſe but lightly armed. Yet thoſe were they in whom *Craſſus* moſt truſted, hauing done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they receiued the PARTHIANS pikes in their handes, and tooke them about the middels, and threw them off their horſe, where they lay on the ground, and could not ſturre for the weight of their harneſſe: and there were diuerſe of them alſo that lighting from their horſe, lay vnder their enemies horſe bellies, and thruſt their ſwordes into them. Their horſe flinging and bounding in the aire for very paine threw their maſters vnder feete, & their enemies one vpon an other, and in the end fell dead among them. Moreouer, extreame heate and thirſt did maruellouſly comber the GAVLES, who were vſed to abide neither of both: and the moſt part of their horſe were ſlaine, charging with all their power vpon the men at armes of the PARTHIANS, and ſo ranne them ſelues in vpon the points of their pikes. At the length they were driuen to retire towards their fotemen, and *Publius Craſſus* among them, who was very ill by reaſon of the woundes he had receiued. And ſeeing a ſand hill by chaunce not farre from them, they went thither, and ſetting their horſe in the middeſt of it, compaſſed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defend them ſelues the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they found it contrary. For the countrey being plaine, they in the formoſt rankes did ſomewhat couer them behinde, but they that were behinde, ſtanding higher then they that ſtoode formoſt (by reaſon of the nature of the hil that was higheſt in the middeſt) could by no meanes ſaue them ſelues, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miſery and misfortune, that muſt needes die without reuenge, or declaration of their valiancy. At that preſent time there were two GRECIANS about *Publius Craſſus*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nicomachus*, who dwelt in thoſe quarters, in the city of CARRE. they both counſelled *P. Craſſus* to ſteale away with them, and to flie to a city called ISCHNE, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the ROMAINES part. But *P.* aunſwered them, that there was no death ſo cruell as could make him forſake them, that died for his ſake. When he had ſo ſayd, wiſhing them to ſaue them ſelues, he embraced them, and tooke his leaue of them: and being very ſore hurt with the ſhot of an arrow through one of his handes, commanded one of his gentlemen to thruſt him through with a ſword, and ſo turned his ſide to him for that purpoſe. It is reported *Cenſorinus* did the like. But *Megabacchus* ſlue him ſelfe with his owne handes, and ſo did the moſt part of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left aliue, the PARTHIANS got vp the ſand hill, and fighting with them, thruſt them through with their ſpeares and pikes, and tooke but fiue hundred priſoners. After that, they ſtroke off *Publius Craſſus* head, and thereupon returned ſtraight to ſet vpon his father *Craſſus*, who was then in this ſtate. *Craſſus* the father, after he had willed his ſon to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and purſued the chaſe: & perceiuing alſo that they that remained in their great battell, did not preaſe vpon him ſo neare as they did before, becauſe that a great number of them were gone after the other for reſcue: he then began to be liuely againe, and keeping his men cloſe, retyred with them the beſt he could by a hill ſide, looking euer that his ſonne would not be long before that hee returned from the chaſe. But *Publius* ſeeing him ſelfe in daunger, had ſent diuerſe meſſengers to his father, to aduertiſe him of his diſtreſſe, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and ſlue by the way: and the laſt meſſengers he ſent, ſcaping very hardly, brought *Craſſus* newes, that his ſonne was but caſt away, if he did not preſently aide him, and that with a great power. Theſe newes were grieuous to *Craſſus* in two reſpects: firſt for the feare he had, ſeeing him ſelfe in daunger to loſe all: and ſecondly

Carres a city of Meſopotamia. *Iſchnes, a city.*

The death of Publius Craſſus.

secondly for the vehement desire he had to goe to his sonnes helpe. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to go with all his power, to the rescue of his sonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his sonnes ouerthrow, with a more dreadfull noyse and crie of victorie, than euer before: and thereupon their deadly sounding droms filled the aire with their wonderfull noise. The ROMAINES then looked straight for a hot allarme. But the PARTHIANS that brought *Publius Crassus* head vpon the point of a lance, comming neere to the ROMAINES, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision, if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parents: for it is not likely (said they) that so noble and valiant a young man, should be the sonne of so cowardly a father, as *Crassus*. The sight of *Publius Crassus* head killed the ROMAINES hearts more, than any other daunger they had bene in at any time in all the battell. For it did not set their hearts a fire as it should haue done, with anger, and desire of reuenge: but farre otherwise, made them quake for feare, it stroke them starcke dead to behold it. Yet *Crassus* selfe shewed greater courage in this misfortune, than he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by euery band he cried out aloude. The griefe and sorrow of this losse (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine only: but the noble successe and honor of ROME remaineth still vnuincible, so long as you are yet liuing. Now, if you pitie my losse of so noble and valiant a sonne, my good souldiers, let me intreate you to turne your sorrow into furie: make them deerely buy the ioy, they haue gotten: be reuenged of their cruelties, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why: aspiring mindes sometime must needes susteine losse. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio Antiochus*, but their bloud did pay for it. Our auncesters in olde time lost a thousand shippes, yea in ITALIE diuers armies and chiefetaines for the conquest of SICILIA: yet for all the losse of them, at the length they were victorious ouer them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of ROME came not to that greatnesse it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by patience and constant suffering of trouble and aduersitie, neuer yeelding or giuing place vnto any enimie. *Crassus* vsing these perswasions to encourage his souldiers for resolution, found that his wordes wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commaunded them to giue the showte of battell, he plainely sawe their heartes were done, for that their showt rose but faint, and not all alike. The PARTHIANS on the other side, their showt was great, and lustely they rang it out. Now when they came to ioyne, the PARTHIANS archers on horsebacke compassing in the ROMAINS vpō the wings, shot an infinite number of arrows at their sides. Their men at armes giuing charge vpon the front of the ROMAINS battel with their great launces, compelled them to draw into a narrow roome, a fewe excepted, that valiantly, and in desperate maner ranne in among them, as men rather desiring so to die, than to be slaine with their arrows, where they could do the PARTHIANS almost no hurt at all. So were they soone ouercome, with the great launces that ranne them through, head, wood and all, with such a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, saying: they would giue *Crassus* that nights respit, to lament and bewaile his sonnes death: vnlesse that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his safety to come and offer him selfe to king *Arsaces* mercy, then to tarie to be brought vnto him by force. So the PARTHIANS camping hard by the ROMAINS, were in very good hope to ouerthrow him the next morning. The ROMAINES on the other side had a maruellous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dresse their wounded men, that died in miserable paine: but euery man bewailed his hard fortune, when they saw not one of them could escape, if they taried til the morning. On the other side, to depart in the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieue them much. Because, to cary them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leaue them so behinde, their painfull cries would giue the enemies knowledge of their departure. Now, though they all thought *Crassus* the only author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But *Crassus* went a side without light, and layed him downe with his head couered, because he would see no man, shewing thereby the common sort an example of vnstable fortune: and the wise men, a good learning to know the fruites of ill counsel, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaund so many

Crassus oration to his souldiers when his heart was full of sorrow.

Crassus an example of fortunes inconstancie.

thousandes of men, but thought (as a man would say) himselfe the meanest of all other, and one that possest nothing, because he was accounted inferior vnto two persons onely, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. Notwithstanding, *Octauius* one of his chiefetaines, and *Cassius* the treasurer, made him rise, and sought to comfort him the best they could. But in the end, seeing him so ouercome with sorrow, and out of heart, that he had no life nor spirite in him: they themselues called the Captaines and Centurions together, and sate in counsell for their departure, and so agreed that there was no longer tarying for them. Thus of their owne authority at the first they made the armie march away without any sound of trumpet or other noyse. But immediately after, they that were left hurt and sicke, and could not follow, seeing the campe remoue, fell a crying out and tormenting themselues in such sort, that they filled the whole campe with sorrow, and put them out of all order with the great mone and loude lamentation: so as the formost ranke that first dislodged, fell into a maruellous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and set vppon them. Then turning off, and setting themselues in battell ray, one while loading their beasts with the wounded men, an other while vnloding them again, they were left behinde, sauing three hundred horsemen that scaped, who came about midnight to the citie of CARRES. *Ignatius* their Captaine called to the watch on the walles, and spake in the Latine tongue. Who answering, he willed them to tell *Coponius*, Gouernour of the towne, that *Crassus* had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and said no more, neither tolde what he was: but rode on still, till he came to the bridge which *Crassus* had made ouer Euphrates. Yet this word *Ignatius* gaue to the watch to tell *Coponius*, serued *Crassus* very well. For *Coponius* thought by this great hast of his, and the shorte confused speeche he made, passing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he straight armed his souldiers, and vnderstanding that *Crassus* was returning backe, went to meete him, and brought him & his army into the city of CARRES. The PARTHIANS knew well enough the remouing of the ROMAINS campe, but yet would not follow thē in the night, but the next morning entring into their campe where they lay, slue all that were left behinde, which were about foure thousand men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many straggling in the plaine. Among them there was *Barguntinus*, one of *Crassus* Lieutenants, who straied in the night out of the army with foure whole ensignes, and hauing lost his way, got a hill, where the PARTHIANS besieged him, slue him and all his company, though he valiantly there defended himselfe: yet twenty of them onely escaped, who with their swordes drawne in their hands, running forward with their heads, thrust in among the thickest of the PARTHIANS. They wondering at their desperation, opened of themselues, & suffered them to march onwards to the city of CARRES. In the meane time false newes was brought to *Surena*, how *Crassus* with all the chiefest men of his host was fled, & that the great number that were receiued into the city of CARRES were men of all sorts gathered together, and not a man of any qualitie or estimation. *Surena* thereupon thinking he had lost the honour of his victory, yet standing in some doubt of it, because he would know the troth, that he might either besiege the citie of CARRES, or pursue after *Crassus*: sent one of his interpreters to the walles of the city, charging him to cal for *Crassus*, or *Cassius*, and to tell them that *Surena* would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commaunded. Word was brought to *Crassus*, and he accepted the parlance. Shortly after also, thither came certaine souldiers of the ARABIANS from the campe of the PARTHIANS, who knew *Crassus* and *Cassius* very well by sight, hauing diuers times seene them in their campe before the battell. These ARABIANS seeing *Cassius* vpon the walles, called him, that *Surena* was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe safely, as his maisters good friendes, so that they would surrender MESOPOTAMIA into the king of PARTHIANS handes, and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather than to be enforced vnto it by extremity. *Cassius* thought this a good offer, and told them, that they must appoint the day and place, where *Crassus* and *Surena* should meete to talke together of the matter. The ARABIANS made answere they would doe it: and so departed. *Surena* hearing this, was glad he had them at such aduantage, where he might besiege them. The next day he brought all his army before the city of CARRES. There the PARTHIANS maruellously reuiled the ROMAINES, and told them, they must deliuer them *Crassus* and *Cassius* bound hands

Crassus flying

Coponius Gouernor of Carres in Mesopotamia.

The valiantnesse of twenty Romaines.

A stratagem of Surena.

ſecte, if they would haue any grace or peace with them. The ROMAINES were maruellouſly offended that they were thus deceiued, & told *Craſſus* that it was no boote any longer to looke for aide of the ARMENIANS, but preſently to flie: howbeit to keepe it ſecret in any wiſe from any of the CARRENIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet *Craſſus* ſelfe had told it to *Andromachus*, the verieſt traitor and villain in al the city, whom he had choſen to be his guide. This traitor *Andromachus* aduertiſed the enemies in euery point, of their purpoſe and departure. But becauſe the PARTHIANS do neuer vſe to fight in the night, & that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and againe that *Craſſus* departed in the night time: *Andromachus* was afraid leaſt the ROMAINES would win ſuch ground before the PARTHIANS, as they could not poſſibly ouertake him the next day. Therefore of purpoſe he ſometime brought them one way, other while an other way, and at the laſt, brought them into a great bogge or mariſh, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they muſt needes make many turnes and returnes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, ſome in the armie began to miſtruſt, that *Andromachus* ment no good to turne and toſſe them vp and downe in that ſort, and therefore would followe him no more: inſomuch as *Caſſius* among others, returned towardes the citie of CARRES againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were ARABIANS) counſelled him to tary there, til the moone were out of the ſigne of *Scorpio*, he anſwered them: I feare the ſigne of *Sagittarie* more. So as ſoone as he could, he tooke his way towardes ASSYRIA with fiue hundred horſemen. And other of the armie alſo hauing faithfull guides, recouered a countrie of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, and retired into a ſafe place before the breake of day: and they were about fiue hundred men, whom *Octauius* a noble man had in charge. But the day ſtale vpon *Craſſus*, hunting vp & down yet in the marriſſe, in thoſe ill fauored places, into the which *Andromachus* that traitor had of purpoſe brought him, hauing with him foure enſignes of footmen all with targets, and very few horſemen, and fiue ſergeants that caried the axes and roddes before him: with whom, with much a do and great labour, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almoſt vpon him, and that he was within twelue furlong of ioyning with *Octauius*. There in haſt he had gotten a hil, which was not ſo ſteepe for horſemen, neither of ſuch ſtrength as the other hilles were, called *Sinnaca*, yet vnder them, and ioyning to them by a long hill that runneth alongſt the plaine, ſo as *Octauius* plainly ſaw the danger *Craſſus* was in. Thereupon he firſt ran downe the hilles with a few of his men that followed him: but after alſo came all the reſt, ſaying they were cowards if they ſhould tary behinde. At their comming they gaue ſuch a hot onſet vpon the PARTHIANS, that they made them giue back from that hill: and compaſſing *Craſſus* in the middeſt of them, couering him rounde with their targets, they ſpake nobly, that neuer arrowe of the PARTHIANS ſhould touche the bodie of their Generall, before they were ſlaine one after an other, and that they had fought it out to the laſt man in his defence. Hereupon *Surena* perceiuing the PARTHIANS were not ſo couragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came vpon them, and that the ROMAINES did once recouer the high mountaines, they could neuer poſſibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile *Craſſus* once more by this deuice. He let certaine priſoners goe of purpoſe, before whom he made his men giue out this ſpeech. That the king of PARTHIA would haue no mortall warre with the ROMAINES: but otherwiſe, he rather deſired their friendſhip, by ſhewing them ſome notable fauour, as vnto *Craſſus* very courteouſly. And to giue colour to this brute, he called his men from fight, and going himſelfe in perſon towards *Craſſus*, with the chiefeſt of the nobility of his hoaſt, in peaceable maner, his bow vnbent: he held out his right hand, and called *Craſſus* to talke with him of peace, and ſaid vnto him. Though the ROMAINES had felt the force & power of their king, it was againſt his will, for he could do no leſſe but defend himſelfe: howbeit that now he was very willing and deſirous to make them taſt of his mercy & clemencie, and was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go ſafely where they would. All the ROMAINES beſides *Craſſus* were glad of *Surenaes* words. But *Craſſus* that had bene deceiued before by their craftie fetches and deuiſes, conſidering alſo no cauſe apparant to make them change thus ſodainly: would not hearken to it, but firſt conſulted with his friends. Howbeit the ſoldiers they cried out on him to goe, and fell at wordes with him, ſaying: that he cared not though they

Andromachus treaſon to Craſſus.

The Parthians do neuer fight by night.

Caſſius gentle anſwere in the ſtraights.

The worthines of the Romaine ſouldiers to their chiefetaine.

An other ſtratageme of Surena.

Surenaes craftie ſpeeche to Craſſus.

were all slaine, and that himselfe had not the heart only to come downe and talke with the enemies that were vnarmed. *Crassus* proued first to pacifie them by faire meanes, perswading them to beare a litle patience but till night, which was at hande, and then they might safely depart at their pleasure, and recouer the mountaines and straight passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint hearted, nor to despaire of their safetie, seeing they were so neere it. But in the ende *Crassus* perceiuing they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnes did threaten him if he went not, fearing then they would doe him some villany: went towardes the enemy, and comming backe a litle, said only these wordes: O *Octauius*, and you *Petronius*, with all you ROMAINE gentlemen that haue charge in this armie: you all see now how against my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, & can witnes with me, how I am driuen with shame and force

Crassus wordes to the Romains going to his death.

„ Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to escape this danger, that ye will report whereseoeuer you
„ come, that *Crassus* was slaine, not deliuered vp by his own souldiers into the hands of the bar-
„ barous people, as I am: but deceiued by the fraud and subtilty of his enemies. *Octauius* would not tary behind on the hill, but went down with *Crassus*: but *Crassus* sent away his officers that followed him. The first that came frō the PARTHIANS vnto *Crassus* were two mongrel GRECIANS, who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to send some of his men before, and *Surena* would shewe them, that both himselfe and his traine came vnarmed towards him. *Crassus* thereto made them aunswer, that if he had made any account of his life he would not haue put himselfe into their hands. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before, called the ROSCIANS, to knowe what number of men, and to what ende they met so many together. These two brethren came no sooner to *Surena*, but they were stayed: and himselfe in the meane time kept on his way a horse backe, with the noblest men of his army.

Surendes craft to Crassus.

Now when *Surena* came neere to *Crassus*: why, how now (quoth he) what meaneth this? Consull and Lieutenant generall of ROME a foote, and we a horsebacke? Therewithall he straight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horse. *Crassus* aunswered *Surena* again: In that, they neither of both offended, following the vse and maner of their country, when a meeting is made for treatie of peace. *Surena* replied: As for the treatie of peace, that was already agreed vpon betwene the king *Hyrodes*, and the ROMAINES: howbeit that they were to go to the riuer, and there to set downe the articles in writing. For you ROMAINES, said he, do not greatly remember the capitulations you haue agreed vpon. With those wordes he gaue him his right hand. As *Crassus* was sending for a horse, you shall not needs, said *Surena*, for looke, the king doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a fair saddle richly gilt, vpon the which his gentlemen mounted *Crassus* immediatly, and followed him behinde, lashed his horse to make him runne the swifter. *Octauius* seeing that, first laid hand on the bridle, then *Petronius* Colonell of a thousand footmen: and after them, all the rest of the ROMAINES also gathered about *Crassus* to stay the horse, & to take him from them by force, that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at an other at the first very grily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then *Octauius* drew out his sword, and slue one of the barous noble mens horsekeepers: and another came behinde him, and slue *Octauius*. *Octauius* slaine.

Crassus had no target, and receiuing a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no hurt: and on the other side came *Pomaxathres*, one of the PARTHIANS, and slue *Crassus*. Some say notwithstanding, that *Pomaxathres* slue him not, but an other, yet that he cut off his head and his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reports are rather coniecturs, then certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slaine in the field fighting for *Crassus*, and other saued themselues by flying to the hill. The PARTHIANS followed them and tolde them that *Crassus* had paide the paine he had deserued: and for the rest, that if they had them come downe with safetie. Then some of them yeelded to their enemies: and other dispersed themselues when night came, and of them very fewe escaped with life. Other that followed and pursued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the sworde. So as it is thought there were slaine in this ouerthrow, about twentie thousand men, and ten thousand taken prisoners. *Surena* had now sent *Crassus* head and his hand vnto *Hyrodes*, the king his maister, into ARMENIA: and gaue out a brute as farre as the citie of SELEVCIA, that he brought *Crassus* him-

Crassus slaine.

The number of the Romaines that were slaine and taken.

liue, and that he had prepared a ſight to laugh at, which he called his triumph. Among the ROMAINE priſoners there was one called *Caius Pacianus*, who was very like *Craſſus*: him they clothed in womans apparell of the PARTHIANS, and had taught him to anſwere, when any called him *Craſſus*, or Lord captaine. Him they put a horſeback, and had many trumpets before him, and ſergeantes vpon camels backes, that caried axes before them, and bundles of roddes, and many purſes tyed to the bundles of roddes, and ROMAINES heads newly cut off, tyed to the axes: and after him followed all the ſtrumpets and women minſtrels of SELEVCIA, who went ſinging of ſongs of mockery and deriſion of *Craſſus* womaniſh cowardlineſſe. Now for theſe open ſhewes, euery one might ſee them: but beſides that ſight, *Surena* hauing called the Senate of SELEVCIA together, laide before them *Ariſtides* bookes of ribaldrie, intituled the Mileſians, which was no fable, for they were found in a ROMAINES fardle or truſſe, called *Baſſus*. This gaue *Surena* great cauſe to ſcorne and deſpiſe the behauiour of the ROMAINES, which was ſo farre out of order, that euen in the warres they could not refraine from doing euill, and from the reading of ſuch vile bookes. Then the Senatours of SELEVCIA found that *Eſope* was a wiſe man, who ſaid, that euery man caried a ſacke on his necke, and that they put other mens faultes at the ſackes mouth, and their owne towardes the bottome of the ſacke. When they conſidered that *Surena* had put the book of the laſciuiouſnes of the MILESIANS at the ſackes mouth, and a long taile of the PARTHIANS vaine pleaſures and delightes in the bottome of the ſacke, carying ſuch a number of carts loden with naughtie packes in his armie as he did, which ſeemed an army of ermites and fielde miſe. For in the vowarde and foremoſt cockes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely launces, pikes, bowes, and horſe: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, inſtruments of muſicke, daunſing, ſinging, banqueting, and ryoting all night with Curtiſans. I will not deny but *Ruſtie* deſerued blame: but yet withall, I ſay, that the PARTHIANS were ſhameleſſe to reproue theſe bookes of the vanities of the MILESIANS, conſidering that many of their kings, and of the royal bloud of the *Arſacides*, were borne of the IONIAN & MILESIAN curtiſans. Things paſſing thus in this ſorte, king *Hyrodes* had made peace & league with *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, who gaue his ſiſter in mariage vnto *Pacorus*, king *Hyrodes* ſonne, and made great feaſts one to another: in the which were many Greeke verſes ſong, *Hyrodes* ſelfe vnderſtanding well the Greeke tongue, and *Artabazes* was ſo perfit in it, that he himſelfe made certaine tragedies, orations, and ſtories, whereof ſome are yet extant at this day. The ſame night *Craſſus* head was brought, the tables being all taken vp, *Iaſon* a common plaier of enterludes (borne in the city of TRALLES) came before the kings, and recited a place of the tragedy of the BACCHANTES of *Euripides*, telling of the miſfortune of *Agaue*, who ſtrake off his ſonnes head. And as euery man tooke great pleaſure to heare him, *Sillaces* comming into the hall, after his humble duty firſt done to the king, deliuered him *Craſſus* head before them all. The PARTHIANS ſeeing that, fell a clapping of their handes, and made an outcry of ioy. The gentlemen vſhers by the kings commaundement, did ſet *Sillaces* at the table. *Iaſon* caſting off his apparell repreſenting *Pentheus* perſon, gaue it to an other player to put it on him, & counterfaiting the BACCHANTES poſſeſt with fury, beganne to rehearſe theſe verſes, with a ieſture, tune, and voice, of a man madde, and beſide him ſelfe.

Surenaes triumph of Craſſus.

Ariſtides bookes intituled the Mileſians.

Æſops wiſe ſaying.

The deſcription of Surenaes army.

Craſſus head brought to Hyrodes.

Behold, we from the foreſt bring a ſtag now newly ſlaine,
A worthy booty and reward beſeeming well our paine.

This maruellouſly pleaſed the company: and ſpecially ſinging theſe verſes afterwardes, where the Chorus both asked and anſwered him ſelfe.

Who ſtrake this ſtag?
None elſe but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them diſpute about the matter, being ſet at the table with others, roſe ſtraight, and went and tooke the head him ſelfe, to whome of right it belonged to ſay thoſe wordes, and not vnto the player that ſpake them. King *Hyrodes* liked this ſport maruellouſly, and rewarded *Pomaxathres* according to the maner of the countrey in ſuch a caſe: and to *Iaſon* he alſo gaue a talent. Such was the ſucceſſe of *Craſſus* enterpriſe and voyage, much like vnto the end of a tragedy. But afterwardes, *Hyrodes* cruelty, and *Surenaes* fowle periury and craft,

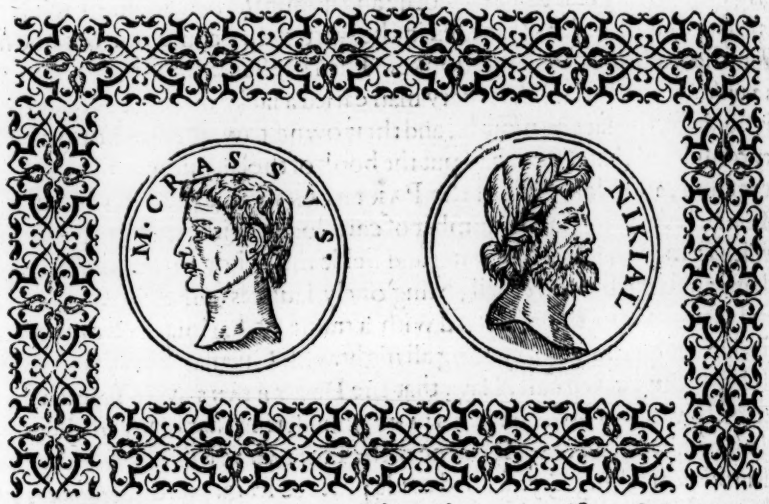
See the reward of craft and periury.

were in the end iuſtly reuenged vpon them both, according to their deſerts. For king *Hyrodes* enuying *Surenaes* glorie, put *Surena* to death. And *Hyrodes* fell into a diſeaſe that became a dropſie, after he had loſt his ſonne *Pacorus*, who was ſlaine in a battell by the ROMAINES. *Phraates* his ſecond ſonne, thinking to ſet his father forwards, gaue him drinke of the iuice of Aconitum. The dropſie receiued the poiſon, and one draue the other out of *Hyrodes* body, and ſet him a foote againe. *Phraates* perceiuing his father to amend vpon it, to make ſhort worke, with his owne hands ſtrangled him.

The miſerable end of king Hyrodes and Surena.

Hyrodes ſtrangled by his ſonne.

THE COMPARISON OF *Craſſus with Nicias.*



Nicias and Craſſus richeſſe.

BVt now to proceede to the compariſon: firſt, *Nicias* goods were more iuſtely gotten, and with leſſe reproach, than *Craſſus* wealth, for otherwiſe a man cannot giue any great praiſe to minerall works, the which are wrought by lewd and ill diſpoſed barbarous fellows kept in irons, and toiled to death in vnholſome and peſtilent places. But being compared vnto *Craſſus* buying of confiſcate goods at *Sylles* handes, and vngentlemanly bargaines of houſes a fire, or in danger thereof: ſurely *Nicias* trade will appeare the better way of getting. For as openly did *Craſſus* auow vſury, as tillage. And again for other faults, wherewith *Craſſus* many times was burthened, and which he ſtoutly denied: as, that he tooke money of men hauing matters before the Senate at ROME, to winne fauor for their ſide: and that he preferred matters to the preiudice of the confederats of the ROMAINES, only for his priuate profit: and therefore curried fauor with Ladies, & generally ſought to clo all foule offenders: of all theſe faults, was *Nicias* neuer ſo much as once ſuſpected. For he the contrarie, was mocked of euery bodie, becauſe for feare he maintained wicked doers gifts: which perhaps would not haue becommed *Pericles*, nor *Ariſtides*, and yet was me for *Nicias*, who was borne a timerous natured man, and neuer had courage in him. Where *Lycurgus* the Orator did vaunte afterwardes to the people, being accuſed that he redeem detractours with money: I am glad, ſaid he, that hauing dealt thus long in affaires of the ſta it is found I haue rather giuen than taken. And now touching expences: *Nicias* was though the better and more ciuill citizen. For his charge and coſt was, in dedicating ſome goodly mage to the goddes, or in making of publicke playes or paſtimes to recreate the people. B all the money he ſpent that way, and all that he was worth beſides, was nothing comparable and but a ſmall parte of that *Craſſus* beſtowed in an open feaſt he made at ROME: feaſting many thouſands at one time, and did finde and maintaine them alſo for a certaine time after. Now I cannot but wonder at thoſe men, that deny vice to be an inequality and diſagreement

Lycurgus ſaying.

of manners, repugnant in it selfe, seing men may honestly spend that which is naughtily got-ten. Thus much for their goodes. For *Nicias* doings in the common weale, he did nothing maliciously, cruelly, nor vniustly, neither any thing of selfe will or stomacke, but rather dealt plainly and simply. For he was deceiued by trusting of *Alcibiades*, and neuer came to speake before the people, but with great feare. *Crassus* on the other side was reproued for his vnconstancie and lightnes, for that he would easily chaunge friendes or enemies: and he himselfe denied not, that he came to be Consull the seconde time by plaine force and crueltie, hauing hired two murtherers to kill *Cato* & *Domitius*. And in the assembly the people held for deuiding of the prouinces, many men were hurte, and foure were slaine in the market place: and more then that, *Crassus* himselfe (which we haue forgotten to write in his life) gaue one *Lucius Annalius* so sore a blow on the face with his fist, for speaking against him, that he sent him going with blood about his eares. But as *Crassus* in those things was very fierce and cruell: so *Nicias* womanish behauior on the other side, and faint heart in matters of the cõmon wealth, humbling himselfe to the meanest and most vile persons, deserueth great reproach. Where *Crassus* in this respect shewed himselfe assuredly of a noble mind, not contending with men of small account, as with *Cleon*, or *Hyperbolus*, but would giue no place to *Cæsars* fame and glory, nor yet to *Pompeyes* three triumphes, but sought to goe euen with them in power and authority: and had immediatly before exceeded *Pompeyes* power, in the dignity of Censor. For Magistrates, and Gouernors of the common weale, should make themselues to be honored, but not enuied, killing enuie by the greatnes of their power. But if it were so that *Nicias* preferred quietnes, and the safety of his person aboue all things else, and that he feared *Alcibiades* in the pulpit for orations, the LACEDÆMONIANS in the forte of Pyle, and *Perdiccas* in THRACIA: he had liberty & scope enough to repose himself in the city of ATHENS, & might haue forborne the dealing in matters, and (as Rhetoricians say) haue put a hoode of quietnes vpon his head very well. For doubtlesse, concerning his desire to make peace, it was a godly minde in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to passe he did, appeasing all warre: wherein *Crassus* certainly was not to be compared to him, though he had ioyned all the prouinces to the empire of ROME, that reach vnto the Caspian sea, and to the great Ocean of the INDIAS. But on the other side also, when one hath to deale with people that can discerne when a man ruleth according to equitie and iustice, and that he seeth he is in the prime of his credit and authoritie: he must not then for lacke of courage suffer wicked men to steppe in his roome, nor giue occasion to preferre such to authoritie in the common weale, as are vnworthy for that place and countenaunce: neither should alowe such any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor trust, as *Nicias* did: who was the only occasion that *Cleon*, being before but a pratling Orator, was chosen Generall. Neither do I also commend *Crassus*, for that in the warre against *Spartacus*, he made hast to giue him battell, more rashely then safely or considerately. For his ambition spurred him forward, because he was afrayed least *Pompeyes* comming should take from him the glory of all that he had done in that warre: as *Mummius* tooke from *Metellus* the honor of the winning of CORINTHE. But besides all this, *Nicias* fact therein was without the cõpasse of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did not resigne his honor & office of Generall to *Cleon* his enemie, when there was hope of good successe, or litle perill: but fearing the daunger of the iorney, he was contented to saue one, and tooke no care besides for the common wealth. Which *Themistocles* shewed not, in the time of the warre against the PERSIANS. For he, to keepe *Epycides* an Orator (a man of no reckoning beside his eloquence, and extreamely couetous) from being chosen generall of ATHENS, least he should haue ouerthrowne the common weale: secretly bribed him with money to leaue off his sute. And *Cato* also when he sawe the state of ROME in greatest danger, sued to be tribune of the people for the common wealthes sake. And *Nicias* in contrary maner, reseruing himselfe to make war with the city of MINOA, or with the Ile of CYTHERA, or with the poore vnfortunate MELIANS, if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against the LACEDÆMONIANS, then away went his Captaines cloke, and he left the shippes, the armie, and munition to the charge and gouernment of *Cleons* rashnes and small experience of warre, when the necessitie of the seruice required the wisest and most expert Captaine. The

Nicias and Crassus actes in the common wealth.

The duty of Gouernors & Magistrates.

Nicias feare-fulnesse.

Themistocles and Catoes vertues.

which he did not, despising the meanes to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing backe, at time of need, to defend his countrie. Wherefore, afterwardes he was compelled against his will to be Generall, to make wars in SICILIA with the SYRACVSANS: because the people thought he was not so earnest to disswade the iorney, for that he thought it not meete for the common wealth, but because through his sloth and cowardlinesse he would make his countrie lose so good an oportunitie to conquer SICILE. Yet was this a great testimony of his honesty and trust they had in him: who though he euer hated warre, and did flie from the offices of honor and charge in the common wealth, his countrimen notwithstanding did alwayes chuse him, as the most experienced person, and meetest man of the citie. Now *Crassus* in contrarie manner desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could neuer attaine to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of another: (for *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and both the *Lucullus* were then abroade in the warres) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authority. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his frends that loued him best, thought him (as the comicall Poet sayeth)

Nicias honestie.

A good man any way else, but in warres.

His ambition notwithstanding & couetous desire of rule, did nothing benefit the ROMAINS. For the ATHENIANS sent *Nicias* to the war against his will: but *Crassus* led the ROMAINS thither against their willes. So that the common wealth fell into miserie by the one, and the other through the common wealth was brought into miserie: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise *Nicias*, then to blame *Crassus*. For *Nicias* like a wise man, and a Captaine of great experiẽce, could neuer so much as be brought to thinke they should conquer SICILE: and therfore disswaded his countrimen from the iorney, & would giue no place to the vaine hope of the people of ATHENS. But *Crassus* taking vpon him to make warres with the PARTHIANS, as though it had bene an easie matter to ouercome them, found himselfe deceiued, yet did he aspyre to great things. For as *Iulius Cæsar* had conquered and subdued to the Imperiall crowne of ROME, all the countries of the West partes, to say the GAVLES, the GERMAINES, and ENGLAND: euen so did *Crassus* desire to go towards the East partes, to conquer all to the great west sea of the INDIANS, and to subdue all the regions of ASIA, where *Pompey* and *Lucullus* aspyred, being both very noble personages, and such as euer courteously behaued themselues to all men: notwithstanding, prouoked thereunto with the like desire that *Crassus* had. For when the charge of the warres in the East parts was assigned to *Pompey* by decree and order of the people: the Senate vtterly misliked it, and were against it all they could. When newes were brought to ROME that *Iulius Cæsar* in battell had ouerthrowne and slaine three hundreth thousand GERMAINES, *Cato* perswading with the Senate, was yet still of this minde, that *Cæsar* should be deliuered into the hands of his enemies whom he had ouercome, for to be punished: thereby to turne the sharpe reuenge and wrath of the gods from ROME, vpon him only, that was the vniust breaker of peace. This notwithstãding, the people making none account of *Catoes* perswasions, made common feastes and processions fifteene dayes together, and open sacrifices to the gods with great ioy through the citie, to thanke them for this famous victory. How gladde may we thinke would they haue bene, and how many dayes would they haue feasted and sacrificed, if *Crassus* had written from BABYLON of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIANS, of SVSE, and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new gouernments and prouinces to the Empire of ROME?

The diuersitie betwixt Nicias and Crassus

If a man will needes do wrong and iniustice,

As *Eurypides* sayeth to them, that cannot liue in peace, and be contented with their owne: he must not then sticke at trifles, (as raising of a castell of Scandia, or of a citie of MENDA, or chasing of the ÆGINETES being out of their own naturall countrie, and hiding themselues like birdes without neasts, in another birdes holes) but must decrely sell the wrong he doeth, and not lightly contemne iustice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of *Alexander* the great in his voyage, for the conquestes he made in the East, and dispraise *Crassus* voyage: doe not well to iudge of the beginning, by the euents and successe of the end. For executing of their offices, *Nicias* did many noble exployts. For he ouerthrew

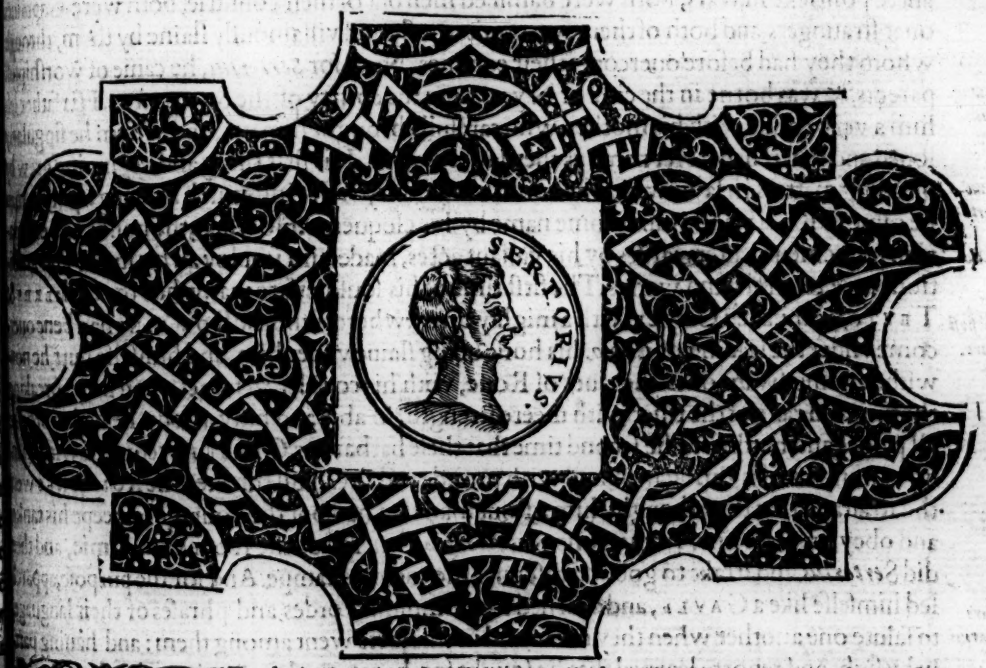
Nicias actes commended.

his enemies in diuerſe battels, and had almoſt taken the city of SYRACVSA: and ſure they cannot iuſtely blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the warre of SICILIA, but partly the plague was a cauſe of it, and partly alſo the enuie of thoſe towardes him that remained at ATHENS. Where as *Craſſus* ranne into ſo many errors, and committed ſuch foule parres in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no leaſure to do him good: ſo that I wonder not ſo much that his folly was ouercome by the power of the PARTHIANS, as that it could ouercome the good fortune of the ROMAINES. Sithens it ſo falleth out thē, that they both came to like vnfortunate end, *Nicias* prognoſticating before what things ſhould happen by arte and rule of diuination, and *Craſſus* contrarily diſdaining to obſerue any thing: ſure it falleth out hard in iudgment, which of them two proceeded with moſt ſafety. Yet according to the beſt approued opinions, a fault committed of feare is more excuſable, then of raſhnes and folly to breake any ancient lawe or cuſtome. For their deathes, *Craſſus* end deſerued leaſt reproach. For he againſt his will did yeeld himſelfe, and was neither bound nor mocked, but onely perſwaded by his friends, and through his enemies fraude and treaſon moſt traiterouſly deceiued: where *Nicias*, cowardly, and diſhonorably hoping to ſaue his life, truſting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

Craſſus by his folly blemiſhed the happines of the Romaines.

Craſſus death more commendable then Nicias end.

THE LIFE OF *Sertorius.*



PEraduenture it is not to be maruelled at, if in long proces of time (fortune altering her effectes daily) theſe worldly euentes fall often out one like another. For whether it be that the varietie of things are infinite, fortune hath ſtore of matter apt enough to worke to likenes: or be it that worldly matters be cōprehended within determinate number: of neceſſitie one thing muſt fall out like an other, ſince they proceede from one cauſe, tyed to the ſame meanes it before did vſe. But becauſe men doe delight to compare ſuch chaunces together, as they haue ſeene or heard to haue happened ſo like, as if they had bene done of purpoſe, the one by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named *Attis*, both of them come of noble houſes, the one in SYRIA, and the other in ARCADIA, both the one and the other were ſlaine with a wilde bore. That of two called *Actæon*, the one

Why chaunces of neceſſitie happen one like another.

was torne in peeces by his dogs, the other by his louers. That of the two famous Scipios, the CARTHAGINIANS were first ouercome by the one, and afterwards vtterly destroyed by the other. That the citie of TROYE was first taken by *Hercules*, for the horses that *Laomedon* promised him: the second time by *Agamemnon*, by meanes of the great woodden horse: the third time by *Chartdemus*, by means of a horse that fell within the gate, & kept the TROYANS that they could not shutte it in time. And that of two sweete smelling plantes, Ios, SMYRNA, two cities were named, the one signifying the violet, and the other Mirre: it is supposed that the poet *Homer* was borne in the one, and that he died in the other) we may adde to this example, that amongst the auncient Captaines, the greatest warriers, and they haue done the noblest exploytes by wit and warlike stratagemes, had but one eye: as *Philippus Antigonus*, *Hanniball* and *Sertorius* also, whom we write of at this present. Whom we may truly repotte to haue bene more chast, than *Philippe*: more faithfull to his friend than *Antigonus*: more courteous to his enemies than *Hanniball*: and for wisdome and iudgment to giue place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though she shewed spight more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men: yet in experience he was quall with *Metellus*, in prowes and valiancie with *Pompey*, and in fortune with *Sylla*. So being banished his country, a stranger in another realme, and hauing to gouerne a barbarous nation, he notwithstanding maintained wars for a time, against the power of the ROMAINES. Me thinkes therefore, that of all the GRECIAN Captaines I can liken none so well vnto him as *Eumenes* the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to command, both were very valiant & politicke in wars, both were banished men out of their countrie, both were Captaines ouer straungers, and both of them were traiterously and villainously slaine by them, through whom they had before ouercome their enemies. Now for *Sertorius*, he came of worshipfull parents, & was borne in the citie of NVRSIA in the coūtry of the SAMBINES. His father left him a very childe with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he singularly loued and reuerenced. Her name as they say was *Rhea*. His first rising and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: insomuch as being a young man he came to ROME, and wanne some name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honor and estimation he atchieued afterwardes by his valiant actes, made him imploy all his studie and laborious care, to armes and warres. The first time of his souldierfare was, when the CIMBRES & TEVTONS inuaded GAVLE with a mighty army: where, whē the ROMAINS had been ouercome vnder the leading of *Capio*, his horse being slaine vnder him, and himselfe hurt, he notwithstanding swam ouer the riuer of Rone, with his corselet & target vpon him, brake the fury and rage of the riuer with meere strength, so able and lusty a body he had to beare all paines and hardnes. The second time that these barbarous CIMBRES returned with infinite number of fighting men, and with proude and dreadfull threates: the ROMAINES thē so afrayd that they thought him a stout man that had but the courage to keepe his ranke and obey his Captaine. At that time was *Marius* Generall of the ROMAINE armie, and then did *Sertorius* vndertake to goe and discouer the enemies campe. And for the purpose, apparelled himselfe like a GAVLE, and learned the common wordes and phrases of their language to salute one another when they mette, and in this sorte went among them: and hauing throughly by sight and reporte learned that he sought for, he returned to *Marius*, who then gaue him such honorable reward, as was due to his deserte. All the time of the warres after, he did valiant actes and deedes of armes, that his Captaine had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon the warres being ended with the TEVTONS & CIMBRES, *Sertorius* was sent into SPAYNE, vnder *Didius* the Pretor, with charge of a thousand footemen, with whom he wintered in the city of CASTVLO, in the mayne of the CELTIBERIANS: where the souldiers finding plentie of victuals, fell to gluttonie and drunckennes, and committed great insolencie, being ouercome with wine. Insomuch the barbarous people of the city grew to such a misliking and disdaine of them, that they sent by night to their nexte neighbours the GYRISENIANS for aide, and as they came by the ROMAINS lodgings, slue a great number of them. *Sertorius* hearing the noise, went immediately out of the city with a few of his men, and gathering them together also that fled one

The townes where Homer was borne and dyed.

Foure famous Captaines that had but one eye a peece.

The praise of Sertorius.

The parentage of Sertorius.

Rhea the mother of Sertorius.

Sertorius eloquent.

Sertorius first souldierfare.

Sertorius souldierfare vnder Marius

Sertorius Colonell of a 1000 footmen.

Castulo a citie of the Celtiberians.

ter to saue themselues, went round about the walles of the citie, and finding the gate open where the GYRISÆNIANS came in, there entered he also: who being more carefull than they had shewed themselues, left the gates, and all the parts of the city well garded, and then put all to the sword within that were of age to carrie weapon. Nowe when he had executed this reuenge, he commaunded all his souldiers to leaue off their owne apparell and weapons, and to put on *Sertorius stratagem.* these of the barbarous people whom they had slaine, and to follow him to the city of the GYRISÆNIANS, from whence they came that had on such a sodaine assailed the in the night. The GYRISÆNIANS seing the garments and weapons of their supposed men farre off, thinking certainly they had bene they: opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meete their friendes and cittizens, whom they thought had happely sped of their purpose. Thus were a maruellous number of them slaine by the ROMAINES, euen hard at the gates of their citie: and the rest putting themselues to *Sertorius* mercy, he solde for slaues. After this exploit, *Sertorius* wanne great fame through all SPAYNE, and returning to ROME, was made questor or treasuror generall of GAVLE, on this side of the mountaines, by the riuer of Po: *Sertorius treasuror Generall of Gaule about the Po.* happy chaunce for ROME: for euen at that very present time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of ITALIE, called the MARSIANS warre, in the which he had cõmission to prest souldiers, and to make armor. And therein he shewed such diligence and expedition in quicke dispatch of that seruice, in respect of the long delaye and careless regarde other young men had of the same before: that he won the name to be a carefull man of his charge, and one that afterwardes would atchieue great enterprises. Furthermore, when he came to be a Captaine himselfe, he would not let to venture his person as valiantly, as any other priuate souldier whatsoeuer, but did maruellous actes with his owne handes, euen in greatest battailes and conflicts: insomuch as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, sayed he, do not alwaies carie the markes about them of their valiant seruice, but leaue them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carconets, iauelings, and crownes, giuen them by their Captaines for testimonie of their valiancie: howbeit that he alwaies caried the marks about him (whersoeuer he went) of his seruice, so that such as saw the bleamish of his eye, did therewithall witnes his valiantnes and courage. The people also did honor him as became them. For when he came into the theater, they welcomed him with clapping of their hands, and great praises, which the ROMAINS did scantly vse vnto their oldest Captaines, and which were most honored for their great and noble seruice. Neuertheless, when he sued to be Tribune, he was reiected by *Sylla's* practise who hindered him: whereupon grew as it seemeth, that grudge & malice which euer after bare vnto *Sylla*. For after that *Marius* was fled being ouercome by *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* was gone out of ITALIE to make warre with *Mithridates*, and that of the two Consuls, *Octauius* tooke part with *Sylla*, and *Cinna* the other Consul (which sought chaunge and alteration) was gathering men together to set vp *Marius* faction, that was in manner vnder foote: *Sertorius* tooke his parte, because he saw that *Octauius* was but a slow and lither man, and did not besides trust any of *Marius* friends. So was there a cruell conflict betwene them, euen in the market place within the city selfe, where *Octauius* had the vpper hand: and *Cinna* and *Sertorius* escaped by flying, hauing lost few lesse then ten thousand men in this only ouerthrowe. Nuertheless, afterwardes through practise and policie, they got those souldiers together againe that were dispersed here and there through ITALIE, so as in short time they made their power equall with *Octauius* force. *Marius* also being aduertised of the same, tooke the sea incontinently, & returned into ITALIE out of AFRICKE, and came to *Cinna* to serue as a priuate souldier, vnder his Captaine and Consul. Now they all liked wel, that *Marius* should be receiued, sauing *Sertorius*, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credit and estimation should diminish, *Cinna* hauing a worthier Captaine then himselfe to serue him, or else that *Marius* cruelty and seuerity (who pardoned none offence) would marre altogether, hauing no stay in his anger, but bent vtterly to all kinde of crueltie to his enemies, if *Cinna* forced to haue the victory. And thereunto he added this further: that now they had the victory in maner in their hands, if they once receiued *Marius* vnto them, he would rob be them all the honor of ending this warre, and being also in authority, he was neither to be trusted

Padus fl.

Sertorius lost one of his eyes by fight.

The occasion of Sertorius malice vnto Sylla.

Sertorius tooke part with Cinna.

Sertorius dissuaded Cinna to receiue Marius.

nor commaunded. Whereunto *Cinna* answered thus: that he thought the wordes he had alleadged to be true, howbeit that he was ashamed, and besides, could not see with honestly how he might refuse *Marius*, or send him back, sithence he had purposely sent for him, to common parte of the charge of these warres vnto him. *Sertorius* againe replied. Sure I thought *Marius* had come of his owne goodwill vnsent for, & therfore (as for the best in mine owne opinion) I gaue aduise not to receiue him: but sithence it is so that you sent for him before, and that he is now come vpon your commandement, you were much to blame to aske counsell whether you should nowe receiue him or not. And therfore you must needes accept his seruice that is come vpon your word: for, the bond of your promise past you, doth now cut off all counsell or other resolution. Thereupon *Marius* was called for: and when he came, they deuided their whole army into three parties, and then beganne to charge vpon their enemies on all handes, so as they obteined victorie. Howbeit *Cinna* and *Marius* committed as horrible cruelty in this victory, as could possibly be shewed: insomuch as the ROMAINS thought all the miseries they had endured in time of this warre nothing, and but a play as it were, in respect of the great calamities they fell into afterwardes. Now *Sertorius* on the other side neuer caused man to be slaine for any priuate malice or quarrell he had with any person, neither did he hurte any man when he had ouercome, but was much offended with *Marius* insolency & cruell murthers: and when he had good oportunity to speake with *Cinna* apart, he did qualifie him the best he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perswasion. In fine, *Sertorius* seeing *Marius* garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other soldiers in this warre, whom he vsed as executioners of his slaughter and butchery, alwayes attending about his person neas a garde, and suffering them also to make themselues rich, partly with that he gaue them, or commaunded them to spoyle, and partely also with that they violently tooke without his commaundement of their own masters, killing them when they had done, rauishing their mistresses, & defiling their children: he could no longer abide such wickednes and villainy, but made them all to be slain in their campe where they lay together being no lesse then foure thousand persons. Afterwards when he saw that the elder *Marius* was dead, and that soone after *Cinna* was slaine, the younger *Marius* his sonne (against his counsell, and contrary to the lawes of ROME) had by force made himselfe consull: and that *Carbo*, *Scipio*, and *Norbanus* (which had bene ouercome by *Sylla*) were come out of GAUL to ROME wards, partly through the cowardlines of their captaines, and partely also because they were betrayed and solde of their owne men: and further, considering therewithall, that his person could do no good in those affaires which waxed worse and worse, by meanes of the authoritie of such as had least wit and vnderstanding, and specially also seing *Sylla* came hard by *Scipio*, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whilst vnderhand he wanne his souldiers from him, notwithstanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: *Sertorius* then vtterly despairing of ROMES prosperitie and welfare, departed from ROME to go towards SPAINE, thinking that if he could get the first possession and gouernment of that realme, it would at the least be a refuge and receite for all those of their nation that should chaunce to be banished out of their country. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward he met with fowle and rough weather: and passing through a countrey of mountains, the barbarous people inhabiting the same, demaunded tribute of him, for licence to passe through their territories. Therat the soldiers of his company were maruellously offended, saying that it were too much shame and dishonor for a Proconsull of ROME, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithstãding, *Sertorius* passed not for the shame they layd it would be to him, but answered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he should most reckon of, that aspireth to haughtie enterprises: and so pleased the barbarous people with money. And then he made such speede, as he quickly recouered SPAINE, which he founde greatly replenished with people, and specially of young men able to weare armor. But now *Sertorius* perceiued that they had bene hardly dealt withall before, through the insolencie, pride, and couetousnes of the ROMAINE gouernors, whom they ordinarily sent from ROME, and that therfore they hated all manner of gouernment: first of all sought to winne the good willes of all the whole countriemen one and other. Of the noblemen, by being familiar and conuersant with them

Sertorius temperance.

Sertorius slew Marius gard of bondmen.

Sertorius went into Spaine.

and of the common people, by easing them of their taxe and subsidies. But that which bred him most loue of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of soul- diers, and receiuing of any garrison within their cities, compelling his souldiers to set vp their tents, and to make their cabines without the suburbes of great cities to winter there, & caused his owne pauilion to be first set vp, and lay in it himselfe in person. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their fauor: for he armed all the ROMAINE citizens of age to cary weapon that dwelt in SPAINE, and made them make stores of engines for batterie, and a number of gallies besides, so that he had all the cities at commandement, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadfull to his enemies. After *Sertorius* vnderstoode that *Sylla* kept ROME, and that the power of the tribe of *Marius* & *Carbo* was vtterly ouerthrowen, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some Captaine with a great armie against him: he sent *Iulius Salinator* betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with sixe thousande men well armed. Immediately after *Caius Annius* also came thither, sent by *Sylla*: who seeing no possibilitie to displace *Salinator* in a place of such aduantage, was driuen to stay at the foote of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one *Calpburnius* surnamed *Lanarius*, traitorously slew *Salinator*: whereupon his souldiers foorthwith forsooke the toppe of the mountaines, and by this meanes *Annius* had easie passage with his armie which was very great, and drew them that resisted his farther comming on into the country. *Sertorius* finding him selfe not strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thousand men vnto the citie of new CARTHAGE, and there tooke sea: from thence he coasted ouer into AFRICKE, and fell with the coast of the MAVRVSIANS, where his souldiers landed immediatly for fresh water, dispersing themselues without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gaue a charge vpon them, & slew numbers of them: insomuch as *Sertorius* was driuen to imbarke againe, and to take his course towards SPAINE, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driuen to take certaine pirates botes of the CILICIANS, and to saile towardes the Ile PITYVSA, where he landed in despight of *Annius* garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came *Annius* thither himselfe with a good number of shippes, and fiue thousande fighting men in them. Him *Sertorius* determined to abide, and to fight withall by sea, though he had but small barkes, purposely made for swift sailing, & of no strength for fight. But now the West winde rising very bigge, did swell the sea in such sort, that it cast the most part of his shippes (being weake and very light) vpon rockes in the sea, and himselfe with a few was kept from land by his enemies; and from the sea by storme was driuen to ride ten daies together at anker, working still for life against the danger of the surging waues & boisterous windes, which continued rough all that time: yet in the end when it calmed againe he wayed anker, and ranne into certaine desolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoysing saile from thence, he passed the straight of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hande, landed vpon the coast of SPAINE, lying towardes the great Westerne sea, a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Bætis, the which falling into the sea Atlanticum, gaue name in olde time to that part of SPAINE, which was called HISPANIA BÆTICA. There certaine sailers met with him that were newly arriued from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the auncients called, the fortunate Ilands. These two Ilands are not farre one from an other, being but a litle arme of the sea betweene them, and are from the coast of AFRICKE only tenne thousand furlongs. They haue raine there very seldome, howbeit a gentle winde cõmonly that bloweth in a litle moist dew, which moisteth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustie, not onely to bring forth all that is set or sowen vpon it, but of it selfe without mans hand it beareth so good fruit, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling vpon it, liuing idlely, and taking no paines. The weather is faire and pleasant continually, and neuer hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the aire neuer extreame: because the windes that blow vpon that land from the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the North & Easter- ly winde comming from the maine, what with their long comming, and then by dispersing themselues into a wonderfull large aire and great sea, their strength is in maner spent and gone before their comming thither. And for the windes that blow from the sea (as the South and

Sertorius course- sie to the Spaniards.

Sertorius flieth out of Spaine into Africke.

The Ile of Pityusa.

The fortunate Ilandes.

Westerly) they sometime bring litle showers with them which commonly doe but moist
ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all things very trimmely: insomuch as
ry barbarous people themselues doe faithfully beleeue, that there are the Elysian fields,
The Elysian fields. bode of blessed creatures, which *Homer* hath so much spoken of. *Sertorius* hearing
these Iandes (vpon a certaine desire now to liue quietly out of tyranny and wars) had
a maruellous mind to go dwell there. But when the pyrates of CILICIA (who were no
peace, but giuen altogether to spoile & pillage) heard that: they by and by forsooke
& went into AFRICK, to restore *Ascalius* the sonne of *Iphtha* to his realme of MAURI
againe. *Sertorius* quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide
that made war against *Ascalius*, and al to the end that his souldiers seeing matter of new
land meanes to be imployed, should not so leaue him, being faced afterwardes to be
ged of very necessity. The MAVRVSIANS being very glad of his arriuall, he presently
with his enterprise, ouercame *Ascalius* in battell, and besieged the citie whereinto
ouerthrowe of his armie he was fled for refuge. *Sylla* being aduertised thereof, sent
thither with an army to aide *Ascalius*. *Sertorius* gaue him battell, slew him in the field
Sertorius wan the citie of Tingu. the rest of his army, which yeelded vnto him: then tooke he the citie of TINGIS, where
Ascalius was fled with his brethren. The LIBYANS write that *Anteus* is buried there
torius giuing no credite to the tales of the barbarous people of that countrie, by reason
greatnesse of the tombe they shewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding the
Anteus tombe and greatnesse. bodie of a man (as they say) of threescore cubits long, he maruelled at it, and so finishing
sacrifice to honor the memory thereof, caused the tombe to be well closed vp againe.
acte he did greatly increase the honour of *Anteus* memory, which the citie did vnto
thereby confirmed the countrymens report of *Anteus*. For the TINGIANS doe report
after *Anteus* death, his wife *Tinga* lay with *Hercules*, and had a goodly sonne by him
phax, who was king of that country, and there built this citie, giuing it his mothers name
thermore, it is said also that this *Sophax* had a sonne called *Diodorus*, who conquered
part of AFRICKE with an army of the GRECIAN OLEIANIANS and MYCENIANS
Hercules brought thither to inhabite those partes. We were willing to imbrace the
Iuba of a kings stocke. offered vs to speake of this matter as we went, for the honor of *Iuba*, the noblest histo
pher that euer came of royall bloud: for it is thought his auncestors were lineally
from *Sophax* & this *Diodorus*. *Sertorius* as conquerour now, hauing the whole country
iection, did in no wise hurt them that yeelded vnto him, & put trust in him, but restored
their goods, cities, and gouernment againe, contenting himselfe with that they offered
of their good wils. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine; the LVSITA
Sertorius was sent for by the Lusitanians to be their Captaine. sent Ambassadors vnto him, to intreate him to be their chiefetaine. For they stoode
neede of a worthy personage, and a man expert in warres to defende them against the
the ROMAINES: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honorable behau
them that were conuersant with him. Whose qualities as we finde written, were
Sertorius vertues and qualities. was neuer greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a resolute man without
most danger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperitie. In valiantnesse inferior
Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in euery imminent danger. For
any present exploit was to be done, any strong place of aduantage to lodge or fight in
taken, or that he was to passe ouer any riuer, or scape any instant danger, where it stood
on speedy execution, and to shewe some stratageme or policie in time and place to
the enemie: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bount
Sertorius bountie and clemencie. rewarding good seruice, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithst
the foule murther he did in his latter daies vppon certaine young children that were
with him (which doubtlesse was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgue
manifestly proue, that he was neither mercifull nor courteous of nature: but that he
times did finely counterfaite it, when both the time and the warres did so require it.
mine opinion, sure I am perswaded that no misfortune can haue power to make
vertue, grounded vpon good reason, to worke in any sort contrarie to it selfe: neither
thinke it impossible also, but that mens good willes and gentle natures being iniured

ſe, may peraduenture change their naturall diſpoſitions. Which then proued true in *Sertorius*, who finding fortune contrary vnto him, and his good happe changed into ill, grew ſtubbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell reuenge of them which had villanouſly betraied him. But now to our matter where we left. *Sertorius* departed out of AFRICK to the LVSITANIANS offer, who choſe him for their generall, giuing him abſolute power and authoritie: and ſo ſoone as he arriued, he ſtraight leauied men of warre, and with them ſubdued the people of SPAINE fronting vppon their marches, of which the more part did willingly ſubmit themſelues, vpon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and courteous, and a valiant man beſides in preſent danger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuiſes and ſubtilties to winne their good willes: as among others, the pollicie and deuiſe he had of the hynde, which was this. There was a poore man of the countrie called *Spanus*, who meeting by chance one day with a hynde in his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters: for the dam negoe not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young hynde, and of a ſtrange haire, for ſhe was all milke white. It chaunced ſo, that *Sertorius* was at that time in thoſe partes, who was alwaies very glad when any man offered him ſuch maner of preſentes: as frutes, foule, or veniſon, and would make very much of them that brought them to him, and alſo reward them well for the ſame. So, this poore man preſented *Sertorius* with his young hynde, which he gladly receiued, and which with time he made ſo tame, that ſhe would come to him when he called her, and follow him where euer he went, being nothing the wilder for the daily ſight of ſuch a number of armed ſouldiers to-ing as they were, nor yet affraid of the noyſe and tumult of the campe. Inſomuch as *Sertorius* by litle & litle made it a miracle, making the ſimple barbarous people beleeue that it was a gift that *Diana* had ſent him, by the which ſhe made him vnderſtande of many and ſundrie things to come: knowing well enough of himſelfe, that the barbarous people were men eaſily abuſed, and quickly caught by any ſubtill ſuperſtition, beſides that by Art alſo he brought them to beleeue it as a thing very true. For when he had any ſecret intelligence giuen him, that the enemies would inuade ſome part of the countries and prouinces ſubiect vnto him, or that they had taken any of his fortes from him by any intelligence or ſodaine attempt: hee ſtraight tolde them that his hynde ſpake to him as he ſlept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put himſelfe in ſtrength. In like maner if he had heard any newes that one of his lieutenantes had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, hee would crowne the meſſenger, and bring his hynde abroad with a gatlande and collet of roſegayes: and ſay it was a token of ſome good newes comming towardes him, perſwading them withall to be of good cheare, and ſo did ſacrifice to the goddes, to giue them thankes for the good newes he ſhould heare before it were long. Thus by putting this ſuperſtitiō into their heads, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, inſomuch as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a ſtranger wiſer than themſelues, but were ſtedfaſtly perſwaded that they were rather led by ſome certaine god: and ſo much the more, becauſe that his deedes confirmed their opinions, ſeeing his power ſo daily to increaſe, beyonde the hope and expectation of man. For with two thouſand fiue hundred ſouldiers, which he called ROMAINES (although the moſt of them indeed were AFRIKANS, which came ouer with him out of AFRICKE into SPAYNE) & foure thouſand LVSITANIANS, with ſeuen hundred horſemen alſo, he made warre againſt foure great Captaines of ROME, which had the leading of fiue thouſand footemen, two thouſand archers and ſlingmen, with a world of cities and countries beſides. Where *Sertorius* at the firſt had not aboue twentie at the moſt: and yet with this ſmall power to maintaine this warre withall, he did not only conquere great countries and many goodly cities, but tooke ſome of the Captaines priſoners alſo, whom the Romaines had ſent againſt him. Of which company *Cotta* was one, whom he ouerthrew in battell by the citie of MELLARIA. He alſo ouercame *Didius* in battell, being gouernour of SPAINE BÆTICA, by the riuer of Bætis, where he ſlew two thouſand ROMAINES. The treaſurer likewiſe he ouercame *Lucius Domitius*, Proconſull of the other prouince of SPAINE. And another time he diſcomfited *Toranius* an other Captaine, one of *Metellus* Lieutenants, whom he ſlew in fight with all his army. And *Metellus* ſelfe, being taken at that time

Sertorius fained lie of the hynde.

Sertorius army.

The army of the Romaines led by fiue Captaines.

Seruetius.

Clories.

for one of the most expert men of warre, and chiefest Captaines among the ROMAINES he put also so oft to distresse, that *Lucius Lollius* was fain to come out of GAVLE NARBONESIS (now *Languedocke*) to aide. And they were furthermore driuen to send *Pompey* the with all speed from ROME with a new army. Because *Metellus* knew not what course hauing to fight with a most valiant man, & one whom he could neuer either bring to battell, nor yet entrappe in the plaine fielde (so easily could he cast himselfe into all formes) by reason of the dexteritie and swiftnesse of his spanish souldiers being lightly

This place may well be taken two wayes, and either of both allowable: and according to the other it might be said, to leade Romaine citizens to the wars, fighting like valiant men.

Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without remouing a foote to leade an army heauie armed, which could keepe their ranckes, and fighting steadily ouerthrow their enemies with handstrokes, and march vpon their bellies. But to clime mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with these med as light as the winde, and to pursue them in chase that fled still, and neuer kept pla was vnpossible for them to do it, and much lesse to abide hunger and thirst, to liue with kitchin and fire, and likewise to lie on the bare ground without tentes or pauillions, as *rius* souldiers did. Furthermore *Metellus* being growen an old man (hauing spent all his in seruice of the warres, and taken and suffred great paines and troubles, giuing himself to quiet and pleasure) was matched with *Sertorius*, being then euen at his best age, and of body, besides that nature had made him both strong, active, and temperate withall, was neuer giuen to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and warres, he was likewise acquainted with paines & hardnes from his youth, could away long iorneies, watch many daies and nightes without sleepe, eate litle, and content him with any meate that came to hand. And had he neuer so litle leasure, he would continue on horsebacke, riding a hunting vp and downe the fieldes, which made him very ready expert to know how to winde himselfe out of danger when he was distressed, and cou ly also to compasse in his enemie vpon any aduantage: and besides, to see where he might ter, & where not. For this cause was *Metellus* driuen (who was still desirous to fight) to the losses & discommodities which they suffer that be vanquished: and *Sertorius* on the side refusing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they haue, chase their enemies whom they haue ouercome. For hee cut off his victualles on every tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to march forward, *Sertorius* staied him. And when he lay still in his campe, *Sertorius* came and him alarums, and draue him to dislodge. If *Metellus* laide siege to any place, *Sertorius* besieged him for want of victuals. So that his souldiers were euen weary of altogether. Wh uppon, when *Sertorius* challenged the combat of *Metellus*: oh, well said, cryed all the diers, let Captaine fight against Captaine, and ROMAINE against a ROMAINE. Howbeit *tellus* refused him, and the souldiers laughed him to scorne. Neuertheless he did but them, and therein shewed himselfe a wise man: for as *Theophrastus* saith, a Captaine m as a Captaine, not like a priuate souldier. Furthermore, *Metellus* considering that the OBRITES (who gaue great aide vnto *Sertorius* in all seruices) were easie to be taken for of water (hauing but one only well in all their city) and that whosoeuer did besiege that should straight be master of all the spring heades of the suburbes about it; hoping there make the citie yeelde vnto him within two dayes at the vtmost: he commaunded his sou to victuall themselues for fiue daies only. But *Sertorius* hauing intelligence thereof, gaue direction and speedy order to preuent him. For he caused two thousand goates skinnes filled with water, and promised round summes of money for euery skinne brought Many SPANYARDS and MAVRVSIANS straight tooke vpon them the enterprise. Then *Sertorius* choosing the lustiest men among them, sent them away through the mount commaunding them withall, that when they deliuered their goates skinnes with water the citizens, they should cause them foorthwith to put out all their idle people, that the might last them the longer which defended the city. *Metellus* receiuing aduertisement was much agrieued withall, because his souldiers victuals were well neere spent, which had brought according to his commandement; and therefore he sent *Aquinus* one of his tenantes, with sixe thousand men to get victuals. *Sertorius* hauing intelligence of his pur

Metellus prosecuteth to besiege the Langobrites, and to take their citie for lacke of water. Sertorius finely deceiued Metellus at the siege of the Langobrites.

secretly laide an ambush for his returne in a valley full of wodde, and bestowed there three thousande men to set vppon the rereward, whilest he himselfe gaue charge on the vowarde. This made he *Aquinus* flie, slew the most part of his men, and tooke the rest prisoners. How- *Sertorius ouerthrew Aquinus.*
beit *Aquinus* selfe the Captaine hauing lost his weapons and horse, by flying recouered *Me-*
tellus campe: who thereupon was driuen with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the SPANYARDS. For these valiant deedes, was *Sertorius* wonderfully beloued and honored of all the barbarous people, and specially because he had made them good souldiers, brought them from their former rude and beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the RO-MAINES fashion, to keepe their rankes when they fought, to follow their ensigne, & to take the call and word of the battell: insomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly army, well set out and trained, being before a confused multitude of theeues and robbers. Furthermore, he founde great store of gold and siluer among them, shewing them how they should gilde *Sertorius taught the Spanyards the manner of the Romaines.*
their headpeeces, set out their shieldes and targettes with fine worke manshippe, and also finely apparell themselues with rich clokes and sleeueless cassockes vppon their armour, causing them to be fine, and furnishing them with money, whereby he maruellously wanne the hartes of the barbarous people. Yet did he farther binde them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children. For he sent generally for all the noble mens young sonnes, through all the cities and prouinces subiect vnto him: and brought them to the goodly citie of OSCA: *The citie of Osca.*
where he prouided them of schoolemasters to teach them the Greeke and Latine tongue: deliuering their parentes in hande, that it was to no other end, but to make them (when they were to be men) meete to be imployed in the seruice of the common weale, albeit in deede it was but a fine deuise of him, to haue them as hostages for their faith and loyaltie towardes him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sonnes apparelled like RO-MAINES, in faire long gownes garded with purple, to goe ciuilly to the schooles: that *Sertorius** payed for their learning: and that oftentimes hee went thither to appose them, to see how they profited: and how he gaue rewardes vnto them that were the best schollers, hanging iewels about their necks, which the ROMAINES call Bulla. Insomuch, that they hauing a custome at that time in SPAINE, that such as were about the Prince or their Chieftaine should die with him when he died, that custome of voluntarie vow to die with their Lorde, being vsed by the barbarous people, deuotion: there were very fewe of their followers and fami- *The Spanyards deuotion.*
liers that would vow to die with other Captaines, but on the other side, thousandes commonly followed *Sertorius*, hauing vowed to loose their liues with him. And for proofe hereof is reported, that when his army on a time was ouerthrowen by a certaine citie of SPAYNE, *The Spanyards loue to Sertorius.*
whose enemies egerly pursuing him: the SPANYARDS not regarding their owne liues to saue his, caried him vp on their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man vpon them, till they put him into the citie, who being safe & out of danger, they then looked by running to saue them selues the best they could. Thus was *Sertorius* not only beloued of the SPANYARDS, but of o- ther souldiers also that came out of ITALIE. For when *Perpenna Vento*, being of the same fa- *Perpenna ioyned with Sertorius.*
mily arriued in SPAINE full of mony & with a good number of souldiers, intending to make warre in his behalfe against *Metellus*: his souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his campe but of *Sertorius*. The which spighted *Perpenna* to the hart, being proud & stately in the meanes of his wealth and estate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that *Pom-*
peius was past ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, the souldiers armed themselues, and plucked vppe their ensignes that were fast in the ground, and cried out vpon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, threatning him that if he would not, they would leaue him alone, and seeke them a Cap- taine that could both saue himselfe and them. So was *Perpenna* forced against his will to fol- low their mindes, and to leade the three and fiftie ensignes he had with him, to ioyne with *Sertorius* force. Thus became *Sertorius* army very great, and specially after all the cities on this side the riuer of Ebrus had yeelded vnto him. For then came souldiers to him out of all partes, *Ebrus fl.*
albeit they were a rash confused multitude of Omnigatherum together, hauing no reason nor patience to abide time, but cryed out in furie, to set vpon their enemies. This trou- bled *Sertorius* much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he sawe they fell to mutinie, and would needes haue their wils, and both without reason and all good

order would so goe set vpon their enemies: he gaue them the head, and let them goe as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their follie, but yet tooke such order and direction, as they should not vtterly be cast away, hoping after that to haue them the more obedient vnto him. And indeede they had their paiment as he coniectured: notwithstanding he went to rescue them, and so brought them safe into his campe. Now to take away the feare & perplexitie from them, which this ouerthrow perhappes had striken into them; immediately after he caused his whole armie to assemble, as purposing to vse some speech vnto them. At which time he caused two horses to be brought and set in the middest among them, the one an old and feeble iade, and the other a goodly lustie horse, which besides other things, had a meruellous faire thicke taile. Behind the old leane iade, he set a lusty tall fellow: and behinde the goodly horse also, he placed a litle weariſh man, & seeming to sight to haue but small strength. Now vpon a signe giuen them which he had made them priuy to, the strong man tooke the leane horse by the taile with all his might, as if he would haue pluckt it off by the stumpe: and the other weariſh man fell to plucking off haire by haire from the great horse taile. So when the strong man had tugged and swet a great while in vaine at the leane horse taile, thinking to haue plucked it off, and in the end did nothing else but make the lookers on laugh: and the weariſh wretch on the other side in a short space (and at ease) had left the great horse taile without neuer a haire on it: *Sertorius* then rising vp, spake in this sort to his souldiers. Doe ye not (my friendes and companions) said he, how time and perseuerance exceedeth force? and how things vnlikely at the first to be ouercome by force, are yet in time by litle and litle obtained? For continuance ouercommeth all things, and there is no force nor power, but proceeding time consumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certaine helpe to them that can take opportunitie, and abide time: as in contrariwise haste and rashnes is as dangerous an enemie as may be, to them that doe things of a head without regard. By these common deuises wherewith *Sertorius* daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the opportunitie of time. But of all the stratagemes he vsed in warre, that only exceeded all other, which he shewed vnto a people called the CHARACITANIANS. The people do dwell on the other side of the riuer of Tagus, and haue neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only a great high hill, full of hollow caues and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towards the North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great slimie ground and so rotten, that is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crummeth like white lyme, & turneth to mire vnder his feete. And therefore by meanes of the same, when those people were affraide of their enemies, or that they had conueyed the goods they had robbed and stolen from their neighbours into those caues, they thought themselues safe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was impossible to compell them to come out. Now it chaunced that *Sertorius* flying from *Metellus*, came and encamped hard by this hill which these barbarous people inhabited, and made no reckoning of him, imagining *Metellus* had ouerthrowen him. But *Sertorius* being in a rage with them, and because he would shew that he fled not: tooke his horse backe the next morning, and rode as neere to the hill as he could, to viewe the nature and situation of the place: and when he saw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked vp and downe, vainely threatning them to no purpose. Yet going and comming to and fro, he perceiued the winde raised a great dust, of that brittle earth we haue spoken of, and caried it into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes whereof as we said before, lay full vpon the North. This Northen winde which some call Cæcias, is the only winde of all other that keepeth in that quarter, and riseth from the moores and mountaines thereabouts, which are continually couered with snow, and then in the hart of sommer is nourished and increased by the melting of the ice and snow, and so bloweth a iolly coole wind, which refresheth the barbarous people and beastes all the day long. *Sertorius* marking this with himselfe, and vnderstanding by the inhabitants therabouts, that this winde blew commonly among them: commaunded his souldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light brittle earth together, & to make a mount of it, right against the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockerie of it at the first, thinking *Sertorius* would haue made a mount to haue fought with them vpō it: howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his souldiers backe again.

A fine deuise of Sertorius to teach men the benefite of time and perseuerance.

Sertorius words to his souldiers, declaring the intent of his deuise.

The Characitanians what people they be.

Sertorius wonderfull deuise against the barbarous people, called the Characitanians

his camp. The next morning by breake of day there was a prety litle wind ſturring, that onely blew off the top of his forced mount, and the higheſt part of that maſſe of earth, as chaffe when they winnow corne: and as the ſunne began to haue any power, the North winde alſo roſe, which forthwith filled all the hill with duſt. And withall, came *Sertorius* ſouldiers who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all thoſe dry clots of clay in peeces. The horſemen on the other ſide, they ſtill mahnaged their horſes vp and downe in it, to raiſe vp the greater duſt, which the winde caried as ſoone as it roſe and blew into the caues of theſe barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and riſes of the rockes. So they hauing no other ventes nor ayre any way, but there where the winde blew in vpon them: it did ſo blindfold their eyes, and filled their caues with ſuch thick ſtuffing ayre, that they were almoſt choked withall, not able to take breath. For when they ſhould draw their breathes, this ſtuffing ayre and duſt came in at their mouthes ſo faſt, that they had much a do to hold out two dayes, and on the third yeelded themſelues vnto *Sertorius* mercy: the which thing did not ſo much increaſe his power, as it wanne him honor, by policie to haue wonne ſuch an vnlikely conqueſt, which by force could neuer haue bene gotten, and where to fight was matter impoſsible. So long therefore as he made warre with *Metellus* alone, he commonly had the aduantage of him, becauſe *Metellus* was an old man and heauy, and could not reſiſt *Sertorius* luſty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a company of theeues and robbers, than to an army of men of warre. But afterwardes when *Pompey* was come ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them being encamped ech before other, and that *Pompey* had ſhewed him all the ſtratagemes and policies of warre poſsible for a good Captaine to deuiſe, & he the like vnto *Pompey*: and found that *Sertorius* had the better of him both in laying his ambuſhes, & alſo in foreſeeing to ſtrappe him: then grew the fame of *Sertorius* to be ſo great, that euen in Rome it ſelfe he was thought to be the nobleſt Captaine, & of beſt conduction of any man in his time. Yet was *Pompey* at that time of great fame and reputation, which afterwardes alſo waxed greater, by the noble actes he did vnder *Sylla*, who gaue him the ſurname of *Pompey* the great, for that he had deſerued honour of triumphe, before his beard was growen. So, when he was come thus into Spayne, diuers townes and people ſubiect vnto *Sertorius*, were halfe in minde to yeeld vnto *Pompey*: but afterwardes they ſtood ſtaine, vpon the chaunce that happened vnto the citie of Lavron, beyond all expectation. For *Sertorius* being gone to lay ſiege to it, *Pompey* in haſt went thither with his army to raiſe the ſiege. Neare vnto the citie there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a camp vpon, and alſo to diſtreſſe them of the city: whereupon the one made haſt to get it, and the other to keepe him from it. Notwithſtanding, *Sertorius* was the firſt man, and got the hill: and *Pompey* came euen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had ſo fallen out, thinking to haue made *Sertorius* ſure at that time, being kept in on the one ſide with the citie of Lavron, and with his army on the other. Thereupon he ſent vnto the citizens, and bad them care for nothing, but them to ſtand vpon their walles at their pleaſure, to ſee *Sertorius* ſtraightly beſieged, who thought to haue beſieged them. This meſſage being brought to *Sertorius*, he ſmiled at it, and ſaid that he would teach *Syllaes* young ſcholler (for ſo in mockerie he called *Pompey*) that a good Captaine ſhould rather ſee behind then before him: and therewithall he ſhewed the Romanes ſix thouſand footemen well armed, which he had left in his camp when he came to take the hill where he was, to the end that if *Pompey* came by chance to aſſaile him, they ſhould giue a charge vpon his rereward. *Pompey* hauing found this too hote, durſt not aſſaile *Sertorius* battell, fearing to be compaſſed in behind: and on the other ſide he was aſhamed to forſake the Lavronitans, whom he was driuen in the end to ſee vtterly ſpoyled and deſtroyed before his eyes, and durſt not once ſturre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the contrarie part ſeeing no hope of aide by him, yeelded ſtraight vnto *Sertorius*, who did not only pardon them, but alſo ſuffered them to go whither they would. Howbeit he burnt the citie for no anger or cruelties (being a Captaine that neuer ſhewed cruelties in anger) but to ſtoppe *Pompey* withall, and to ſtoppe their mouthes that made ſuch account of him: and that the bruite might runne among the barbarous people, that *Pompey* himſelfe being preſent, and might in manner haue warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly citie of his confederates.

Sertorius deales againſt Pompey.

Sertorius goeth to lay ſiege to the citie of Lauron.

Sertorius worthy ſaying of a Captaine.

Sertorius burns the citie of Lauron in Pompeyes ſight.

neither durſt nor could helpe them. Indeede *Sertorius* in continuance of this warre ſuſteined much loſſe and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the fault of his Lieutenants: for as touching himſelfe, he was neuer ouerthrowen, not thoſe he led. And yet he euer wanne more honor in recouering of thoſe battels which his Captaines loſt, than his enemies did that had put them to the worſe. As in the battell he wanne againſt *Pompey*, by the city of Svcron, and in an other he wanne againſt *Pompey* and *Metellus* both, by the citie of Tvttia. And for the ouerthrow of Svcron, it is thought it came through *Pompeyes* ambition, making too more haſt for feare *Metellus* ſhould be partaker of the honour of his victorie: and that was the thing *Sertorius* looked for, to fight before *Metellus* came to ioyne with him, and therefore fought the battell with *Pompey* towardes night, ſuppoſing the darkeneſſe of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to ſaue themſelues if they were ouercome, and alſo chaſe the enemies if ſo it happened they had the vpper hand, becauſe they were ſtraungers and knew not the country. When both battels came to giue charge, *Sertorius* at the firſt met not directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius*, who led the left wing of *Pompeyes* battell, and himſelfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. How beit *Sertorius* being aduertiſed that the left wing of his owne army againſt the which *Pompey* fought, was in ſuch diſtreſſe they gaue backe, and could abide no longer, if they were not preſently aided: ſtraight left the leading of the right wing, which he aſsigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all ſpeede poſsible vnto the left wing, which were then euen as good as flying. And firſt he gathered them together againe which had turned their backes, and after put thoſe alſo in good order that were yet a fighting: and ſo hauing encouraged them both with his wordes, and the preſence of his perſon, he gaue a new charge againe vpon *Pompey*, more couragiouſly than before, (who thinking he had already wonne the field, was then a chaſing ſuch as fled) and ſet ſo fiercely vpon him, that he put all the whole army of the Romaines to flight: in ſomuche *Pompey* himſelfe eſcaped killing in the field very hardly being ſore hurt, & ſaued by a ſtraunge meane. For the Afrikans of *Sertorius* hauing taken *Pompeyes* horſe (which was richly trapped with harneſſe of gold & other pretious furniture) falling out among themſelues, and fighting for diuiſion of the ſame: in the meane time let *Pompey* go, and neuer followed after him. *Afranius* againe on the other ſide, whileſt *Sertorius* was gone to helpe the other wing of his battell, made them flye all that ſtood before him, and followed killing of them euen into the trenches of their camp, entring in amongſt them that fled, and ſpoyled the camp being darke night, knowing nothing of *Pompeyes* ouerthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from ſpoile. *Sertorius* alſo comming thither vpon the inſtant, finding *Pompeyes* men in diſorder, ſlew a number of them: & the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them into the field, to fight onte more with *Pompey*. But receiuing intelligence that *Metellus* was at hand, he ſounded the retreate, and diſloged from the place he encamped, ſaying: had not that woman come, I would haue whipped that young boy to Rome with rods. Now was *Sertorius* very heauy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynde for by all his ſubtiltie and fineſſe to keepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, at then ſpecially, when they ſtood in neede of moſt comfort. But by good happe, certaine his ſouldiers that had loſt themſelues in the night, met with the hynde in their way, & knowing her by her colour, tooke her, and brought her backe againe. *Sertorius* hearing of this, diuiſed them a good reward, ſo that they would tell no liuing creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be ſecretely kept. Then within a few dayes after he came abroad among them, and with a pleaſaunt countenaunce told the noble men and the Captaines of theſe barbarous people, how the goddes had reuealed it to him in his ſlepe, that he ſhould ſhortly haue a maruellous good thing happen to him: and with that word ſate downe in his chaire to giue audience. Whereupon they that kept the hynde tooke her from thence, did ſecretely let her go. The hynde being loſe, when ſhe had eſpied *Sertorius* ſtraight to his chaire with great ioy, and put her head betwixt his legs: and layed her head in his right hand, as ſhe before was wont to do. *Sertorius* alſo made very much of her, and of purpoſe appeared maruellous glad, ſhewing ſuch tender affection to the hynde, as it ſeemed the water ſtood in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that ſtood there by and beheld the

Sertorius of himſelfe inuincible.

Battell betwixt Sertorius and Pompey.

Pompey fled Sertorius at Sucron.

Sertorius mocke to Pompey.

the same, at the first were much amazed therewith: but afterwardes when they had better bethought themselues, for ioy they clapped their handes together, and waited vpon *Sertorius* to his lodging with great and ioyfull shouts, saying, and stedfastly beleeuing, that he was a heauenly creature, and beloued of the goddes: whereupon they were maruellously pleased in their mindes, and certainely hoped that their affaires should prosper dayly better and better. Another time hauing straighted his enemies with scarcitie of victuals, in the territorie of the SAGVNTINES, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they sent great troupes of men to forrage the country, to get victuals. Vpon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either side, where *Memmius* was slaine, (the valianteſt Captaine *Pompey* had) courageously fighting in the middest of the battell. *Sertorius* finding himselfe the stroger, followed his first wing, making great slaughter of those that withstood him, vntill he came vnto *Metellus* selfe, who taried his comming, defending himselfe more valiantly then was either hoped, or looked for, in a man of his yeares: in somuch as he was at the last hurt with a partisan. Which was such a dishonor to the ROMAINES, not vnto the onely that saw it, but vnto such also as heard of it, that being all ashamed to forsake their Captaine, and turning their shame into anger against their enemies: they couered *Metellus* round about with their shieldes and targets, and getting him out of the presse and furie of the fight, gaue such a fierce onset, as they drue the SPANYARDS to flie. Thus fortune chaunging the victory, *Sertorius* to giue his scattered men time to saue themselues, and leasure also for a new supplie (which he caused to be presently leanied) to come at their pleasure: fled of purpose into a citie of the mountaines of strong situation, and there setting a good face of the matter repayred the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing lesse then to abide there to be besieged, but onely to lay a baite for his enemies, comming to besiege the citie, hoping they should easily winne it, and in the meane time left pursuing of the barbarous people which had thereby good leasure giuen them to saue themselues. Furthermore, they tooke no order to suppresse the new supplie that was comming to *Sertorius*, who had sent out his Captaines to the next cities and shyres adioyning, to leanie men, with expresse commaundement, that when they had mustered a conuenient number together, they should send them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderstood of their comming, he easily passed through his enemies to meete them, and with them sodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worse then before: sometime cutting their victuals from them by land, through his ambushes and continuall subtle policies, being quickely in euery place whither they thought to go, with his light army: and on the sea also with certaine pyrats pinneses, with the which he scoured all the coast vpon the sea side. By this meanes, both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to seuer themselues farre one from the other, as much as *Metellus* went to winter in GAVLE, *Pompey* remained in SPAYNE, (in great scarcitie of all things for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the VACCEIANS, and wrote to the Senate at ROME, that he would returne with his army into ITALIE, if they sent him not money out of hand, for that he had spent all his own dayly fighting for the defence of ITALIE. Thus it was certainly thought at ROME, that *Sertorius* would be in ITALIE before winter: because he had through his valiancie and great skill brought two of the most famous Captaines of their time, to great extremitie and distresse. Then did *Metellus* shew how much he feared *Sertorius*, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemie. For he proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that if any ROMAINE could kill him, he would giue him an hundred siluer talents, and twentie thousand Iugera of land: and if he were a banished man, he promised he should be restored to his country and goods againe, buying his death by treason, whom he could not ouercome by force. And furthermore, being his chaunce once to winne a battell of *Sertorius*, he was so ioconde and proud for this victorie, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to say, Prince, or soueraine Captaine: and was contented the people should set vp aulters and do sacrifices vnto him in euerie citie where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlandes of flowers on his head, and would be bidden to dissolute banquets, sitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victory go vp and downe the hall, moued by certaine secret engines carying triumphes of gold, and crownes and garlandes of triumphe, and daunsers of goodly young

Sertorius slue Memmius, Pompeyes Lieutenant.

Shame turned into anger.

Sertorius besieged of Pompey.

Metellus feared Sertorius.

Metellus made himselfe be called Imperator.

Metellus vanitie.

boyes and fayre girles following of them, with songs of triumphe in his prayse. Wherein doubtlesse he deserued to be laughed at, shewing himselfe so much caried away with ioy and vaine glorie, for one ouerthrow giuen vnto him, whom himselfe was wont to call *Sylla* fugitiue, & the remnant of the banished men of *Carbo*. On the other side, *Sertorius* noble courage was easily discerned, first, for that he called the banished mē which were escaped from Rome, and come to him Senatours: and hauing them about him, called them the Senate, making some of them Treasurers, others Pretors, directing and ordering all things according to the manner of his country. And in this also, that making warres with the souldiers of the cities of Spayne, and defraying the same at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authoritie, so much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with Romaine officers & Captaines: saying still, that he fought for the libertie of the people of Rome, and not to increase the glorie and power of the Spaniards, to the hurt and dishonour of the Romaines. For to say truly of him, he euer loued his country well, & longed much to be sent for home againe: and yet in his greatest troubles, when things thwarted him most, then was his minde greatest, yeelding no manner of shew or appearance to his enemies, of any faint hart or discouragement in him: but againe, when he was in best prosperitie, and had most aduantage of his enemies, he sent vnto *Metellus* and *Pompey* both letting them vnderstand that for his part he was contented to lay armes aside, and to liue at home like a priuat man, so that he might be lawfully restored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meanest citizen in Rome, then being a banished man out of his country, to be called Emperour of the world. And it is said that one of the chiefest causes which made him desire so much to be called home againe, was the tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had brought him vp from the time of his fathers death) vpō whom he cast all his loue & delight: in so much as after that his friends in Spayne had sent for him to come to be their Captaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiuing newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it so strake him to the hart, that he had almost dyed for sorrow. For he lay seuen dayes together continually on the ground weeping, & neuer gaue his souldiers the watch word, nor would be seene of any of his friends vntill that the other noble men and Captaines of his owne estate, came to him to his tent, and were so importunate of him by intreatie and perswasion, that they got him out of his tent to shew himselfe to his souldiers, to speake to them, and to take order for his affaires which prospered very well. By these signes many haue iudged, that he was of a curteous and pitifull nature, and that naturally he was giuen to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessitie to take charge of men of warre, because he could not otherwise liue quietly nor safely, being pursued by his enemies, which would neuer let him rest, and thereupon entred into warre, for his owne gard and safetie. The treatie selfe he made with king *Mithridates* argued his noble minde. For when *Mithridates* whom *Sylla* had ouercome, was reconciled againe (like a wrestler that being ouerthrowen getteth vp on his feete to try an other fall with his enemy) and tooke vpon him to inuade Asia: *Sertorius* fame was then so great, that he was spoken of through the world, by marchaunts comming from the West, who blew about the report thereof all the East parts ouer, euen into the realme of Pont, like to marchandise which the went to seeke for in strange countryes. Whereupon *Mithridates* being perswaded by the vaine vaunts of his fauoured courtiers, who compared *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, and himselfe vnto king *Pyrrus*, saying that the Romaines being set vpō by thē both, could not withstand two such excellent natures, and great powers together, when the noblest Captaine of the world should be ioyned with the greatest and most puissant Prince that euer was: sent then vpon his Ambassadours into Spayne vnto *Sertorius*, with full power and commissiō to promise him money and shippes towardes the maintenaunce and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he desired that *Sertorius* would redeliuer him the possession of Asia again, the which he had surrendred vp vnto the Romaines vpon the peace made betwixt him and *Sylla*. *Sertorius* hereupon called his councell together (which he termed the Senate) to consult vpō this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept *Mithridates* offer, and were exceedingly glad of the same, considering that they asked them nothing but a fayre in the ayre, and a name of things which were not in their power, offring them therefore things present,

Sertorius noble minde.

Sertorius honorable respect vnto his country.

Sertorius mind greatest in aduersitie.

Sertorius affection to his country.

Sertorius naturall loue to his mother.

Mithridates sent Ambassadours vnto Sertorius in Spayne.

ordent, whereof they had greater needs, yet would *Sertorius* neuer agree thereunto. Notwithstanding thus much he granted *Mithridates*, that he should enioy CAPPADOCIA & BITHYNIA, which had euer beene countryes subiect vnto kings, and whereunto the ROMAINES had neuer any right, excepting this specially: that he would neuer suffer him to vsurpe any countrey, nor the which the ROMAINES had any iuste title, & the which he had lost in warres by force of armes vnto *Cimbria*, and had afterwardes also willingly surrendred by agreement made betwixt him and *Sylla*. For he said he would enlarge the Empire of ROME through his victories, but not impayre or hurt it by his conquestes. For, a valiant man (sayd he) should court to conquer with honour, but in no wise desire life with dishonour. His answere being reported vnto *Mithridates*, did much amaze him: & some haue written, that he then sayd vnto his familiers: What would *Sertorius* commaund vs then, if he sate among them in the Senate at Rome, who being an exile now, & remaining in the farthest part of the world by the sea Atlanticum, doth take vpon him to bound the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning vs also with warres, if we attempt any thing against SPAIN? All this notwithstanding, they were agreed vpon othes betweene them, that *Mithridates* should enioy the countryes of CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, and that *Sertorius* should send him one of his Captaines with aide of warre, and that vpon performance thereof, the king should giue him the summe of three thousand talents, and fortie shippes of warre. So *Sertorius* sent thither one of his Captaines called *Marcus Marius*, a Senator of ROME, who fled to him for succour: with whom *Mithridates* distressed certaine cities of ASIA. And when *Marius* entred into them, with his sergeauntes carying the bundles of roddes and axes before him, as before a Proconsull of ROME: *Mithridates* gaue him the vpper hand, as his better and followed after him. Furthermore, *Marius* did set certaine cities at libertie, and wrote vnto others, declaring vnto them, that *Sertorius* of his grace and goodnesse did release them of their taxe and custome they payed for that poore ASIA which had been oppressed by the couetousnesse of the Gouernours and farmers of the ROMAINES, and also by the pride & insolencie of the souldiers which lay in garison among them, began to haue some hope of chaunge, and to desire the alteration of gouernment, which *Sertorius* offered. But on the other side, the Senators of ROME that were in SPAYNE as banished men in *Sertorius* armie, and of the like dignitie and estate that himselfe was of, they hearing say that all was well again at Rome, and perswading themselues that they should be strong enough for their enemies, hauing no cause to feare any more danger: began then to enuie *Sertorius* greatnesse and authoritie, but *Perpenna* specially among other, who by reason of his nobilitie being puft vp with a vaine presumption and ambitious selfe will, practised to make himselfe chiefe of all the armie, and to that end threw forth amongst his friendes and familiars such kinde of seditious wordes. What euil fortune (quoth he) my friendes doth dayly haunt vs worse then other, making vs that were vnwilling to obey *Sylla* (commaunding at this day both land and sea at his will) to choose rather to forsake our landes and country? And now being come hither in hope to liue at libertie, we willingly make our selues slaues, becomming *Sertorius* garde for defence of his person in his exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with fayne wordes, calling vs the Senate, whereat euerie man laugheth to heare vs so called, and in fine we must abide this dishonour to be at his commaundement, and drudge and take as much paines, as the SPANYARDES and LVSITANIANS do themselues. Herevpon the more part of them being carried away with these mutinous wordes, durst not yet shew themselues in actuall rebellion against *Sertorius*, being afraid of his authoritie: howbeit secretly vnderhand they ouerthrew his doings, by shewing extreme crueltie vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of iustice, imposing great payments vpon them, giuing it out it was *Sertorius* commaundement. By which lewd practises, many cities reuolted against him, and put themselues into his enemies hands: and they dayly also raised new mutinies and rebellions vpon him. Furthermore, those whom he sent to pacifie the tumultes did handle themselues in such sort, that where they should haue quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they set them farther out, and procured new tumultes. Hereupon was *Sertorius* gentle nature and former goodnesse so altered, that he committed almost cruell act vpon all the noble mens children of that land, which

Sertorius noble and worthie answere to Mithridates requestes.

Sertorius worthie saying.

Sertorius league with Mithridates.

M. Marius sent vnto Mithridates.

King Mithridates gaue M. Marius Proconsull, the vpper hand.

The enuie of Perpenna vnto Sertorius.

The seditious words of Perpenna against Sertorius.

Sertorius slue the Spaniards sonnes.

he brought vp at schoole in the citie of Osca: for some of them he put to death, and

The treason of Perpenna and his accomplices against Sertorius.

he sold as slaues. Thus *Perpenna* hauing many associates in his wicked conspiracie

Sertorius, brought into his confederacie also one called *Manlius*, who had chiefest

all the army. This *Manlius* loued a young boy exceedingly, & because he would let him

he loued him well, he told him on a time the whole plot of this conspiracy, willing him

reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him onely: for he should see him

man before it were long. The young boy louing an other better then him, called

went & reuealed vnto him all that *Manlius* had told him. *Ausidius* marueiled to heare

made priuie to it, seeing himselfe also was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that

lius was one of them. And when the boy also named *Perpenna*, *Graecinus*, & some other

Ausidius knew well to be of counsell, he was worse afrayed then before, but yet seemed to

litle of it, and told the boy: for that matter it was nothing, & counselled him not to

Manlius wordes, who was but a vaine man, and boasted of that which was not true, and

onely but to deceiue him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went forthwith

Perpenna, and told him how their practise was discouered, declaring further what

they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed

The treason deuised against Sertorius.

that he sayd, & thereupon they deuised this treason. They had suborned a messenger to

counterfeite letters to *Sertorius*, feyning in the same that one of his Lieutenants had

great battell, in the which he had slaine a marueilous number of his enemies. *Sertorius*

very glad of the good newes, made sacrifice vnto the goddes to giue them thankes.

upon, *Perpenna* taking the present opportunity inuited *Sertorius* to supper to him, and

his friends that were present (euery one of the conspiracie with him) and was so

Sertorius modestie at his table.

with *Sertorius*, that in the end he promised him to come. Now *Sertorius* did euer

destie at the bourd, and would suffer no dissolute talke nor light partes at his meate,

acquainted them also that vsed his table, to talke of graue and wise matters, and yet

honestly merry with an other, without any playing or vncomely talke. In the middest

per, they that sought occasion of quarell, began to speake lewd wordes, counterfeiting

drunke, and to play many vile partes of purpose to anger *Sertorius*. Whereupon

whether it was that he could not abide to see those villainous partes, or that he mist

their ill will towards him by fumbling of their words in their mouthes, and by their

ted irreuerent maner shewed vnto him: fell backewardes vpon the bed where he sate

seeming no more to marke what they did or sayd. *Perpenna* at that instant tooke a cup

wine, and making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpose. The cup falling down

The murther of Sertorius.

a noyse, and that was the signe giuen among them. There with all *Antonius* that

Sertorius at the table, stabbed him in with his dagger. *Sertorius* feeling the thrust, s

rise: but the traiterous murtherer got vpon *Sertorius* breast, & held both his handes.

was *Sertorius* cruelly murthered, not able to defend himselfe, all the conspiratours falling

him. *Sertorius* death being blowen abroad, the most part of the Spaniards sent

dours immediatly vnto *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yeelded themselues vnto them: and

na with those that remained with him, attempted to do some thing with *Sertorius*

preparation. But all fell out to his vtter destruction and ruine, making the world know

Perpenna taken by Pompey.

was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went

saile *Pompey*, who had ouerthrowen him straight, and was in the end taken prisoner.

in that instant of his calamitie, he hid not vse himselfe like a valiant minded man,

worthy to rule: for, thinking to saue his life, hauing *Sertorius* letters and writings, he

Pompey to deliuer him all *Sertorius* letters sent him from the chiefest Senators of Rome

Pompeys wisedome in burning Sertorius letters. Perpenna and his conspiratours put to death by Pompey.

ten with their owne handes, requesting *Sertorius* to bring his armie into Italie, where

should finde numbers of people desirous of his comming, and that gaped still for

of gouernement. But here did *Pompey* shew himselfe a graue and no young man,

ring thereby the citie of Rome from great feare and daunger of chaunge and

For he put all *Sertorius* letters and writings on a heape together, and burnt them

without reading any of them, or suffering them to be red. And moreouer, he

Perpenna to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, would

new occasion of trouble & sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of the afterwards were brought to *Pompey*, who put them all to death: and the rest of them fled into ABRICE where they were all ouerthrowne by them of the countrie, and not a man of them scaped, but vnfortunately vpon the edge of the sworde, *Ausidius* only except, *Manlius* companion in exile. Who, either because he was not reckoned of, or else vnknowne, died an olde man in a mourning village of the barbarous people, poore, miserable, and hated of all the world.

THE LIFE OF *Eumenes*.

Eumenes parentage.

VVris the Historiographer writeth, that *Eumenes* was borne in the city of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a cariers sonne of the same country, (who for pouerty earned his liuing by carying marchandises too and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought vp, aswell at schoole, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, *Phillip* king of MACEDON chancing to come throgh the city of CARDIA, where hauing nothing to do, he tooke great pleasure to see the yong men of the citie handle their weapons, and boyes to wrestle: and among them, *Eumenes* shewed such activitie, & performed it with so good a grace withall, that *Philip* liked the boy well, and tooke him away with him. But sure their report seemeth truest, which write that *Philip* did aduance him for the loue he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of *Philip*, *Eumenes* continued his seruice with king *Alexander* his sonne, where he was thought as wise a man, and as faithfull to his maister, as any: and though he was called the Chancellor or chiefe secretary, yet the king did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefest friends & familiars. For he was sent his Lieutenant generall of his whole army, against the INDIANS, and was *Perdiccas* successor in the gouernement of his prouince, *Perdiccas* being preferred vnto *Hephestions* charge after his death. Nowe because *Neoptolemus* (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the body vnto the king) after the death of *Alexander* tolde the Lords of the counsell of MACEDON, that he had serued the king with his shield and speare, and how *Eumenes* had followed with his pen and paper: the Lordes laughed him to scorne, knowing that besides many great honors *Eumenes* had receiued, the king esteemed so well of him, that he did him the honor by mariage to make him his kinsman. For the first Lady that *Alexander* knew

How Eumenes came to preferment by the kings of Macedon.

in ASIA, was *Barsine Artabazus* daughter, by whom he had a sonne, & called his name [illegible]
les: & of two of her sisters he maried the one of them called *Apama* vnto *Ptolomye*, & her
sister also called *Barsine*, he bestowed vpon *Eumenes*, when he distributed the P[illegible]
among his Lords and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell
disgrace with king *Alexander*, and stood in some danger by means of *Hephestion*. For
stion following *Alexanders* comme on a time, hauing appointed *Eunus* a phiphe, player
ging, which *Eumenes* seruants had taken vp for their maister: *Eumenes* being in a rage,
with one *Mentor* vnto *Alexander*, crying out that a man were better be a phiphe & a com-
plaier of Tragedies, then a souldier, sithence such kinde of people were preferred before
of seruice that ventured their liues in the warres. *Alexander* at that present time was as angry
as *Eumenes*, & roundly tooke vp *Hephestion* for it: howbeit immediatly after hauing cha
his mind, he was much offended with *Eumenes*, because he thought him not to haue vsed
francke speech so much against *Hephestion*, as of a certaine presumptuous boldnesse to
himselfe. And at an other time also, when *Alexander* was sending *Nearchus* with his army
sea to cleere the coasts of the Ocean, it chanced the king was without money: where
he sent to all his friends to take vp money in prest, and among others, vnto *Eumenes*, of w
he requested three hundred talents. *Eumenes* lent him but a hundred, and said he had
a doo to get him so much of all his tenants. *Alexander* said nothing to him, neither wo
he suffer them to take his hundred talents: but commaunded his officers to set *Eumenes*
afire, because he would take him tardy with a lie, before he could giue order to carry awa
goods and siluer. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make
to take any things the which *Alexander* repented afterwards, and was sorie it was burnt
cause all his letters and writings were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenc
they found in niggots of gold and siluer mingled together, about a thousand talents, and
Alexander tooke none of it away: but more then that, he sent vnto all his Lieuten
Captaines, and Gouernors of countries, where soeuer they were, that they should send h
copies of all the letters which they before had sent vnto him, because all those which he
were burnt, and commanded *Eumenes* to take them againe. After that, *Eumenes* and *Hep*
stion fell at variance againe, by reason of a gifte that was giuen him, insomuch as very
words passed betwixt *Hephestion* and him: yet did not the king giue *Eumenes* any ill coun
nance at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after *Hephestion* was dead, the king takin
death greeuously whom he loued so dearely, gaue no good countenance (and was very
besides) vnto those whom he knew bare any grudge to *Hephestion* whiles he liued, & th
thought were glad of his death, but specially vnto *Eumenes* of all other, whose malice to
Hephestion was knowne to him well enough: insomuch as he would oft twit him withall
membring him of the iniuries he had offred *Hephestion*. But *Eumenes* being very wise, and
that could take his time, procured his helpe by the selfe same meane that did him hurt
deuised (to further *Alexanders* desire, seeking to honor *Hephestions* funerall with all po
possible) new inuentions to set forth the same, of more magnificence then had before b
seene, sparing for no cost, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately tom
Againe, when *Alexander* was dead, there fell out great variance betwixt the MACEDONI
footmen, and the noble men that had bene neerest about him: and in that quarrell, *Eume*
in good will stucke to the Lords, but in words he seemed a newter and friend to both pa
saying, it was not for him being a stranger, to thrust himselfe into the quarrels of the MA
DONIANS. And when the other Lordes were departed from BABYLON, *Eumenes* tarry
behinde pacified the greatest part of the souldiers, and made them more tractable and re
to agree with the Lordes. Whereupon, after the Lordes and Captaines had consulted to
ther, and taken order for those contentions, they deuided the gouernement of the prouin
among them which they called Satrapaes: in which partition *Eumenes* had CAPPADOCIA
PAPHLAGONIA, and all that coast vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the city of TRAPEZVNTA
which at that time was not subiect to the empire of MACEDON, for *Ariarathes* kept it then
king. Howbeit it was said, that *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* would put him in possession of it, wi
a great and puisant armie. And make him Gouernour there. Yet afterwards *Antigonus* ma
don

Barsine, the wife of Eumenes.

Eumenes made Gouernor of the countries of Cappadocia & Paphlagonia.

none account of *Perdiccas* letters vnto him, putting him in the head of great imaginations to conquer all, despising all other. And *Leonatus* also came downe into PHRYGIA, and vndertooke the iorney of his conquest for *Eumenes* sake. But when he was in iorney thitherwards, *Hecataeus* tyrant of the CARDIANS, went to him to his army, & praied him rather to go helpe *Antipater* & the other MACEDONIANS, which were besieged in the citie of LAMIA. So *Leonatus*, being willing to take sea, and go thither, went about to perswade *Eumenes* also to like of it, and to reconcile him with *Hecataeus*: for they were not friends one with another, by reason of a quarrell that *Eumenes* father had with this *Hecataeus*, about the gouernment of their citie. Besides that, *Eumenes* had many times complained of him openly vnto king *Alexander*, saying that he was a tyrant, and besought the king that it would please him to set the CARDIANS at libertie. And therefore *Eumenes* refusing that iourney against the GRECIANS, alleaging that he was afraide of *Antipater*, who had bene his enemy of long time, doubting that for the olde grudge he bare him, & also to gratifie *Hecataeus*, he would put him to death: *Leonatus* then reuealed himselfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would passe ouer the sea to aide *Antipater*, where in deed his meaning was to take the kingdom of MACEDON. Thereupon he shewed him letters sent him from *Cleopatra*, willing him to come into the citie of PELLA, and there she would mary him. When *Eumenes* was made priuy to his purpose: either because he feared *Antipater*, or els for that he had no great good opinion of *Leonatus*, knowing him to be a fonde man, and very rashe and vnconstant in his doings, he stale away from him by night, with those few men he had (being about three hundred horsemen, and two hundred footmen well armed) taking all his golde with him, which amounted to the summe of fiue thousand talents, and fled with them vnto *Perdiccas*, vnto whom he bewrayed all *Leonatus* intent and minde: whereupon he was immediatly of great credit about him, and called to counsell. Shortly after, *Perdiccas* brought him into CAPPADOCIA, with a great armie which he himselfe did leade. Where *Ariarathes* was taken prisoner, and *Eumenes* established Gouernour of the countrie, who deliuered the charge of the great cities vnto his friends, and left them there Captaines of garrisons which he appointed, placing euery where, Iudges, Receiuers, Gouernours, and all such other officers necessarie as he thought meete, *Perdiccas* medling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, *Eumenes* went away with *Perdiccas* himselfe, as well to waite vpon him, as also because he would euer be about the kings. But *Perdiccas* thinking with himself that he alone could wel enough performe the enterprise he went about, and considering also that the realme he left behinde him stood needfull of a wise and faithfull Gouernor, whom he might trust with the safety of his state: when they were in CILICIA, returned *Eumenes* back againe, vnder colour to send him to his gouernment, but in deed to keepe the realme of ARMENIA in obedience, the which confined vpon the frontiers of his countrie whereof he was Gouernor, because *Neoptolemus* did vnder hand practise some alteration. Now though *Neoptolemus* was a proude and insolent person, yet *Eumenes* still deuised to hold him in, and kept him from attempts, by gentle and faire words. Furthermore, perceiuing also that the regiment of the MACEDONIAN footmen were growne exceeding stout & insolent: he for a strength & defence against them, set vp a company of horsemen, and to bring to passe, released all the countrymen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to serue a horseback, and bought a great number of horse of seruice, which he gaue among them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them coragious, by honours and gifts he gaue to them that serued well, and so by continuall exercise and often remouing them from place to place, made them very ready and seruiceable. Thus were the noble men of MACEDON, some much amazed, some others very glad when they sawe how by his diligence *Eumenes* had in so short a time gotten about him such a number, as six thousand and fiue hundred horsemen. About that time, *Craterus* and *Antigonus* hauing subdued the GREEKES, came on with their army into ASIA to ouerthrowe *Perdiccas* greatnesse and power: and newes also, that shortly they would inuade CAPPADOCIA. Wheruppon *Perdiccas* being otherwise occupied in warres, fighting against *Ptolomey*, made *Eumenes* his Lieutenant generall, and gaue him commission and full authoritie ouer all his souldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENIA: and wrote letters vnto *Neoptolemus* and *Alcetas*,

commanding them by the same that they should be obedient vnto *Eumenes*, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Nowe for *Alcetas* he flatly answered, that he would not be at this warre: for the MACEDONIANS vnder his charge were ashamed to take armes against *Antipater*, and moreouer they would not fight against *Craterus*, but contrary were bent to receiue him for their Captaine, so much good will they bare him. *Neoptolemus* on the other side, was as ready to play the traitor, and to do *Eumenes* a shrewde turne, as *Alcetas* was. For being sent for by *Eumenes* to come to him, where he should haue obeyed him, he set his men in battell ray to fight with him. There did *Eumenes* reape the first fruite of his wise foresight of the horsemen, which he had set vp to make head against the footmen of the MACEDONIANS. For when his owne footmen were broken and ouerthrowne, he ouercame *Neoptolemus*, and put him to flight with his horsmen, and tooke all his cariage. Then he made the march in order of battell against the MACEDONIANS, who were dispersed euery where following the chase of his footmen, whom they had ouerthrowne. Thus coming vpon them in this disorder, he draue them to throwe away their weapons, and to yeelde vnto him: moreouer, euery man to take his othe to serue him faithfully in this warre, whersoeuer he would lead them. Now *Neoptolemus* gathering a few together that fled, went with them vnto *Craterus* and *Antipater*: who sent vnto *Eumenes* to pray him to take their part, with condition that he should not only enioy the countries and prouinces still which he had in gouernment, but furthermore that they would giue him others vnto them, and make him stronger then euer he was: besides that by the acceptation of the offer, he should be taken for *Antipaters* good friend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemy. Whereunto *Eumenes* made answere that hauing alwaies bene *Antipaters* enemy, he could not of a sodaine become his friend, especially seeing him vse his friends as enemies: howbeit otherwise that he was very willing to make *Craterus* peace with *Perdiccas*, and to restore him againe to his fauour, vpon reasonable & indifferent conditions. And furthermore, that if he ment to assaile him, that then he would aide him so long as he had any breath in his bodie, and would lose his life before he would breake his promise. This answer being brought vnto *Antipater*, they fell to consult at length what was to be done. In the meane space, *Neoptolemus* that fled vpon his ouerthrowe, was come vnto them: who tolde them how the battell was fought, and besought them both (but instantly, but *Craterus* chiefly) to giue him aide if it were possible. For the MACEDONIANS were so fatte in loue with him, that if they did but see his hatte, and heare him speake, they would all arme themselues and follow him. For, to speake a troth, *Craterus* was had in great estimation among the MACEDONIANS: insomuch as after *Alexanders* death, he was more desired of the common souldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he had for their sakes incurred *Alexanders* disgrace and displeasure, because he went about to perswade him to leaue the king of PERSIAES maner, whereunto *Alexander* by litle and litle gaue himselfe: and also for that he maintained & defended the customes of the country of MACEDONIA, the which euery man through pride and excesse began to forsake and contemne. At that time therefore *Craterus* sent *Antipater* into CILICIA, and he himselfe with *Neoptolemus*, against *Eumenes* with the best part of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether vnprouided, supposing he would giue himselfe to pleasure and pastime, after so late a victorie. But *Eumenes* like a wise and vigilant Captaine had taken such order, that he heard newes enough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readinesse to meete him. Yet was not this the chiefest point of his skill in warre. For he looked so precisely vpon their doings, that he did not onely keepe his enemies from knowledge of any thing that he did, but making his men also to kill *Craterus* in battell, before they knew against whom they should fight, & to keepe also so dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge: that of all others he shewed the passing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policie. First, he made a rumor to be spred in his hoast, how *Neoptolemus* & *Pigres* were againe come against him, with certaine horsemen of all sortes gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to haue remoued in the night, a great deale of sleepe came vpon him, in the which he had a maruellous strange dreame. For it seemed vnto him that he saw two *Alexanders* preparing to fight one with an other, either of them leading

Eumenes skill in warre.

Eumenes dreame.

battell of footmen, ranged after the MACEDONIAN fashion: who comming to giue charge the one vpon the other, came the goddesse *Minerua* to aide the one, and *Ceres* likewise to aide the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom *Minerua* aided was ouerthrowne, and that *Ceres* had gathered eares of corne and made a crowne of them, to giue him that had wonne the field. Hereupon *Eumenes* perswaded himselfe that this dreame made for him, and promised him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile countrie of corne, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were sowne with corne in euery place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit of long peace, to see all the corne fieldes how greene they looked. But when he vnderstood that the enemies had giuen their souldiers for the signall of battell, *Minerua* and *Alexander*: then was his first imagination confirmed more then before. Whereupon, he gaue *Ceres* and *Alexander* for signall of the battell to his souldiers, and commaunded euery man to make them a garland of wheate eares to weare on their heads, and that they should wreath flowers and nosegayes about their pikes. He was in minde many times to make his trustiest Captaines priuie against whome they should fight, but not alone to trust himselfe withall, to keepe so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this danger, but to himselfe. Now when he came to giue battell, he would place neuer a MACEDONIAN directly against *Craterus*, but set two companies of men of armes that were strangers against him, the which *Pharnabazus* (*Artabazus* sonne) and *Phœnix Tenidian* did lead. Then he specially commanded, that so soone as they sawe the enemies before them, they should straight giue charge, giuing them no leasure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Herauld or trumpet that they should send vnto them: for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turne against him, if they once came to know *Craterus*. Now for himselfe, he led the right wing of the battell, with a troope of three hundred men at armes, the chiefest men of all his armie, where he should meete full with *Neoptolemus* fronte. When they had passed a litle hill that stood betweene both battels, *Eumenes* horsemen following his commandement, ranne with full cariere to set vpon their enemies. *Craterus* seeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and cursed *Neoptolemus* that had deceiued him in that sorte, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turne of his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he praied them that were about him, to shew themselues like valiant men that day, and therewithall straightly set spurres to his horse to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their staues being broken, they fell straight to their swords: but that day did not *Craterus* dishonor the memory of *Alexander*, for he slue many of his enemies round about him, valiantly repulsed them that did assaile him, and many times ouerthrew them. Yet in fine one of the men of armes of THRACIA gaue him such a blowe on the side, that he turned him ouer his horse, and when he was downe, many passed ouer him. But *Gorgyas*, one of *Eumenes* Captaines knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to guarde him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and euen in the very pangs of death. *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus* on the other side, which had bene mortall enemies of long time, began fire with an old malice, they sought vp & downe the one for the other. So at the two first encounters they could not one light vpon the other, but at the third meeting, when they knew one another, then they set spurres to their horses, their swords drawne, and with great cries gaue charge vpon each other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed gallies had met with their prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridles in their horse necks, closed together, and with both hands striued to plucke off each others headpeece, and to rent their polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing each other, their horses ranne from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrestled together. *Neoptolemus* got vp first: but as he rose, *Eumenes* cut the hamme of his legge, and raised himselfe vp withall. *Neoptolemus* staying himselfe vpon one knee, his other legge being very sore hurt, defended himselfe on the ground the best he could, from *Eumenes* that was on his feete, but he could giue him no deadly wound: neuertheless himselfe had a blow on the necke, that laide him flat on the grounde. Then *Eumenes* inflamed with choller against him, went about to strippe him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious moode, remem-

Battell betwixt Eumenes and Craterus.

Craterus death.

bred not that *Neoptolemus* had his ſword yet, who hurt him vnder his curaces, euen about his groine, not farre from his priuie partes: howbeit the wounde made *Eumenes* worſe afraide, then there was cauſe of hurt, for that *Neoptolemus* ſtrength was gone before the ſtroke came, dying preſently vpon it. *Eumenes* hauing ſtripped him found himſelfe very ill, (by reaſon of his wounds) on his armes and legs, which had many a ſore gaſhe: notwithſtanding, he got vp on his horſe againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had bene fighting ſtill. But there being tolde that *Craterus* had his deaths wound, he went ſtraight to the place where he lay, and found him yet aliue, not paſt knowledge. Then *Eumenes* lighted from his horſe, and wept, and taking him by the right hand, accurſed *Neoptolemus* that had brought him to that pittifull ſtate, and had alſo forced him to be in battell againſt one of his deereſt friends, to make him the inſtrument of his vtter vndoing. This ſecond battell *Eumenes* wanne ten dayes after the firſt battell obtained, which got him great honour, for that he had diſcomfited one of his enemies through wiſedome, and the other by valiantneſſe. But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his friends alſo that tooke his parte, when they bethought them, that he being a ſtranger, had with the weapons and power of the MACEDONIANS themſelues, ſlaine the greateſt and moſt famous Captaine among them. Now if *Perdiccas* had bene ſo happie, as to haue liued and receiued the aduertiſement of *Craterus* death: no doubt he had bin the greateſt perſon of all the MACEDONIANS. But as ill luck would haue it, within two dayes after that *Perdiccas* was ſlaine in a mutinie of his men in EGYPT, newes came to his army of *Eumenes* victorie, and alſo of the death of *Craterus*. Whervpon the MACEDONIANS were ſo offended with *Eumenes*, that incontinently they condemned him to die, & gaue *Antigonus* and *Antipater* commiſſion to execute the reuenge. When *Eumenes* paſſing by mount Ida (where the king kept a race and breed of horſes) had take away with him as many horſes as he would, and had ſent letters of aduertiſement thereof to the kings riders: *Antipater*, as it is reported, ſmiled, and in mockerie ſaid, that he maruelled to ſee *Eumenes* great care, to thinke that he ſhould either giue or receiue any account of the kings goods. So *Eumenes* thought good to fight in the great plaines of LYDIA, eſpecially neere vnto the chiefe citie of SARDIS, becauſe he was the ſtronger in horſemen, and for that he would make *Cleopatra* ſee the power of his armie. Howbeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of *Antipater*) he went further into high PHRYGIA, and wintered in the citie of CELÆNES. But there *Polemon*, *Alcetas*, and *Dotimus*, fell in contention with him for leading of the army, ſaying, that they had as much right to leade the armie as he. *Eumenes* anſwered them, truly here is euen the common ſaying vp and downe: deſperate men regard no danger. Now *Eumenes* hauing promiſed his ſoldiers pay within three daies, to keep his promiſe ſold them all the farmes and caſtels of that country, together with the men and beaſts of the ſame, whereof the prouince was fully repleniſhed. Thereupon his Lieutenants of the bands hauing bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through *Eumenes* engines of battrie which he ſuffered them to cary with him: and hauing taken them, they went and deuided the ſpoile, paying euery ſouldier ratably his wages due. This deuiſe brought him againe into fauour among his ſouldiers. For certaine papers being found in his campe caſt abroade by his enemies, promiſing great offices, and a hundred talents beſides to any man that killed *Eumenes*: the MACEDONIANS that ſerued vnder him were ſo offended withall, that they preſently ſet downe an order, that from that time forward a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers among them (which alſo had charge vnder them) ſhould alwaies garde his perſon, keeping watche euery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after another. Whereunto they all agreed: and *Eumenes* gaue them thoſe honors and rewards, which the kings of MACEDON were wont to giue vnto their friends, and which they gladly receiued. For through their graunt he had authoritie to giue purple clokes and hats to whome he thought good, which was the honourableſt gift the king of MACEDON could giue. It is true that proſperitie maketh ſimple men high minded, whereby they ſeeme (though they be not) very honorable, but ſpecially when fortune hath raiſed them to honor & wealth. But indeed he that is of a noble minde and ſtout courage is beſt diſcerned in aduerſitie: for he neuer yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by *Eumenes*. For whē he had loſt a battell among the ORCYNIANS, in the realme of CAPPADO-

Neoptolemus ſlaine.

Eumenes victory of Craterus and Neoptolemus.

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

The conſtancy of Eumenes in aduerſity.

CIA.

CIA, through the treason of one of his souldiers: he being pursued, yet neuer gaue the traitour any leysure to flie to his enemies for safety, but tooke him and trussed him vp. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horse head vpon a sodaine, and leauing his enemies side hand of him that had him in chase, he closely stale by them without their knowledge, and held on iorneying so long, vntill he came to the selfe same plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies, (the Captaines by them selues, and the souldiers apart) he burnt them with the doores, gates, & windowes of all the villages and townes thereabouts that he could get together: and in stead of tombes for them, he raised vp great heapes of earth. Insomuch as *Antigonus* comming thither immediatly after, he wondred much at his valiantnesse and inuincible courage. Remouing thence, he met with *Antigonus* cariage, and easily without danger haue taken a number of prisoners, as well free as bond, and haue gotten all the riches and treasure which they had spoiled in so many sundry wars, townes, and countries: howbeit he was afraied that if his souldiers were loden with that spoile, it would make them more heauy to march, and vnable to flie, but specially more tender to abide to run from place to place a long time together, being the only meane wherein he trusted to come to end this war. For he made account that *Antigonus* in the end would be weary in following him so long a time, and therfore that he would turne some other way. Moreouer he perceiued that it was vnpossible for him by his authority to keepe the MACEDONIANS from taking so rich a prey, as offered it selfe vnto them: whereupon he commanded them to stay a while, and bate their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the enemies cariage. But in the meane time he secretly sent a messenger to *Menander* (who had the charge and conduct of all the cariage) to will him to flie with all speede out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not far from thence, and safe from horsmen, where they could not be enuironned, and there to fortifie him selfe: sending him word also, that he sent him this aduertisement, for the old friendship and acquaintaunce that had bene betweene them afore. *Menander* hearing what danger he was in, made his men trusse vp their cariage straight. Thereupon *Eumenes* openly sent certaine light armed men to discouer, and to bring him news: and therwithall commanded them to arme, and bridle their horses, as if he had ment to haue led them against the enemies. His skouts were now returned, and told him that it was vnpossible either to distresse or take *Menander*, for that he was fled into a place of such strength, & therefore he was not to be come by. *Eumenes* seemed to be very sory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithstanding. *Menander* after wardes reported this matter to *Antigonus*, & the MACEDONIANS that were in his army, who did greatly commend *Eumenes*, & after that loued him better then euer they did before: because that hauing their childrē in his hands whom he might haue made slaues, and their wiues also whom he might haue defiled, he spared them all. Howbeit *Antigonus* to put them out of this humor, told them, ye are deceiued, my friends: for it was not for your sakes, nor yet to pleasure you, that *Eumenes* tooke not your wiues, your children, and your goods, but only for the feare he had to haue shackles on his heeles, to let him from speedy flying. So *Eumenes* departing from thence, fled stil before *Antigonus*, & wandring vp & down, did him selfe wish his souldiers to get them somewhere else: either in deed for that he was careful of them, or for that he was vnwilling to haue such a number about him, being too few to fight a battel, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a strong place of situation called Nora, in the confines of LYCAONIA and CAPPADOCIA, with fiue hundred horsmen, and two hūdred footmē well armed. And when he was come thither also, he gaue euery one leaue to depart that asked him licence, because they could not haue abiddē the discommodity of the place, which was very straight, and the lacke of necessary victuals which they must needs haue wanted, if the siege did continue long: and thus departed from them with very good wordes and louing countenance. Shortly after came *Antigonus* before the fort, but would not besiege it before he sent for *Eumenes* to come to him vpon his word. *Eumenes* answered him, that *Antigonus* had many of his friends about him, that after him might come to be the heades of his tribe, and that him selfe on the other side had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therfore if *Antigonus* would haue him come and speake with him, that he should send him one of his chiefest frends in hostage. Againe, *Antigonus* being earnest with him, & telling him it was

Eumenes stratageme.

reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: Eumenes aunswered him, I will acknowledge none better then my selfe, so long as I can hold my sword in my hand. In the end, *Antigonus* (according to *Eumenes* request) sent his owne nephew *Ptolomy* into the fort, and then came *Eumenes* out. At their meeting they both embraced and saluted each other, as friendes of old acquaintance and familiarity: and so fell in talke of diuers matters: but all this while *Eumenes* neuer once made request to depart in safety, neither demaunded pardon, but only desired the confirmation of his charge and gouernment, and that he might be restored to that which was giuen him. They that were present at their meeting maruelled much at *Eumenes*, & greatly commended his stoutnes. Now whilest they were thus in talke together, the MACEDONIANS came out of all partes of the campe, to see what manner of man *Eumenes* was: because that after the death of *Craterus* there was no talke among the MACEDONIAN souldiers, of any Captaine, but of *Eumenes*. Nuertheless, *Antigonus* fearing they would doe *Eumenes* some mischiefe, commaunded them aloude to giue backe, and threw stones to be throwen among them to keepe them off him. All this notwithstanding he was faine in the end to put them off with his gard, and to take *Eumenes* in his armes, and had much a doe to deliuer him safely into his fort againe. After this parlance, *Antigonus* compassed this fort of Nora round about with a wall, and left a sufficient number of men to continue the siege, and so went his way with the rest of his army. In the meane time *Eumenes* remained besieged within this fort, where there was plenty of wheate, water, and salt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor sweete of taste, to sustain them with their bread. Yet with all as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in house with him. For he made them eate one after an other sit at his bourd with him, and withall did fashion out that manner of life with a certaine life and familiarity of pleasaunt deuises to entertaine them at their meate. Besides that he sought to shew them as pleasaunt a countenaunce as he could, yet naturally he had a sweete faire face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had been trained vp in it: but like a fresh youth, being of such a constitution of body, that the exactest workeman that euer was could not better set out all the partes and proportion of a man then were naturally to be seene in him. His speach was not harsh nor churlish, but very mild and pleasant, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the siege, there was nothing more annoyed the besieged, then the narrownesse of the fort wherein they were, which was not aboue two furlongs compasse about, and their houses so litle and narrow, that they could scant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of exercise for themselues, or their horse. Now *Eumenes* to take away the sluggishnesse that groweth by idlenesse (a thing most hurtfull to them that are acquainted with trauell and paines) to keepe their breath, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occasion were offred: put his men into the greatest and widest hall he had in his house, (being fourteene cubites long to wake vp and downe in) and taught them first of all to march fair and softly, and then by litle and litle to hasten their pace. For the horses he had, them he made to be girt before, one after an other, and then softly trise them vp with long pulleyes fastned to the beames: their hindmost feete standing on the ground, and their formost being aloft. The horses being trised vp in this maner, their keepers came with loude cries behind them, and some with whippes in their handes to lash them: and the horse being mad withall, yerked out behinde, and sprang forward with his formost feete not to touch the ground, that they did but euen rase it a litle, so as euery vaine and sinew of them were strained by this meanes, that they blue, and were all of a fome withall, so good an exercise to them it was, as well to put them in breath, as to keepe their legges supple to run. Besides that, they had their oats very cleane pickt and dressed, that they might digest them the sooner. *Antigonus* hauing long continued this siege, newes came vnto him that *Antipater* was dead in MACEDON, and that the realme was in a great broile, through the factions of *Cassander* & *Iyperchon*. *Antigonus*, whose head was straight ful of great imaginatiõs, greedily coueting to make him selfe the whole kingdome of MACEDON, thought good to make *Eumenes* his friend, that through his helpe he might attaine his desired purpose. Thereupon he sent *Hyeronymus* vnto him to treate of peace, and gaue him the forme of the othe which he would haue him sweare vnto him. When *Eumenes* had seene it, he would not be sworne in that maner, but corrected

Eumenes talke with Antigonus and magnanimity.

Eumenes besieged in the fort of Nora.

Eumenes personage and pleasauntnes.

Eumenes industry in the siege for martiall exercise.

ſayed: that he did refer himſelfe to the iudgment of the MACEDONIANS which kept him beſieged, to iudge which of thoſe two formes was moſt meeteſt: that which *Antigonus* had ſent him, or the ſame which he had corrected. For in *Antigonus* forme of oth, there was a like mention onely made at the beginning of the blood royall, but in all the reſt following, he bound *Eumenes* particularly to himſelfe. But *Eumenes* in his forme of oth, did firſt of all put *Olympias* the mother of king *Alexander*, and the kings his ſonnes afterwardes: and for the reſt, he ſware he would be friend of the friendes, and enemie of the enemies not of *Antigonus* onely, but of the kings, and of *Olympias*. The MACEDONIANS being at the ſiege before Nora, did better like the forme of *Eumenes* oth, than they did that of *Antigonus*. So hauing giuen *Eumenes* his oth, & made him ſweare according to that forme: they raiſed their ſiege, and ſent alſo vnto *Antigonus* to take his oth. All this accompliſhed, *Eumenes* redeliuered the CAPPADOCIANS their hoſtages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gaue him in their ſteade, horſe of warre, beaſtes of cariage, tentes and pauilions. Thus he beganne to gather his men againe togither, which were diſperſed abroade after his ouerthrowe, ſo that in few dayes he was aboue a thouſand horſmen, with whom he fledde, hauing yet *Antigonus*, and he did wiſely. For *Antigonus* had not onely commaunded them to hunte him vp againe ſtraighter then he was before: but beſides that wrote ſharpe letters and very angrily vnto the MACEDONIANS, which had accepted the correction of the oth. Whileſt *Eumenes* wandred vp & downe flying ſtill, he receiued letters from certaine in MACEDONIA (fearing *Antigonus* greatneſſe) and ſpecially from *Olympias*: which ſent vnto him to come into MACEDON, to take the charge and gouernment of her young ſonne *Alexander*, whom they ſought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewiſe receiued letters from *Polyperchon* and from king *Philippe*, who commanded him to make war with *Antigonus* with his armie he had in CAPPADOCIA, and to put in his purſe of the kings fiue hundreth ſiluer talentes (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the citie of CYNDES, and beſides, to defraye the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall they wrote vnto *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the two Captaines of the Argyraſpides: to make the ſouldiers with the ſiluer ſhieldes, or ſhieldes ſiluered, which were of the olde bandes of *Alexanders* armie. Theſe two Captaines hauing receiued theſe letters, did vſe *Eumenes* with very good wordes, and ſhewed him great countenance: yet a man by their lookes might eaſily coniecture that they enuied him, for either of them both thought themſelues men ſufficient, and worthy to commaunde, *Eumenes*, not to aide him. Howbeit *Eumenes* behaued himſelfe very wiſely. For as touching their enuie, he pacified that, becauſe he tooke not the money which he was cõmaunded to take for his owne vſe, for that he had no need of it. And for their ambition and preſumption, diſdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell howe to commaunde nor obey; he did reclaime them, by a ſuperſtition he vſed before them, which was this. He made them beleeue that *Alexander* did appeare to him in his ſleepe, and that he ſhewed him a pauilion ſumptuouſly ſette out in the ſtate and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and tolde him, that if they would keepe their councell place in that pauilion, he would be preſent among them, and ayde them in all their councels and conductes of their warres, ſo that they would alwaies begin by him. He eaſily perſwaded *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to beleue that which he ſpake, who would not goe to him to conſult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for himſelfe to be ſeene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their conſents they incontinently ſet vp a goodly rich pauilion, which was called *Alexanders* pauilion: and there they kept their coũſels and aſſemblies for diſpatch of all their weightieſt cauſes. After this, they went towardes the countries and met with *Peuceſtas* on the way, (*Eumenes* very great frend) who ioyned with them, and other great peeres of the realme, with all their power beſides. This did greatly augment the armie of the noblemen of MACEDONIA, as touching the number of men, and their braue armors and furniture: but for their owne perſons, becauſe they had no man to commaund them ſince the death of *Alexander*, they were growen ſelfe willed by diſſolute libertie, and effeminate in their manner of life: and moreouer they had gotten a tirannicall fierceneſſe, nouriſhed & increaſed by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many

This was Aridaeus, the ſon of Philip, father of Alexander, whom they had ſurnamed Philippe.

Eumenes made king philippes Lieutenant of his army.

Argyraſpides Alexanders ſouldiers, ſo called, for their ſiluered ſhields

Eumenes temperance.

Eumenes fained deuiſe.

of them being then together, could not be quiet one with an other, but shamefully flatered the olde bands of the MACEDONIAN souldiers, giuing them money, and making them banquets and feastes of sacrifices. And thus in short time, of a campe they brought it to be a dissolute tauerne, where the noble men got the souldiers fauour that they might be chosen captaines of all the army: like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where the people doe rule) to be preferred to honourable states and offices of the common weale. Now *Eumenes* found straight that these peeres of the realme disdained one an other, howbeit that they all feared and mistrusted him, and sought but for oportunity to kill him. Wherefore to preuent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupy money, and so borrowed great summe of them specially, whom he knew most hated him: to the end that from thenceforth they should no more distrust, but trust him, standing in feare to lose the money they had lent him. And thereof followed a straunge thing: for other mens money and goods, was the safety of his life. For where others giue money to saue their liues, he by taking of money saued his owne life. Now for the souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whilest they saw they were without daunger of enemies to make them afraied, they still hung vpon them that gaue them, being desirous to be made Generalles: and came euery morning to their vprising to waite vpon them, and follow them whersoeuer they went. But when *Antigonus* was come to campe hard by them with a great and puisant army, and that their case required then a valiant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the souldiers alone, but all the peeres and states besides, (which in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit them selues vnto *Eumenes*, to be at his commaundement. For when *Antigonus* assaied all the wayes he could to passe ouer the riuer of Pasitigris, the peeres which were layed in diuers places to let him from passing ouer, heard nothing of it, so that there was none but *Eumenes* onely that resisted him and fought with him: where he slew such a number of his men, that he filled the riuer with them, and tooke foure thousand of them prisoners. Againe, when *Eumenes* was sicke, these olde bandes did more plainely shew what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banquet them, and make them good cheare at their houses, yet that *Eumenes* was of all other was worthiest to be their Captaine, and to commaund them. For *Peucestas* hauing feasted them in the kingdom of PERSIA, & giuen euery souldier a mutton to sacrifice, thought he had won great fauor and credit among them. But shortly after, as the army marched against their enemies, *Eumenes* by misfortune fell dangerously sicke, and therefore was of needes be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noise, because he could take no rest. But they had not gone farre, before they saw their enemies, which hauing passed ouer certaine litle hils betweene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the souldiers saw the glistering of the gilt armors of their enemies, that glared in the sunne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephantes with the towers vpon their backs, and the men at armes with their purple coates vpon their armors: (which was the apparell they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the foremost staied vpon hill, and cried out, willing them to send for *Eumenes* to leade them, for they would else go no further, for they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raised their pikes, and laid downe their shields at their feete, calling from one to another to stay, and to their priuate Captaines also: and tolde them plainly, that they would not sturre a foote from thence, nor fight at all, vnlesse *Eumenes* were among them to lead them. *Eumenes* hearing of it, came to them with great speede, hastening his slaues and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on euery side, he held out his right hand to the souldiers, and tolde them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The souldiers also so soone as they sawe him, saluted him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, and tooke vp their shields, clapping them against their pikes with a great shoute, bidding their enemies come when they would, they should be hanged withall, now that their Captaine was among them. *Antigonus* on the other side, being informed by certaine prisoners which his souldiers had taken in skirmish, that *Eumenes* was very sore sicke, and by reason thereof was caried in a litter: thought nowe he should haue no great a do to discomfit the rest of the army, and therefore made all possible speede he could to fight. But when he came so neere, that he might easily see the order and countenance of his

Eumenes wilinesse to winde him selfe out of danger.

Pasitigris.

Eumenes battell with Antigonus, and victorie.

Antigonus souldiers armed with gilt armors.

his enemies, who were set in such good order of battell, that it could not any wayes be amended: he was much amased withall, and pawsed a great while, and in the meane time spied *Eumenes* litter a farre off, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out aloude, as his manner was, and turning him selfe to his friends, sayd: See, sayd he, I beleeue yonder litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But with those wordes, he sounded the retreat, and brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was a little passed ouer, the MACEDONIANS fell to their old traide againe, the peeres to flatter the souldiers, and the souldiers to waxe braue and stout against their Captaines: so that when they came to take their garrisons for the winter time, they deuided immaner among them the whole country of the GABENIANS, the first from the last being lodged almost a thousand furlongs off. Which *Antigonus* vnderstanding, determined to fee vpon them, they misdoubting nothing. And so went sodainely towardes them, by a shorter way then that he had already came, but the worser way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if hee met them thus dispersed a sunder, their Captaines could not readily assemble them all togeather. But while he was in this his iourney, in the desert crooked way, he was so ouertaken, and with such boisterous windes and extreame bitter cold, that his souldiers could go no further, but were forced to tary still, to prouide them present remedy against the fury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knew of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines, towardes the desert, being amased to see such a number of fires in the valley, sent presently with speede vppon two camels light loden, to aduertise *Peucestas*, who being nearest vnto the mountaines was so feared with these newes, that he was at his wittes end, not knowing what to do. For, seeing his other companions as much afraied as him selfe, he fled vpon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But *Eumenes* quicted this great feare, assuring them that he would lay the sodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they should come three daies later then they looked for; which they beleeued. Then did *Eumenes* send messengers into euery quarter to all the Captaines, commaunding them speedily to put their men in readinesse, and to meete him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him selfe in the meane time went with other Captaines to choose a fitte ground to lodge a campe, the which might easily be seene from the toppe of the mountaines, which they must passe that come from the desert: and there fortified the same with trenches, and deuided it out into quarters, making fire in euery place, such a distance off one from an other; as they vse commonly to make in a campe. It was no sooner done, but *Antigonus* came to the toppe of the mountaines, and saw these fires a farre off, which grieued him much: for he thought that his enemies had long before knowen of his comming, and that they came against him. Being afrayd therefore least his enemies would compell him to fight, comming fresh vppon him, his owne men being weary and done with the paines they had abidden, comming through that desert countrey: hee tooke his way to lead backe his army, not the nearest way by the which he came, but through the country richly inhabited and replenished with great cities and good townes, to refresh his ouer-wearied people. Yet seeing he had none alaroms giuen, nor any skirmishes offered him, (as they vse commonly when both armies are neare together) and that the valley men told him that they had seene none other army but his, sauing that round about there was store of fires: then he straight mistrusted that it was one of *Eumenes* strategemes of warre, wherewith he had deceiued him. And therewithall he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he thought to finde him, determining no more to steale vpon him, but to put all to the hazard of battell. But in the meane time, the most part of the hoast was gathered about *Eumenes*, for the great estimation euery man had of his wisdome and sufficiency: insomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he onely as their Lieutenant generall should commaund the whole army. This spited the two Captains of the *Argyraspides*, *Antigenes* & *Teutamus*, who bare him such an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practised his death: and assembling together with many of the states & particular Captains, they sat in councell to know when, & in what sort they should kill him. Howbeit the most voices assembled in this councell, were whole of opinion, that they should take the benefit of his seruice in leading the battell, & that immediatly

Antigonus mocke to Eumenes.

Eumenes stratageme against Antigonus.

Enuy the companion of vertue.

Eumenes death conspired.

after they ſhould put him to death. This being thus reſolued vpon, *Eudamus* Capta… Elephants, and an other called *Phædimus*, went ſecretly and told *Eumenes* what they … cluded vpon in the aſſembly againſt him, not for any good will that they bare him, or … they ſought to pleaſure him, but onely becauſe they were afraied to looſe the money … lent him. *Eumenes* gaue them great thankes, and commended their fidelity, and then … it vnto his beſt friends, and told them: you ſee how I am enuironned with a troupe of … and brutiſh beaſtes. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and writ… had bene ſent him, becauſe he would not haue them ſuffer for him after his death, … ſent him ſecret aduertiſements. Afterwardes when he had diſpoſed of all his priuate … in this ſort, he ſtoode in a doubt whether hee ſhould loſe the battell giuing his ene… victory, or whether it were better for him to flie into CAPPADOCIA, through MES… ARMENIA. Howbeit he reſolued of nothing before his friendes. But when the mi… was in had put diuers thoughts into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did … army in battell ray, perſwading the GRECIANS as well as the barbarous people to … like men. And as for the old ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, they ſo litle needed … tion, that they them ſelues did exhort *Eumenes* to be of good corage, ſaying: that the… mies would neuer abide them, becauſe they were all the oldeſt ſouldiers, and of greateſt … rience, that had bene in all the conqueſtes of king *Philippe*, and of his ſonne *Alexander*, … that it was neuer heard that they had bene ouerthrowen in any ſette battell, the moſt of … being three ſcore and tenne yeares olde, and the youngeſt no leſſe then three ſcore. W… upon, when they ranne with great fury to giue charge vpon their enemies, they cried … loude ſpeaking to the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS that were vnder *Antigonus*: Ah … ches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And ſo aſſailing them with a luſty courage, … rage withall, in a ſhort ſpace ouerthrew the ſquadron of their enemies, and ſlue the moſt … of them in the field. Thus was *Antigonus* army cleane ouerthrowen on that ſide: but on … ther ſide where his men of armes were, through *Peuceſtas* cowardlineſſe (that handled … ſelfe very ill at that battell) he had the vpper hand, and wanne all their cariage, throu… foreſight in the greateſt fury of the battell, and the ſtrength of the place where the battell … fought. For it was a maruellous great plaine of length, neither too deepe, nor yet too ha… der foote, but couered ouer with a ſmall fine ſand, much like to the drie ſand the ſea caſt… and leaueth vpon the ſhore. This ſand being ſcattered abroad by riding and going to and … ſo many thouſands of men and horſes during the time of the battell foughten, had raiſed … a mighty duſt and white ſmoke in the element, as if they had ſturred or tempered white … together, which troubled their ſight ſo ſore, as they could ſee nothing before them: in … whereof *Antigonus* might eaſily ſeaze all their cariage, them ſelues being neuer a whit … ſer. The battell being come to this paſſe you haue heard, *Teutamus* ſent preſently vnto *An*… *nus*, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage again, which he had taken and caried … campe. *Antigonus* made him anſwere, that he would not onely redeliuer the goodes … ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreouer vſe them with all the fauor he could, ſo farre … as they deliuered *Eumenes* into his hands. Whereupon the ARGYRASPIDES tooke … a wicked reſolution, to deliuer him aliue into the handes of his enemies. And with that … mination they came neare vnto him, not making any countenaunce as though they … lay handes on him, but rather ſeeming to guard and defend his perſon as their manner … ſome of them lamēting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not … that he had wonne the battell: and others accuſing the noble men of cowardlines, ſaying … the fault was in them that they had not the whole victory. But in fine, one of thē hauing … his time, flew to him, and tooke his ſword out of his hand: the others ſtraight layed … him, and bound both his hands behinde him with his owne girdle. *Antigonus* vnderſtan… it, ſent *Nicanor* thither to take him out of their handes, and to bring him to him. Th… *nes* hauing made requeſt vnto them to ſuffer him to ſpeake, as they brought him thro… bandes of theſe old MACEDONIAN ſouldiers: it was graunted him with condition, … ſhould make no motion vnto them to turne from that they were determinated to doe, … tell them of things, which (as he ſayd) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereupon …

Eumenes tare all his friends letters to keepe them out of trouble.

The old band of the Macedonians, were euery man 60. yeare old and moſt aboue. Eumenes conflict with Antigonus.

Eumenes betrayed by the Argyraſpides.

ng made, he got vp vpon a litle hillocke, and there ſpake vnto them, putting forth his hands
g bound. O wretched and faithleſſe men, the wickedeſt that euer MACEDON bred. What
eat triumph or victorie, hath euer *Antigonus* wonne of you, hauing ſought it ſuch infi-
waies: as you your ſelues doe now put into his handes, deliuering him your Captaine
nd and manacled? Will not this be to your great ſhame, that being maſters of the fielde,
will grant the honor of the victory vnto your enemy, only for a litle couetouſnes of mo-
nd paltry ſtuffe which you haue loſt? And yet is not this all, but the worſt behinde: to
your Captaine as you do to pay the ranſome of your baggage. For my ſelfe, though now
leade me bound, yet do I remaine free vnouercome, vanquiſher of mine enemies, & ſold
them that ſhould be my friends. Well, yet this requeſt I only make vnto you, in the name
iter, protector of armes, and for the honor of the goddes, (vnto whom all vowed othes
t faithfully to be kept) I pray and coniure you, to kill me your ſelues in this place. For all
meth to one end. To be ſlaine in *Antigonus* campe by the handes of mine owne enemies,
euer be counted your deede: and you may be aſſured he will not be angry withall, for he
deſireth *Eumenes* death, and not his life. If you will needes hold your hands from this at-
, vnloſe yet one of mine onely: that ſhall ſuffice to doe the feate. And if for feare ye will
put a ſword in my hande, throw me bound yet hands and feete vnto wild beaſtes: which
erforme, then doe I diſcharge you of your othe taken betweene both my handes, which
ue ſworne vnto your Captaine, as holily and perfectly performed. Vpon this ſpeech of
nes, all the reſt of the army had cõpaſſion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But
ARGYRASPIDES cried out to cary him away, and not to giue eare to his preaching: and
t was a good deede to puniſh this wicked CHERRONESIAN, according to his deſertes,
dering that he had turmoyled the MACEDONIANS with endleſſe warre and battell. And
couer, that it were too much ſhame that the worthieſt ſouldiers that euer ſerued King
and *Alexander*, ſo painfully in all their warres, ſhould for recompence of their ſeruice in
oldage be turned a begging, their wiues hauing now lyen three nightes with their ene-
With thoſe wordes, they violently draue him on towardes *Antigonus* campe, who fea-
leaſt the multitude of people that ranne to ſee him, would ſmother him in the preaſe, be-
euery man ranne out of the campe: he ſent thither tenne of the ſtrongeſt Elephantes he
nd a good number of men of armes of the MEDES and PARTHIANS, to make way for
in the preaſe. When *Eumenes* was now come into *Antigonus* campe, his heart would not
him to ſee him in that miſerable ſtate, for that they had once bene familiarly acquainted
ther. Whereupon, ſuch as had him in their cuſtodie, came to *Antigonus* to aske him, how
ould haue him kept. Who anſwered them: like a Lyon, or an Elephant. Yet within a
e after he tooke pitie of him, and diſcharged him of his weightieſt irons, & ſent one of his
hold ſeruants to him to ſee him well vſed, and ſuffered his friends to come and bring him
thing he lacked. Thus did *Antigonus* deferre many daies before he would determine ought
nes, hearing euery man ſpeake, & pondering their purpoſes & ſeuerall opinions. *Near-*
CRETAN, and his owne ſonne *Demetrius* ſpake for *Eumenes*, and made ſute to ſaue his
contrary to all the other Lordes & Captaines that were about *Antigonus*, who would in
ſe haue him die. *Eumenes* ſtanding in theſe termes, asked his keeper *Onomarchus* one day
Antigonus ment, that hauing his enemie in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of
ine, or noblely deliuer him? *Onomarchus* churliſhly anſwered him againe, that the time
paſt now to ſhew his courage, as though he feared not death: and that he ſhould haue ſhe-
it in the field at the battell. So helpe me *Iupiter* (quoth he) ſo haue I done, & if thou belee-
not me, aske them that ſet vppon me: for I neuer met with man yet more ſtrong then my
Onomarchus replied againe: ſith now therefore thou haſt found a ſtronger than thy ſelfe,
then canſt thou not abide his pleaſure? In fine, when *Antigonus* had reſolued of his death,
mmaunded them to giue him no more meate: and thus taking his ſuſtenance from him,
nes was three daies a dying. In the meane time came ſuch newes, that ſodainly the campe
ued: and therfore before their departure, a man was ſent to *Eumenes* to diſpatch him out
his paine. *Antigonus* licenced his friends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his
& bones to ſend them to his wife and children. *Eumenes* being ſlaine in this manner, the

The oration of Eumenes to the traitors Argyraſpides his ſouldiers.

Antigonus anſwere for the keeping of Eumenes being priſoner.

The noble mind of Eumenes.

The death of Eumenes.

The iust reward of treason.

gods appointed none other iudges to reuenge the disloyaltie and treason of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captaines, for betraying of *Eumenes*, but *Antigonus* selfe: who detesting [illegible] cruell murderers, and periured persons to the goddes, appointed *Ibyrtius* Gouernour [illegible] prouince of ARACHOSIA, to kill them euery mothers sonne what way he could, that [illegible] of them might euer see MACEDON againe, nor the Greekish sea.

THE COMPARISON OF *Eumenes with Sertorius.*

HEre haue we set downe the things worthie memory of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. Now to compare them together, in this they were [illegible] a like: that they being strangers in a strange countrie, and banished out of their owne, had alwaies bene Captaines of diuers nations, and chiefetaines of great and warlicke armies. But this was proper to *Sertorius*, that all those of his faction gaue him the chiefest place of authority, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to command: where *Eumenes* hauing many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his [illegible] deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be gouerned by a good Captaine: and for their owne safety gaue place to the other, seeing themselues vnable to command. For *Sertorius* being a ROMAINE, gouerned the SPANIARDS and LVSITANIANS: and *Eumenes* a CHERRONESIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of which, the SPANIARDS of long time had bene subiect, to the Empire of ROME: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had subdued all the world. Furthermore, *Sertorius* being [illegible] great estimation for that he was a Senatour of ROME, and had had charge of men of [illegible] before, came to the dignity and estate to be chiefetaine of a great army. Where *Eumenes* [illegible] with small reputation, disdained for that he was but a secretarie: and when he began to [illegible] forwardes, had not only lesse meanes to preferre him then *Sertorius* had, but greater lets and impediments also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many openly stood against him, [illegible] secretly conspired his death: and not as *Sertorius*, whom no man contraried from the beginning, vntill his latter ende, when certaine of his companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore *Sertorius* ende of all his dangers, was to ouercome his enemies: where *Eumenes* greatest dangers came through his victories which he wanne of his owne men, through the malice of them that enuied his honour. Now for their deedes of armes, they are both [illegible] ner a like: but on the other side for their conditions, *Eumenes* naturally loued warre and contention: and *Sertorius* imbraced peace & quietnes. For, *Eumenes* that might haue lined in [illegible] tie with honor, if he would but haue giuen place to his betters, and forsaken the warres [illegible]

The gouernement of Eumenes and Sertorius.

The deedes and conditions of Eumenes and Sertorius compared.

with the daunger of his life to followe martiall feates, with the greateſt perſonages of LACEDÆMON, and in the end ſo came to his death. *Sertorius* contrarily being vnwilling to come to warre, was forced for the ſafetie of his perſon to take armes againſt them, that would not haue him liue in peace. For had not *Eumenes* bene ſo ambitious and ſtout to ſtriue againſt *Antigonus* for the chiefeſt place of authoritie, but could haue beene contented with the ſeconde, *Antigonus* would haue bene right glad thereof: where *Pompey* would neuer ſo much as ſuffer *Sertorius* to liue in reſt. So, the one made voluntary warre onely to rule, and the other againſt his will was cõpelled to rule, becauſe they made wars with him. Whereby it appeareth that *Eumenes* naturally loued warre, preferring the couetous deſire of a better eſtate, aboue the ſafetie of his life, and the other as a right ſouldier, vſed the warres only for a meane to ſaue his life by valiant defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was ſlaine, miſtruſting no treaſon againſt him: and the other, looking euery houre for preſent death threatned him. Whereof the one ſhewed a noble minde, not to miſtruſt them whom he thought his friends: and the other ſhewed a faint heart, being taken when he ment to flie. So *Sertorius* death diſhonored not his life, ſuffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him ſuffer. The other hauing no power to auoide his deſtinie before he was taken, and hauing ſought by meanes to liue being in priſon and captiuitie: could neither patiently nor manfully abide his death. For, begging life at his enemies handes, he gaue him his heart with his body, who before had but his bodie in his power.

Sertorius death more honeſt, then the death of Eumenes.

THE LIFE OF *Ageſilaus.*

Archidamus the ſon of *Zeuxidamus*, hauing honorably raigned in LACEDÆMON, left two ſons behind him: *Agis* which he begate of that noble lady *Lampridо*, & *Ageſilaus* a great deale yonger, which he had by *Eupolia*, *Meliſſippidas* daughter. So the kingdom falling by ſucceſſion vnto *Agis* the elder, the yonger ſonne *Ageſilaus* remaining a priuate perſon, was brought vp after the LACONIAN maner, which was a ſtraight kind of life: but withal it taught childrē how to obey. Whereof it is thought the poet *Simonides* calleth SPARTA, *Damaſimbrotos*: to wit, making men ciuil: for that by continuance of cuſtome, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much or more than any other citie that euer was in

The parentage of Ageſilaus.

Their inſtruction of Ageſilaus.

the world taming them from their childhood, as they doe young colts. The law dispenseth with the heires apparant to the crowne, from that straight subiection and hard life: but *Agesilaus* had that excellencie in him aboue all others of his estate, that he came to the dignitie and honor to command, hauing from his youth learned to obey. The which vndoubtedly was the cause, that he knewe better than any other king, how to please and beare with his subiects, helping his roiall estate & princely behauior grafted in him by nature, with that courtesie and familiaritie which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought vp together, *Lysander* fell in loue with him, wondering at the modestie of his wit. For hauing better spirite, and being more constant in his opinion, than any of the other children, striuing euer to excell in all things, with such a vehemency he tooke all trauels in hande, that it was vnpossible to ouercome him, much lesse to compell him. He was on the other side so milde & gentle, that euery curteous word wrought in him better obedience, than any feare could doe: because it grieued him more to be reproued, then to take pain on him any paine or labor. And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, hee vsed the matter so pleasantly and patiently, that he would merrily mocke himselfe: which maner of merry behauiour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his life & courage was the more commendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding his lameneſse, he refused no paines nor labour. Of his person we haue drawen no counterfaite, because he would not in any wise haue it drawen, and did expressely commaund by his will, that they should neither draw his picture nor make any mould or image of his body. Howbeit wee finde that he was of small stature, whereby his presence promised no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was euer merry & pleasant, and neuer pensiue nor troublesome in word nor looke, euen to the last end of his life he was better loued, than the most faire creature that liued. Notwithstanding the Ephori (as *Theophrastus* writeth) did condemne king *Archidamus* in a summe of money because he maried a litle woman: saying that he would beget them demy kings, no kings indeed. In the time that his eldest sonne *Agis* raigned king, *Alcibiades* being banished Athens fled out of Sicile into Lacedæmon, & had not long remained in Sparta before they suspected him that he kept king *Agis* wife, called *Timæa*: for which cause *Agis* would not acknowledge the child she brought to be his sonne, saying that *Alcibiades* had begotte him. But *Timæa* cared not much for it, as *Duris* writeth: for otherwhile as she sate amongst her women, softly she called him *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. On the other side they report, that *Alcibiades* himselfe said, it was for no hurt he ment to any man, that he lay with Queene *Timæa*, but onely for the desire he had that some of the kings of Lacedæmon should be begotten of his seede. Nouertheleſse at the length he was driuen to forsake Lacedæmon, mistrusting king *Agis*, who euer after doubted of the child, & thought him a bastard: vntill such time as being on his death bed, *Leotychides* falling on his knees, wept, and so behaued himselfe, that *Agis* before many witnesses, saide he did acknowledge him for his sonne. This notwithstanding, when king *Agis* was dead, *Lysander* that had then ouercome the Athenians by sea, and was more in credit and authority in the city of Sparta, than any other: practised to put the crowne vpon *Agesilaus* head, saying, that *Leotychides* had no interest vnto it, because he was a bastard. The like did diuerse other citizens say of him, which loued *Agesilaus* vertue, and liked him passingly, for that he had bene brought vp from his childhood among them. But on the contrary part also there was a Soothsaier or wisard in Sparta called *Diopithes*, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, and was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies and diuinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of Sparta: and for proofe thereof he told this ancient oracle before the councell.

Agesilaus learned to obey, before he came to commaund.

The modestie of Agesilaus.

Agesilaus lameneſse.

Alcibiades committeth adulterie with king Agis wife.

Agesilaus created king, through Lysanders meanes.

A lame king.

As stately as thy stomacke is ô Sparta take good heede,
And stand vpon thy gard, and looke about thee I thee reede.
For halting one day downe will cast thine Empire to the ground,
By meane of warres and troubles great that shall inclose thee round.

Lysander replied against it, saying, that if the Spartans were afraide of this oracle, they should rather beware of *Leotychides*. For the goddes cared not, if any man lame of a foote

afore

aspired to be king: but rather if he were a bastard, & not lineally descended of the race of *Hercules*. For that, said he, were to make the kingdome halt. *Agesilaus* furthermore alleaged, that the god *Neptune* himselfe had witnessed, that *Leotychides* was a bastard: for he draue *Agis* by an earthquake, to runne out of his wiues chamber, and that tenne monethes after that, and more, *Leotychides* was borne. So was *Agesilaus* vpon these allegations not onely proclaimed king of Sparta, but he had giuen him moreouer, as lawfull heire, all his brother *Agis* goods, and *Leotychides* reiected as a bastard. Notwithstanding, considering that his parentes by his mothers side were very poore, (yet honest men) he left them the moytie of all the goods: by which act, *Agesilaus* wonne all their good willes, where else they had enuied him for his succession in the kingdome. And (as *Xenophon* saith) by obeying his countrie, he grew to such power that he might do whatsoeuer he would. The Ephori and Senators at that time bare all the sway and gouernment of the common wealth, the Ephores office changing yearely, the other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the insolency of the kings, lest that they should not (as we haue more amply written in *Lycurgus* life) haue absolute power in their handes. Vpon this occasion, the kings that succeeded in the gouernement, had (as it were) by inheritance, a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, *Agesilaus* tooke a contrary course to all his predecessors. For where others presently quarelled with the Ephori and Senatours, *Agesilaus* did honor and reuerence them, and would neuer attempt any matter without their priuity, but was alwaies readie to goe when they did send for him. When he was set in his chaire of state to giue audience, if any of the Ephori chanced to come in, he would rise vp vnto them: and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honors sake present him a gowne and an oxe. And thus cunningly seeming to honor and increase the dignitie of the Senators, winning their good wils, he made his power great, and the same much greater. Furthermore, his behauiour towards the rest of his countrimen was such, as his enmity was lesse faulty then his friendship. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without iust cause, but he aided his friends euen in vniust causes. And wheras he thought it a shame not to honor enemies, whē they had done well: he could not find in his hart to rebuke his friends when they did amisse, but rather gloried in succouring & helping of them in their euil doings. For he thought it no shame to serue his friendes turne, howsoeuer it were. Againe, when any of his aduersaries offended, he was as sorie for it as any man, and as ready to beare with it if he were intreated: whereby he allured and wanne the hearts of all men. The Ephori seeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in money for that he made the common loue of his countrie priuate to himselfe. For, as naturall Philosophers holde opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of nature, it would come to passe that the heauenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all things should be at a stay, by reason of the mutuall agreement betweene the world and them: euen so, the lawmaker of Lacedæmon seemeth to haue allowed ambition & strife in the common wealth, as a spurre to vertue by procuring alwaies some contention and emulation among great persons. And his reason was that this soft and effeminate fauour, in winking one at an other when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concord. And sure some thinke that *Homer* also saw the same, for he would neuer else haue made *Agamemnon* to haue reioyced to see *Vlysses* and *Achilles* at great wordes together, if he had not bene of opinion, that enuy and contention among great men, were very auaileable for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and doe bring great dangers with them. Now when *Agesilaus* was entred into his kingdome of Lacedæmon, newes were brought him out of Asia, that the king of Persia prepared a great nauy to conquer the Lacedæmonians signiory by sea. *Lysander* being glad of this occasion, longing to be sent againe into Asia to succour his friends whom he had left there as Gouernors & Lieutenants of cities & prouinces (of the which, some of them were driuen away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authority & ruling ouer cruelly:) perswaded *Agesilaus* to goe into Asia, to make warre vpon this barbarous king, farre from Greece, before his army were gathered together. And to cōpasse this the easilier, he wrote vnto his friends in Asia that they should send vnto Sparta to require *Agesilaus* for their Captaine, and so they

Agesilaus proclaimed king, and Leotychides a bastard.

Ephori were certaine officers authorised to controule the kings insolencie and iniustice if any were by them vsed.

Agesilaus, an vprighter enemy than a friend.

Whether contention among the nobilitie be profitable in a common wealth

did. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* going to the aſſembly of the people, accepted the charge, with[out] dition that they would giue him thirtie Captaines of the SPARTANS to be counſellers & [a]ſtants to him in theſe warres, two thouſand free ILOTES, and ſix thouſand of the confed[erates] of LACEDÆMON. All this was immediatly granted through *Lyſanders* friendſhippe to[ward] him, and he was ſent away ſtraight with the thirtie Captaines which he had requeſted, [a]mong which *Lyſander* was the chiefeſt, not only for his riches and authority, but alſo for the [good] will he bare vnto *Ageſilaus*. who thought himſelf more beholding to him for procuring [him] this charge, than for his friendſhip he ſhewed him in bringing him to be king. Now *Ageſilaus* army being aſſembled at the hauen of Gereſtæ, himſelfe with certaine of his friends went to the citie of AVLIDE, where in his ſleepe he dreamd that one ſaid vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMONIANS, thou knoweſt that neuer none but *Agamemnon*, and now thy ſelfe, were ſen Generall of all GREECE, conſidering therefore that thou commaundeſt the ſame [people] he did; that thou makeſt warres with the ſelfe ſame enemies, departing from the ſelfe [ſame] place to goe thither, it is reaſon that thou make the ſelfe ſame ſacrifice vnto the goddeſſe which he made at his like departure. *Ageſilaus* ſtraight vpon this viſion, remembred [that] *Agamemnon* through the perſwaſion of the Soothſaiers did ſacrifice his owne daughter in the ſame place. Yet this made him not afraid, but the next day he told it to his friends, and [ſaid] he would ſacrifice that vnto the goddeſſe, which he thought would pleaſe her well [enough] and that he would not followe that cruell deuotion of this auncient Captaine. *Agamemnon*. And with that, he brought a hynde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commanded the Soothſaier to ſacrifice her: and would not ſuffer him to haue the honour to doe the ſacrifice that was appointed for the ſame purpoſe by the Gouernors of BOEOTIA, according to the cuſtome of that place. The Gouernors of BOEOTIA vnderſtanding it, were much offended and ſent their officers to will *Ageſilaus* not to doe any ſacrifice there, contrary to the [ancient] cuſtome of their countrie. The officers that were ſent, performed their commiſſion and [bad]ding that the beaſt was ſlaine, & the quarters of it vpon the aulter, they tooke and flong them off the aulter euery way. This vexed *Ageſilaus* being readie to imbarke, and departed thence [with] choler againſt the THEBANS, and miſtruſted much his good ſucceſſe by this vnluckie preſen[tation], which ſeemed to prognoſticate vnto him, that he ſhould not preuaile according to his deſire. Furthermore, when he was arriued at EPHESVS, he preſently miſliked the honour [that] ſaw done vnto *Lyſander*, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the countrimen repaired continually to his houſe, that when he came abroade, they all followed him whoſoeuer he went: as though *Lyſander* had indeede bene in authority to do what he would, and that *Ageſilaus* only had but the name to be generall, ſo appointed by the law of LACEDÆMON. For in truth there was neuer GRECIAN Captaine in thoſe partes that had won him ſuch reputation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was neuer man that was more bendie to his friends, neither alſo that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All theſe things being [ſtill] in memorie, the countriemen of that country perceiuing the ſimplicity of *Ageſilaus*, and that he was giuen to pleaſe the people, and caried no great maieſtie nor countenance with him, and obſeruing in *Lyſander* that wonted roughnes and ſharpe ſpeech wherewith they had been acquainted before: euery man obeyed him, and nothing was done but what he commaunded. This firſt of all made the other SPARTANS angrie, for that it appeared they were come [not] were to ſerue *Lyſander*, and not as to counſell the king: but after that, *Ageſilaus* himſelfe grew miſcontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious nor ſorie to ſee others honored beſides himſelfe. Yet being a man ambitiouſly giuen, and of a noble courage, ſaid if he ſhould doe any noble exploit in this warre, that they would impute it vnto *Lyſander* for the great eſtimation he was of: he firſt beganne to deale in this ſort with him. Firſt he contraried all his counſels: and what matters ſoeuer he preferred, which he was deſirous ſhould haue taken effect, *Ageſilaus* would none of that, but tooke ſome other in hand. Furthermore if any of *Lyſanders* followers came to make ſute to him for his fauor, perceiuing that they did leane vnto *Lyſander*: he ſent them away without any thing done for them. In like caſe also in matters of iudgements, if *Lyſander* were againſt any, they were ſure to haue the matter [go] on their ſide. On the contrarie part alſo, if *Lyſander* bare good will to the partie, and fauored

Ageſilaus iorney into Aſia.

Ageſilaus dreame in Aulide.

Lyſanders glorie diminiſhed.

Ageſilaus grudge vnto Lyſander.

the cause to gratifie him: they hardly escaped from setting a fine on their heades. *Agesilaus* consenting these shewes ordinarily of purpose, not by chaunce to one or two, but indifferently to all: *Lysander* looking into the cause, dissembled not with his frendes, but told them plainly that it was for his sake they had those repulses and wronges, and therefore did counsell them to fall vpon the king; and those that had more credit then himselfe. Now *Agesilaus* supposing he gaue that aduise to make euery man to malice him: wherefore, to despite him the more, he made him distributer of his victuals, (& hauing done so) some say that he spake these words in open presence of many: now let them go and honour my flesh distributer. *Lysander* being angered withall, sayd vnto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppresse your frendes. And how I, sayd *Agesilaus*, how to keepe them vnder, that would be greater then my selfe. It may be, yea replied *Lysander*, I haue not done as your grace doth say: yet if you so conceiue of me, heare me I beseech you in some place of charge or office, where I may do you good seruice without offence. After this talke between the, *Agesilaus* sent him into HELLESPONT, where by practise he tooke prisoner a noble man a PERSIAN, called *Spithridates*, out of *Pharnabazus* prouince whereof he was gouernour, & brought him to *Agesilaus* with a great summe of gold and siluer, and neare about two hundred horsemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgate not his grudge to *Agesilaus*, but being offended still, sought oportunitie and meanes to defeate the two houses of the priuiledge of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of SPARTA: and surely he had made great broyle (in my opinion) in the city of SPARTA, had he not bene preuented by death, in a iourney he made into BOEOTIA. Thus we see, that ambitious mindes obseruing no meane, are in a common weale oft times more hurtfull, then beneficiall. For though *Lysander* was indeede intollerable, to shew himselfe so amorous, and out of time: yet was not *Agesilaus* ignoraunt neither, that there were diuers other matters lesse reprochfull to punish such a noble man, that offended onely by greedinesse of honour. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one selfe pasion: the one not to know his Princes power, & the other not to beare with his friends imperfection. Now *Tisaphernes* at the first being afrayed of *Agesilaus*, made league with him, colourably letting him vnderstand that the king would be content to set the cities of GREECE in ASIA at liberty. Notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed warre. *Agesilaus* was very well content withall: for the expectation was great of him through all GREECE, that he would do some noble exploit in this iourney. Moreouer he thought himselfe dishonored for euer, that the ten thousand GRECIANS which were returned backe from the farthest part of ASIA, euen vnto the sea Maior (vnder the conduct and leading of *Xenophon* their Captaine) had quercome the king of PERSIAES army as oft as they listed themselues: and that he which was the Lieutenant generall of the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at that time commaunded both sea and land) should not do some deede worthy memorie among the GRECIANS. Presently therefore to reuenge *Tisaphernes* periurie by iust deceit, he made a countenaunce as though he would first inuade the country of CARIA. Whereupon, this barbarous person *Tisaphernes*, gathered all his power together. But *Agesilaus* on a sodaine returned backe againe, and entred into PHRYGIA, tooke there many cities, and wanne great riche, making his men see by experience, that to infringe & breake a league made & auowed by oth, was a sacrilege, and contemning of the goddes. On the other side also, that to beguile his enemies, it was not onely iust and honorable: but also profitable and pleasant. Now *Agesilaus* being weaker in horsemen then his enemy, and finding the liuers of the beastes which he had sacrificed, without heades, returned into the citie of EPHESVS, and there gathered horsemen together, letting the richmen vnderstand (which would not themselues serue in person) that he did dispense with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for seruice in their place. Many of them tooke that course, & by this meanes *Agesilaus* within few dayes had leuied a great number of men of armes, in stead of footemen that could do small seruice. For they that were vnwilling to go to the warres, did hier them that were willing to serue in their place; and such also as would not serue a horseback, did giue them pay that were desirous to serue in their steades. In this he wisely followed king *Agamemnons* example, who did dispense with the person of a rich coward for going to the warres, by taking a good

See the life of Lysander.

Ambitious heades are very dawngerous in a common weale.

Agesilaus deedes in Asia, and the falsehood of Tisaphernes.

Agesilaus craft.

mare of him. Then *Ageſilaus* had commaunded them that ſold the priſoners by the drumme taken in the warres, that they ſhould ſtrippe them naked, & ſo ſell them: which they did. And ſundry perſons willingly bought their ſpoyles and rayment, but they ſcorned their bodies, becauſe they ſaw them white skinned, ſoft, and delicate: ſo that few men would out bid price for them, for that they thought thoſe men vnprofitable and good for nothing. *Ageſilaus* alſo being preſent at this ſale of purpoſe, ſayd thus vnto his men. See, my friends, quoth he, theſe be the men againſt whom ye are to fight, and here be the ſpoyles for the which ye ſhall fight. Time being come now to put himſelfe into the field, and to inuade his enemies countrey againe, he gaue it out that he would enter LYDIA, not meaning to deceiue *Tiſaphernes* againe, but *Tiſaphernes* deceiued himſelfe. For he being deceiued before by *Ageſilaus*, gaue no credit to this ſecond rumour, but perſwaded himſelfe that doubtleſſe *Ageſilaus* ment then to enter into CARIA, & the rather for that it was a woddie country, very ill for horſemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithſtading, *Ageſilaus* inuading (as he had giuen it out) the champion country, in the which ſtood SARDIS, the capitall city of LYDIA: *Tiſaphernes* was compelled to come to reſcue it in haſt, and being come thither with great ſpeede with his horſemen, he ſtale vpon many of his enemies whom he found ſtraggling out of order, ſpoyling the country, & put the moſt of them to the ſword. *Ageſilaus* hauing intelligence of this, imagined with himſelfe that the footemen of his enemy could not yet be arriued, and conſidering alſo that he had his army whole about him: thought it beſt forthwith to bid him battell, rather then to lay time any longer. Therupon he thruſt in among the horſemen his light armed footemen, & commaunded them ſtraight to charge the enemy, whileſt he cauſed the heauier armed men to follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled vpon it immediatly: & the GRECIANS luſtily following the chaſe, tooke their camp, and made great ſlaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leaſure enough not onely to ſpoyle & ouerrun the kings country at their pleaſure, but alſo to ſee the reuenge taken of *Tiſaphernes*, that was a wicked man, and a cruell enemy to the GRECIANS. For the king of PERSIA made an other his Lieutenaunt immediatly in his roome, called *Tithrauſtes*: who ſtrake off *Tiſaphernes* head, and ſent it vnto *Ageſilaus* to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him ſtore of gold and ſilver to depart out of his country. Thereto *Ageſilaus* aunſwered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that for his owne part, it was an eaſier matter to enrich his ſouldiers, than himſelfe. And furthermore, that the GRECIANS thought it diſhonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then ſpoyles. This notwithſtanding, to gratifie *Tithrauſtes* ſomewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of all the GRECIANS: for the ſumme of thirtie talents giuen him to defray his charges, he withdrew his army out of LYDIA, & went into PHRYGIA. In his iourney he receiued from the counſell of LACEDÆMON, the Scytala, or ſcrolle of parchement wreathed about, aduertiſing him that the citizens had made him alſo their Generall by ſea, as he was by land. *Ageſilaus* onely of all men obtained this honour, who without compariſon was of all other the worthieſt man of fame in his time, as *Theopompus* witneſſeth: & yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, then for the greatnes of his authority. In this notwithſtanding he was to be blamed, that he made choyſe of one *Piſander* his wiues brother, to be Lieutenant of the nauy, and ſo paſſed other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: ſeeking rather to pleaſe his wife, & to aduaunce one of his kinne, then to regard the weale and ſafety of his country. After which he led his army into *Pharnabazus* country which he had in charge, where he found not onely plenty of all ſortes of victuals, but gathered together alſo a wonderfull maſſe of money. From thence he went into the realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with king *Cotys*, who for his vertue and conſtant fidelitie, was very deſirous of his friendſhip. The like did *Spithridates*, forſaking *Pharnabazus*, and came vnto *Ageſilaus*: and after he was come to him, neuer went from him, but alwayes followed him whereſoeuer he went. *Spithridates* had a young ſonne that was paſſing fayre, called *Megabetes*, (of whom *Ageſilaus* had great liking) & likewiſe a fayre young woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom *Ageſilaus* caſt for king *Cotys* to mary. So, taking of king *Cotys* a thouſand horſemen and two thouſand footmen light armed, he returned backe into PHRYGIA, and there deſtroyed *Pharnabazus* coun-

Sardis, the chiefe citie of Lydia.

Ageſilaus victorie of Tiſaphernes.

Ageſilaus made Generall of all the Lacedemonians nauie.

Cotys king of Paphlagonia, became Ageſilaus friend.

which he had in gouernement, who durst not meete him in the field, nor truste to his holdes, but fled from him, carying all his chiefest things with him, flitting from place to place: vntill that *Spithridates*, accompanied with *Erippidas* the SPARTAN, followed him so neare, that he tooke his campe, and all his treasure in it. But there did *Erippidas* shew himselfe so hard and cruell, ouerstraightly searching out part of the spoyle that had bene imbeaceled, compelling the barbarous people to deliuer it againe, ransacking euery corner for it: that *Spithridates* was so offended withall, that on a sodaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, & went backe vnto the citie of SARDIS. This more grieued *Agesilaus*, the any thing that happened to him in all his iourney: for that he had lost so valiant a man as *Spithridates*, and such a number of good souldiers as he caried away with him. Moreouer, he was afrayed least they would detect him of miserable couetousnesse; a thing which he euer was carefull to auoide not only in his own person, but also to keepe all his countrymen from it. But besides these seuen causes, the loue he bare to *Spithridates* sonne pinched him nearely: though when the boy was with him, he striued with his owne nature to subdue that haughty affection and desire of him. For when *Megabates* on a time came to make much of him, & to kisse him: *Agesilaus* turned his face from the boy. The boy being ashamed of the repulse, durst no more come so familiarly, but saluted him aloofe of. *Agesilaus* then repenting him that he had not allowed *Megabates* to kisse him, made as though he maruelled why he did not kisse him as he was wont to do. Then answered some of his familiars about him: your selfe, O king, is in fault, because you durst not tarie, but were afrayed to kisse so fayre a boy. For if he knew your minde, he would come againe, so that you turned your face no more away. When *Agesilaus* had heard them, he paused a while, and sayd neuer a word, but in fine answered them: I shall not neede you say any thing to him, for it would do me more good I could refuse such a one kisse againe, then if all that I see before me were gold. Thus was *Agesilaus* disposed while *Megabates* was with him: but in his absence he did so loue him, that I dare safely say, that if the boy had come againe into his presence, he would haue refused a kisse at his hands. After this *Pharnabazus* sought to speake with him, and one *Apollophanes* a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a friend vnto them both. *Agesilaus* was he first that met at the place appointed with his friends, and tarying for *Pharnabazus* comming, he layed him downe vpon the deepe grasse in the shadow, vnder a fayre great tree. *Pharnabazus* also came thither, & they had soft skinnes long haired, and tapestry excellently wrought of diuers colours, for him to sit vpon the ground. But being ashamed to see *Agesilaus* layed on the bare ground in that sort, he also lay downe by him, though he had vpon him a maruellous rich gowne, of excellent fine and passing colour. Now when they had embraced one an other, *Pharnabazus* began first to speake, and lacked no good perswasions & iust complaints, for that he hauing bene (he was) a friend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in the warre against the ATHENIANS, was thus spoyled and sacked by them. *Agesilaus* then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meeting, hung down their heads for shame, not knowing how to answere him, considering that *Pharnabazus* had iniury offered him: began to speake in this manner. Heretofore we were friends with the king (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) we haue vsed his goods like our owne, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we vse them: and since we see that thou of necessities be a slaue of his, maruell not though we hurt thee for his sake. But when thou shalt rather chuse to be a friend of the GRECIANS, then a slaue to the king of PERSIA: then make account, that all these souldiers, this armour, our ships, and all we are to defend thy goods and thee against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon *Pharnabazus* told him his minde plainly: surely, sayd he, if the king do send him any other Captaine to be his Lieutenant, be sure I will then take your part straight. But on the other side, if he make me his Lieutenant in this warre, truste to it, I will do him the worst seruice I can against you. This answere passingly pleased *Agesilaus*, who taking him by the hand, and rising vp with him, said vnto him. I would wish (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) hauing so noble a minde as thou hast, that thou were rather our friend, then an enemy. So *Pharnabazus* departing from thence with his men, his sonne being left behind, ranne to *Agesilaus*, and willing told him, King *Agesilaus*, I will make thee my friend: & therewith gaue him a dart he

Agesilaus draue Tharnabazus out of his tents.

The meeting of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

Agesilaus words vnto Pharnabazus.

had in his hand. *Ageſilaus* tooke it of him, and liking well the beautie of the young youth and the curteſie he had offred him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might beſtow on him. At the laſt he ſpied his ſecretarie *Adeus* horſe, which had a rich capariſſon on: he ſtraight tooke it from him, and gaue the horſe & furniture to the liuely youth *Pharnabazus* ſonne, who neuer after forgate it. For it chaunced afterwardes that being driuen out of his country by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESVS, *Ageſilaus* made very much of him, and did not ſticke to further him in his loue abroad. For he had great fancie and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whom they brought vp in wreſtling, one day to play for the beſt games. But when he was growen a bigge man and ſtrong, and that he came to offer himſelfe to be billed with them that ſhould wraſtle at the games Olympicall, being in ſome perill to be vtterly refuſed: this PERSIAN that loued him, went vnto *Ageſilaus* and beſought his helpe, that this wraſtler might not receiue the foyle to be reiected. *Ageſilaus* being deſirous to pleaſure him, performed his requeſt with ſome difficultie. Thus *Ageſilaus* in all things elſe was a ſtraight obſeruer of the law: but in his friendes cauſes to be ſtraight laced in matters of iuſtice, he ſayd that was but an excuſe for them that would do nothing for their friendes. To this effect, they finde a letter of his written vnto *Idrian*, Prince of CARIA, for the deliuerie of his friend. If *Nicias* haue not offended, let him go: if he haue offended, then pardon him for my ſake. But howſoeuer it be, let him go. This was *Ageſilaus* manner in the moſt part of his friends cauſes. Notwithſtanding, occaſions fell out oftentimes, that he was inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driuen to remoue in haſt on a ſodaine, and to leaue one ſicke behind him whom he loued dearely: the ſicke man calling him by his name as he was going his way, beſought him that he would not forſake him. *Ageſilaus* (as *Hieronymus* the Philoſopher reporteth) turned backe again and ſayd: O how hard is it both to loue, and to be wiſe. Now had *Ageſilaus* ſpent two yeares in this warre, and was ſpoken of throughout ASIA, being maruelliouſly commended of the king himſelfe, for his great honeſtie, his continencie, his curteſie and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the country with his owne trayne onely, he would enter into the holyeſt temples of the goddes: becauſe he would the goddes themſelues ſhould be witneſſes of his priuate doings, whereas commonly we are loth that men ſhould ſee what we do. Furthermore, amongſt ſo many thouſand ſouldiers as were in his camp, there could hardly be found a worſe mattriſſe, then that himſelfe did lye vpon euery night. And as for heate and cold, he could as eaſily away with either of both, as if by conſtitution of body he had bene borne to abide any weather and ſeaſon. But aboue all, it was a pleaſant ſight to the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they ſaw the great Lords, the kings Lieutenants of PERSIA, (which before were proud, cruell, rich, and giuen to all luſt and pleaſure) honour and feare a man that went vp and downe in a poore cape, being afrayed of euery bare word that he ſpake like a LACONIAN: inſomuch as many of them called to minde *Timotheus* the Poetes verſes, who ſayd,

As Mars hath no mercy, ſo Greece ſcorneth gold.

Now all ASIA being vp and in garboile, they willingly yeelding to him in euery matter he had taken order with the cities, and had eſtabliſhed the libertie of their common wealth without any bloudſhed, or baniſhment of any perſon: he determined to go further, into the land, and tranſporting the warres from the ſea coaſtes of GREECE, to fight with the king of PERSIA in proper perſon, and with the wealth and happineſſe of the ECBATANIANS and the SVSIANIANS, and by that meanes to take his leaſure from him, who ſitting ſtill had made the GRECIANS make warre one with an other, by force of money, corrupting the gouernours of euery city. In the meane time came *Epycidas* LACONIAN vnto him, and brought him newes how SPARTA was grieuouſly troubled with warres, enforced on them by their owne GRECIANS: and that therefore the Ephori did ſend for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his country.

Ah wretched Greece, how cruell ſlaughters haſt
Thou brought vpon thee, for to lay thee waſt?

For how ſhould a man otherwiſe call this enuie, treaſon, and ciuill conſpiracie among

Ageſilaus to his friendes, was without reſpect a friend.

Ageſilaus letter in the behalfe of his friend.

Other read to haue pitie, and to be wiſe. Ageſilaus ſaying.

Ageſilaus vertues.

Ageſilaus ſent for out of Aſia.

Grecians? Who ouerthrew their good fortune that made thē happy before, turning their warres against the barbarous people, out of Greece, and now to bring it against themselues. I am not of *Demaratus* opinion the Corinthian, that sayd the Grecians delight was taken from them, which saw not *Alexander* the great sitting in *Darius* royall throne: but rather I would thinke they should haue wept, to haue left this honor vnto *Alexander* & the Macedonians, fondly losing so many famous Captaines of Greece, at the battels of Leuctres, of Coronea, of Corinthe, and of Arcadia. Neuertheless, *Agesilaus* neuer did better *Agesilaus obedience to his country.* in his life, nor euer shewed better example of obedience and iustice due to his country, then he did in his returne home. For sith *Hannibal* that began to haue ill successe in his warres, being in manner driuen out of Italie, thought neuer (but compelled) to returne againe into his country, to obey his countrymen, which called him home to defend the warre the Romaines made at their owne doores: and that *Alexander* the great also being sent for home vpon the like occasion did not onely refuse to returne into Macedon, but made a iest at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenaunt *Antipater* had fought with king *Agis*, saying, me thinkes when I heare these newes, whilest we are ouercomming of king *Darius* here, there hath bene a battell of rattes fought in Arcadia. Sith then (I say) these two famous Captaines haue made so litle account of their country, may we not thinke the citie of Sparta blessed to haue had such a king, that so much reuerenced his country and obeyed the law as receiuing onely a litle scrolle of parchement commaunding him to returne, he forsooke a world of goodes and wealth that he quietly enioyed (with assured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked forthwith, leauing all the allies and confederates of his country very sorowfull, for that he had giuen ouer so noble an enterprise, which he had so happely begun? Yes sure. Nay furthermore, he passed not for the saying of *Demostratus* Phæacian, who sayd, that the Lacedæmonians in publicke matters were the worthiest men, and the Athenians in priuate causes. For as he had shewed himselfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the common wealth: so was he alwayes curteous priuately to his familiar friends. And because the Persian coyne was stamped on the one side, with the print of an archer: *Agesilaus* being ready to depart, sayd, that *Agesilaus darke speaches.* ten thousand archers draue him out of Asia. For so much was brought vnto Thebes and Athens, and distributed among the Oratours and Gouernours there, who through their Orations made both those great cities to rise, and make warre against the Spartans. In his returne, *Agesilaus* hauing passed the straight of Hellespont, tooke his way through the coūtry of Thracia, and neuer intreated barbarous king nor people to suffer him to passe, but onely sent vnto them to know whether they would he should passe through the countryes as a friend, or an enemy. All countryes and nations else receiued him very honorably to their power, saue the people called the Trochalians, vnto whō king *Xerxes* himselfe gaue promise that he might passe friendly through their country: who sent vnto *Agesilaus* to demaund a hundred siluer talents, and a hundred women to suffer him to passe through their country. But *Agesilaus* laughing them to scorne, aunswered againe: why, how chanceth it that they came not themselues to receiue them? So there withall he marched forward against these barbarous people who were ranged in battell ray to stoppe his passage: howbeit he ouerthrew them, and slue a great number of them in the field. The like demaund he made vnto the king of Macedon, whether he should passe through his country as a friend, or an enemie. The king made him aunswere, he would consider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quoth *Agesilaus*: we will go on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldnesse, and fearing least he would do him some hurt as he went: sent to pray him that he would passe through his country as a friend. Now it chanced so that the Thessalians at that time were in league with the enemies of the Lacedæmonians: therefore as he passed through their countrey, he did spoyle and forrage it as his enemies country, and sent *Xenocles* & *Scytha* to the citie of Larisse, hoping to perswade them to take part with the Lacedæmonians. These two Ambassadours were retained there as prisoners. The Spartans were maruellously offended withall: & thought good that *Agesilaus* should besiege Larisse with his army. But he aunswered them, he would not lose one of those men, to winne all Thessalie:

Agesilaus dispising & deceiuing the barbarous people, returned home through their countryes.

and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by compoſition. Peraduenture this is not to be maruelled at in *Ageſilaus*, that newes being brought him on a time, that in great battell fought by the citie of CORINTHE, where were many worthy and valiant Captaines ſlaine of the enemies, and but few of the SPARTANS: he ſeemed not to reioyce at it, but rather to fetch a grieuous ſigh, ſaying, O poore GREECE, how vnfortunate art thou to haue ſlaine with thine owne handes ſo many valiant Captaines of thine owne people, as ioyning together, might at one field haue ouercome all the barbarous people. The PHARSALIANS harying and troubling the rereward of *Ageſilaus* army, he put forth fiue hundred horſemen which gaue them ſo luſty a charge, that he ouerthrew them by force. For this victorie, he ſet vp tokens of triumph vpon the mountaine called Narthacium, and this victory pleaſed him aboue all the reſt, becauſe with the ſmall number of horſemen which he had gotten together of himſelfe, he had ouerthrowen the glory and pride of the enemies horſemen in battell, whom of they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came *Diphridas* one of the Ephores vnto him, ſent of purpoſe from SPARTA, to commaund him immediatly to inuade BOEOTIA with his armie. Now though *Ageſilaus* intended ſome other time with a greater power to enter BOEOTIA, yet becauſe he would not diſobey the counſels commaundement of SPARTA, he told his men ſtraight, that the battell for the which they returned out of ASIA, was at hand, and therefore he ſent for two companies of them which lay in camp by CORINTHE. The LACEDÆMONIANS that were at SPARTA, to honour *Ageſilaus* for that he had obeyed their commaundement ſo readily: proclaimed in the citie, that as many young men as were deſirous to go aide the king, ſhould come and enter their names. Notwithſtanding, they only choſe but fiftie of the valianteſt among them, and ſent them vnto him. In the meane time, *Ageſilaus* paſſed through the country of THERMOPYLES, and coaſting ouer the land of PHOCIDE, confederates to the LACEDÆMONIANS, he entred into BOEOTIA, and camped by the citie of CHÆRONEA: where immediatly after his arriuall, he ſodainly ſaw the ſunne eclipſed, and darkened in the faſhion of a new moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of *Piſander* vnto him, who was ſlaine in a battel which he loſt by ſea, fighting againſt *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, hard by the Ile of GNIDOS. Theſe newes were very heauy vnto him, both for reſpect of the perſon his kinſeman whom he loſt, as alſo for the great loſſe that happened to the common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, fearing his ſouldiers would be diſcouraged with the newes, and become faint harted, being ready to ioyne battell: he commaunded them that came from the ſea, to brute abroad a contrary tale to that they told him, and he himſelfe to make good their ſpeach, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did ſacrifice to the goddes, as thanking them for the good newes, ſending to euery one of his friends a piece of fleſh ſacrificed, as he commonly vſed to do, in any publike cauſe of ioy. Then marching forward, he ſtraight diſcouered his enemies farre off, & they likewiſe him: and thereupon put his men in battell ray, & gaue the left wing vnto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading himſelf the right wing. The THEBANS on the other ſide, placed themſelues in the right wing of their army, & gaue the left vnto the ARGIVES. *Xenophō* being at that battel on *Ageſilaus* ſide, writeth that he neuer knew of the like field fought. At the firſt onſet, the conflict was not great between both, neither held long, becauſe the THEBANS brake the ORCHOMENIANS ſtraight, and *Ageſilaus* the ARGIVES. But when either ſide vnderſtood that the left wings of their battels were in great diſtreſſe, and that they turned their backes: they returned ſodainly againe. And where *Ageſilaus* might eaſily haue had the victory without any daunger, if he had ſuffred the ſquadrons of the enemies to paſſe by him, & afterwards to haue charged them in the rereward: of a noble courage to ſhew his valiantneſſe, he gaue charge vpon the voward, to haue honour in ouercomming them. The THEBANS on the other ſide no leſſe valiantly receiued him, and fought luſtily on all handes: but the cruelleſt fight was about *Ageſilaus* perſon, with the fiftie young men that were ſent to gard him, who ſhewed themſelues very valiant. *Ageſilaus* was ſore hurt notwithſtanding their valiant reſiſtance, his armour being paſſed through with their pikes & ſwordes in ſundry places: whereupon they enuironned him round amongſt them, and kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of thē, & many of themſelues alſo being killed. In fine, finding the THEBANS too ſtrōg in the voward they were forced to do that which they refuſed

Ageſilaus ouercame the Pharſalians.

Narthacium mons.

The eclipſe of the ſunne.

Piſander, Generall of the nauie ſlaine in battell.

The Ilande of Gnidos.

Ageſilaus battell with the Thebans.

refused at the first: and opening themselues, gaue them passage thorow them. So when they were passed them, the SPARTANS perceiuing how losely and disorderly they marched, as thinking themselues out of all danger, followed them, and gaue charge vpon ther flancke. But all this could not make the THEBANS flie: for they reioycing for their victorie at this battell, retired faire and softly vnto the mountaine Helicon. But *Agesilaus*, notwithstanding he was very sore hurt, with many a grieuous wound, would not go into his pauillion to be dressed before he had bene first at the place where the battell was fought, and had seene his men that were slaine brought away in their armors. As many of his enemies as were fled into the temple of *Minerua Itonian*, which was not far from thence: (where also were set vp tokens of triumphe offred vnto her long time before by the THEBANS, when they had ouercome the armie of the ATHENIANS, vnder the conduct of *Sparton* their Captaine, and had slaine also *Tolmides* their Captaine in the field) he commanded his men they should let them go where they would. The next morning by breake of day, *Agesilaus* desirous to see if the THEBANS had any courage to come downe to fight againe: commanded his souldiers to put garlands vpon their heads, and his musitians to sound their shalmes or pipes, whilest he did set vp a token of triumph as victorious. Moreouer, his enemies sending to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he granted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the citie of DELPHES, where the Pythian games were plaide, he made a solemne procession and common sacrifice vnto *Apollo*, and offered him the tenth parte of all his spoiles which he had brought out of ASIA, which amounted to the summe of an hundred talents. This thing done, he returned into his countrie, where he was greatly honored and esteemed of all his citizens and countrimen, for his orderly life and noble behauiour: for he was no changeling, but the selfe same man in state & condition that he was before he tooke his iorney. He transformed not himselfe into strangers maners, as commonly other Captaines do, that resume out of a farre countrie where they haue made warres: neither did he scorne his countrie fashions, or shewed himselfe disobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwaies kept and obserued them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in washing or bathing, in his wiues apparell, in his armory, or any way else in his houshold stuffe, as if he had neuer passed ouer the riuer of Eurotas. Yet further, he left his olde gates standing that were of so great continuance, that they were thought to be those which *Aristodemus* had set vp. *Xenophon* also saith, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more sumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in LACEDÆMON, is a kinde of coche or charret after the likenesse of griffins, harts, or goates: vpon the which they caried young wenches in solemne processions in the citie. *Xenophon* wrote not what was the name of this daughter of *Agesilaus*: and *Dicearchus* also was much offended, that they neither knew *Agesilaus* daughters name, nor yet the mother of *Epaminondas*. Yet we finde in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that *Agesilaus* wiues name was *Cleora*, one of his daughters called *Apolia*, and the other *Prolyta*. Moreouer, *Agesilaus* speare is seene to this day in the citie of SPARTA, euen like vnto others, and no manner of difference. Now *Agesilaus* perceiuing certaine citizens of SPARTA to stand vpon their reputation, and esteeming themselues aboue others, because they kept horse in their stable: persuaded his sister Cynisca to send her coche and coche horses to the Olympian games to runne for the best prise, thereby to let the GRECIANS see that it was no act of any vertue, but simply of riches and cost. Furthermore hauing *Xenophon* the Philosopher about him, whome he loued and made great account of, he persuaded him to send for his sonnes to LACEDÆMON, that they might be brought vp there, where they should learne the noblest science that men could possibly learne, that is to obey, and to commaund. When *Lysander* was dead, *Agesilaus* at his returne out of ASIA, found a great faction and conspiracie raised by his meanes against him in SPARTA: and because it might appeare what manner of citizen *Lysander* was when he liued, he was said to haue openly shewed and declared an Oration which he found among his writings (the which the Orator *Cleon Halicarnasseus* had written for him, and *Lysander* should haue pronounced without booke, to haue spoken in open assembly) that was to stirre innouation, and to manner haue made a change of the whole gouernment of the commonwealth of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit there was a graue counseller that hauing red the oration, and doubting

Helicon mont.

The worthines of Agesilaus.

The temple of Minerua Itonian.

The constancie of Agesilaus.

Canathrum, what it is.

Cleora, the wife of king Agesilaus. Apolia, and Prolyta Agesilaus daughters

Xenophon, great about Agesilaus.

The practise of Lysander about alteration of gouernment.

The wise counsell of a Senatour at Sparta. The policie of Agesilaus to winne his enemies.

the apparant reasons and persuasions alleaged, tolde him, that he would wish him not to pluck vp the dead againe out of his graue, but rather to burie this oration together with his bodie. *Agesilaus* liked the counsell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had bin his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the means to make some of them to be sent as Lieutenant of armie, or otherwise to haue charge in the wars. In fine, he made it openly knowne, what couetous and wicked men they had bene in their charges: so that when they were accused of it before the councell, he would then helpe & intreate for them. By this meanes he made them againe his friends, where they had bene his enemies: insomuch as in the ende, he had not one enemie at all. For the other king *Agesipolis*, his colleague, whose father had bin banished: he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with gouernment of the commonwealth. Neuertheless, he so behaued himselfe vnto *Agesilaus*, that he made him his verie good friend: for both the kings when they were in the citie, did eate together in one hall. Then *Agesilaus* knowing that *Agesipolis* (as himselfe) was giuen to loue, would euer minister talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the citie, intising him to loue some one of them, which he himselfe did loue: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these LACONIAN loues there was no manner of dishonestie offered, but a true affection and honest regarde to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honest conditions: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lycurgus*.

Agesilaus & Agesipolis, kings of Lacedemon.

Teleutias, Agesilaus halfe brother, made Generall of the army by sea.

Agesilaus by this meanes, hauing the whole authoritie (aboue all men in the citie) in his hands: made his halfe brother *Teleutias* Generall by sea, and himselfe with the armie by land went to besiege the citie of CORINTHE, where with his brothers helpe by sea he tooke the long walles of the same. The ARGIVES which kept CORINTHE at that time, at *Agesilaus* arriuall there were solemnizing the feast of the Isthmian games: who made them flie, euen as they came from sacrificing vnto the god *Neptune*, driuing them to leaue all their preparation and solemnitie. Then diuerse banished men of CORINTHE that were in his armie, besought him that he would keepe these Isthmian games. But he denied them, yet was contented they should themselues solemnize them, and so himselfe remained there, during the time of the feast, for their safety. Afterwards when *Agesilaus* was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Isthmian games, and there were some of them which hauing wonne the game at the first, did also winne it at the second time: and others that were victours before, were this second time ouercome. Whereupon *Agesilaus* said, that the ARGIVES shewed themselues rancke cowards, that esteeming so much (as they did) these plaies and sacrifices, they durst not once offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For himselfe, touching such like sportes and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honour such solemne assemblies and common feasts with his presence, as were commonly vsed in SPARTA, and tooke great pleasure to see the sports betweene the young boyes and girles of SPARTA: howbeit touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that *Callipides* an excellent stage plaier (wonderfully esteemed of among the GRECIANS for a singular man in that arte) meeting *Agesilaus* on a time, at the first did his duetie to him, and then arrogantly thrust himselfe among them that walked with him, thinking the king would haue made much of him: but perceiuing he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him: O king *Agesilaus*, doe you not knowe me? *Agesilaus* looking vpon him, aunswered: what, art not thou *Callipides* the stage plaier? And so made no further account of him. An other time being desired to heare a man that naturally counterfeited the nightingalls voice: he would not heare him, saying, I haue oftentimes heard the nightingall it selfe. Another time also when *Menecrates* the Phisitian (hauing by good fortune cured a desperate disease) called himselfe *Iupiter*, and arrogantly vsurped that name, presuming in a letter he wrote vnto *Agesilaus*, to subscribe it in this manner, *Menecrates Iupiter*, vnto him *Agesilaus*, greeting: *Agesilaus* wrote againe vnto him, *Agesilaus* vnto *Menecrates** health. So, whilest *Agesilaus* was in the territorie of CORINTHE (where he had taken the temple of *Iuno*) beholding his souldiers forraging and spoiling the countrie rounde about: Ambassadours came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he alwaies hated the THEBANS, and besides that thought it then very requisite for the good

Certaine Apothegmes of Agesilaus.

**Meaning that he was not well in his wits to be so presumptuous.*

carelesse of his doings, to make light of it: seemed as he neither heard nor saw them that spake vnto him. But euen at that very instant, as by diuine reuenge to crie quittance, there fell a great mishap vpon him. For before the Ambassadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bandes called the mothers, were slaine euery man by *Iphicrates*: which was the greatest losse that they in long time before had sustained. For they lost a great number of valiant soldiers, all naturall LACEDÆMONIANS: who being well armed euery man, were slaine by naked or light armed hirelings. Thereupon *Agesilaus* went straight into the field with hope to saue them, or at the least to be reuenged. But receiuing certaine intelligence by the way that they were all slaine, he returned againe to the temple of *Iuno* from whence he came, and then comforted the Ambassadors of the BOEOTIANS, to giue them audience. But they, to requite his former disdaine vnto them, made no manner of speach of peace, but onely requested him to suffer them to enter into CORINTHE. *Agesilaus* being offended, aunswered them: if it be to see your friends triumphe of their victorie, yee may safely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambassadors with him, he destroied the CORINTHIANS country, euen to the walles of their citie. And when he had made the Ambassadors see, that the citizens of CORINTHE durst not come out into the field to defend their countrie: he gaue them leaue to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowne, which by flight had escaped: he brought them into LACEDÆMON againe, alwaies remouing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, because the ARCADIANS (their mortall enemies) should not reioice at their losse. After this voiage, to gratifie the ACHAIANS, he entred in with them into the countrie of ACARNANIA, and brought great spoiles from thence, after he had ouercome them in battell. Moreouer, when the ACHAIANS besought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from sowing of their ground: he made them answer he would not. For, said he, they will be afraide of warre the next yeare, when all their fields shall be sowne with corne: & so indeed it came to passe. For the army returning againe they made peace incontinently with the ACHAINS. About that time, *Pharnabazus* & *Conon*, with the king of PERSIAES army, being Lords of the sea without let of any, destroyed and spoiled all the coast of LACONIA. Moreouer, the city of ATHENS did reare vp her wals again by helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS thought good to make peace with the king of PERSIA, and to that ende sent *Antalcidas* Ambassadour vnto *Tiribazus*, most shamely and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRECIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whose libertie *Agesilaus* had made warres with him before. So, it was *Agesilaus* hap not to be foiled with any part of his shame: for *Antalcidas* that was his enemie, sought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he saw warre did daily increase the authoritie, honor, and fame of *Agesilaus*. Notwithstanding, he aunswered one then, that reproued him for that the LACEDÆMONIANS did fauor the MEDES: no, said he, they do not so, but the MEDES do play the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheles, threatning warre to all the GRECIANS, which would not agree to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yeeld vnto that the king of PERSIA liked. But surely he did this chiefly in respect of the THEBANS, to the end that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to set the country of BOEOTIA at libertie againe, should be so much the weaker. This plainly appeared soone after by that that followed. For *Phœbidas* hauing committed a fowle fact in open peace to take the castell of the citie of THEBES, called *Cadmea*, offending therby all the other GRECIANS (and the SPARTANS themselues also not being very well pleased with it, the those specially which were *Agesilaus* enemies) *Phœbidas* being asked in great anger, at whose commandement he had done that so daine enterprise: to lay all the suspition of the fact vpon him: *Agesilaus* for *Phœbidas* discharge, letted not openly to say, that the qualitie of the fact was to be considered of, whether it were profitable for the common wealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing falling out profitable for his country to do it of his own head without commandement. All this notwithstanding he was wont to say in priuate talke, that iustice was the chiefest of all vertues, and therfore that valiantnes without iustice was of no valuation, & that if all men were iust, valiantnes were of no estimation. And to them that told him, the great king will haue it so: Why, said he, and wherein is he better then my selfe, if he be

Agesilaus ouercame the Acarnanians.

Antalcidas peace.

Phœbidas possessith the castell of Cadmea.

Agesilaus praise of iustice.

not iuſter? Iudging very wiſely therein, that they ſhould eſteeme a king (whether he were of great or ſmall power) by his iuſtice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was concluded, the king of PERSIA hauing ſent him a priuate letter deſiring his friendſhip, *Ageſilaus* refuſed it, ſaying: that common friendſhip was enough betwixt them, and that they ſhould neede none other, ſo long as that was kept. But this notwithſtanding, when it came to the point of performance, he went from his firſt good opinion, and gaue place to his will and ambition, ſpecially againſt the THEBANS, at that time when he did not onely ſaue *Phœbidas*, but alſo procured the citie of SPARTA to take the fault vpon them which he had committed, and to iuſtifie it, by keeping the caſtle of Cadmea ſtill, and making *Archias* and *Leontidas* Gouernors of the citie of THEBES, by whom *Phœbidas* came by the caſtel of Cadmea, and poſſeſſed it. Thereupon euery man thought ſtraight, that *Phœbidas* was he that had put the matter in execution, and that *Ageſilaus* gaue the counſell to do it: as things falling out afterwards, did manifeſtly proue the ſuſpition true. For, after that the THEBANS had driuen the garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of the caſtell of Cadmea, and reſtored their citie againe to libertie, burthening them that they had traiterouſly ſlaine *Archias* and *Leontidas* (who indeed were tyrants, though in name Gouernours) he made warre with them: and *Cleombrotus*, raigning then king with him after *Ageſipolis* death, was ſent before into BOEOTIA with an armie. *Ageſilaus* was diſpenſed with by lawe for going any more to the warres, by reaſon of his age, for that he was fortie yeare olde from the firſt growth of haire on his face, and therefore went not that iorney: being aſhamed that the THEBANS ſhould now ſee him fight to reuenge the tyrants deaths, who had but a litle before taken armes for the baniſhed men, againſt the PHLIASIANS.

Sphodrias practiſe to take the hauen of Pirœa at Athens.

At that time there was a LACONIAN called *Sphodrias*, of the contrarie faction vnto *Ageſilaus*: and was then gouernor in the citie of THESPIES, a valiant and ſtout man of his hands, but euer fuller of vaine hope, than of good iudgement. He deſiring fame, and ſuppoſing that *Phœbidas* came to dignitie and great eſtimation through his valiant enterpriſe at THEBES: perſuaded himſelfe that he ſhould win much more honor, if of himſelfe he tooke the hauen of Pirœa ſo dainly ſtealing vpon the ATHENIANS by land, cutting them off by that meanes from all trade by ſea. It was thought commonly that this was a practiſe deuiſed by *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, Gouernors of BOEOTIA, who had allured certaine men to faine themſelues very deuout & friendly to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Theſe men praiſing and extolling *Sphodrias* to his face, put him in the head that they knew none ſo worthie as himſelf alone, to take in hand ſo noble an enterpriſe. Thus by their perſuaſions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vilenes was nothing inferior vnto that tretcherous winning of the caſtell Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with leſſe hardineſſe & diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of Thriaſium, where he made account to haue bin at the walles of Pirœa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him ſeeing certaine fires from the temples of the citie of ELEVSIN, were all afraide & amazed: yea he himſelfe alſo fainted perceiuing he was diſcouered, & ſo returned back with ſhame & diſhonor to the city of THESPIA without any exploit done, ſauing only a litle ſpoile taken. Thereupon accuſers were ſtraight

Sphodrias accuſed of treaſon.

ſent from ATHENS vnto SPARTA, who vpon their arriuall found that they needed not to accuſe him, for that the councell and Gouernours of the citie had already ſent for him to come vnto them, to condemne him of high treaſon. But he durſt not returne to SPARTA, fearing the furie of his countriemen, thinking indeed that they would ſeeme as though the wrong had bene done to them, becauſe it ſhould not be thought that they had cauſed it to be done. This *Sphodrias* had a ſonne called *Cleonymus*, a very faire boy, with whome *Archidamus* (*Ageſilaus* ſonne) was farre in loue: who then was maruelous ſorie to ſee this boy he loued, in ſo great danger to loſe his father, and yet durſt not be ſeene to helpe him, becauſe *Sphodrias* was one of *Ageſilaus* aduerſaries. Notwithſtanding, *Cleonymus* making his mone to him with the teares in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father *Ageſilaus* (whom they feared aboue all men elſe.) *Archidamus* followed his father three or foure daies together, and durſt not breake the matter to him: in fine, the day of the next ſeſſion being at hand, when iudgement ſhould be giuen of *Sphodrias*, he boldly ventured to tell him, how that *Cleonymus* had praied him to be an humble ſuter to him touching his fathers fact. *Ageſilaus* vnderſtanding that his ſonne loued

How Sphodrias was ſaued from death.

Cleonymus,

Cleonymus, would not withdrawe him from louing of him, becauſe the boy euen from his childhood gaue alwaies good hope that one day he would ſure make as honeſt a man as any other whatſoeuer: neither made he any countenance to his ſonne, as though he would do any thing at his ſute, but onely anſwered him, for that, he would do as became him in ſuch a caſe. Whereupon *Archidamus* being bashfull, left comming any more to *Cleonymus*, where before he would ſee him oftentimes in a day. This made *Sphodrias* friends deſpaire of his life more then before, vntill *Etymocles*, one of *Ageſilaus* familiars talking with them, tolde them that for the fact it ſelfe, *Ageſilaus* thought it a ſhamefull deede, and as much miſliked it as might be: but for *Sphodrias* ſelfe, that he tooke him for a valiant man, and ſaw that the commonwealth had need of men of ſuch ſeruice. This was *Ageſilaus* common talke to pleaſe his ſonne, when any man came to ſpeake to him of *Sphrodias* accuſation. Inſomuch that *Cleonymus* found ſtraight that *Archidamus* had dealt as faithfully and friendly for him as might be, and then *Sphodrias* friends alſo tooke heart againe vnto them, to ſolicite his cauſe, and to be earneſt ſuters for him.

Ageſilaus among other had this ſpeciall propertie, that he loued his children deerly: and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his houſe when they were litle ones, and ride vpon a litle cocke horſe, or a reede, as a horſeback. Inſomuch as a friend of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children: he praied him to ſay nothing, till he had litle children himſelfe. In fine, *Sphodrias* was quit by his iudges. The ATHENIANS vnderſtanding it, ſent to proclaime warre with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* was much reproued, becauſe that to pleaſe the fonde affection of his ſonne, he had hindered iuſtice, and brought his citie to be accuſed among the GRÆCIANS for ſuch grieuous crimes. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that king *Cleombrotus* his companion went with no very good will to make warre with the THEBANS, he breaking the order ſet downe for leading of the army, which was kept before, went to the warres himſelfe in perſon, and ſo inuading BOEOTIA he both reuenged and did great hurt. Wherupon *Antalcidas* ſeeing him hurt one day, now truly (ſaid he) the THEBANS haue paide you your deſerued hire, for teaching them againſt their willes to be ſouldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For in deed they ſay the THEBANS became better ſouldiers and warriours than they were before, being daily trained & exerciſed in armes through the continual inuaſions of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Lo, this was the reaſon, why the olde father *Lycurgus* in his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make war too oft with one ſelfe people, becauſe that by compulſion they ſhould not be made expert ſoldiers. For this cauſe all the confederats of LACEDÆMON hate *Ageſilaus*, ſaying, that it was not for any knowne offence to the ſtate, but for very ſpight and priuate malice of his own, that he ſought to vndo the THEBANS in this maner: & that to follow his humor, they conſumed themſelues going yeare vnto the warres one while this way, an other while that way, without any neceſſitie at all, following a few LACEDÆMONIANS, themſelues being alwaies the greater number. Thē it was, that *Ageſilaus* deſiring to make thē ſee what number of men of war they were, vſed this deuiſe. One time he commanded all the allies to ſit downe together one with an other by themſelues, and the LACEDÆMONIANS alſo by themſelues. Then he made a herauld proclaime that all potmakers ſhould ſtand vp on their feete. When they were vp, he made him crie to the braſiers to riſe alſo. After them in like maner, the carpenters: then the maſons, and ſo conſequently all occupations one after an other. So that at the length the confederats obeying the proclamation, were all in maner on their feete. The LACEDÆMONIANS, not one of them roſe: becauſe all baſe mechanicall crafts were forbidden them to occupie. Then *Ageſilaus* laughing at them, ſaid, my friends ſaid he: dō ye not ſee now that we bring moe ſouldiers to the field, than ye do? At his returne from this iourney of THEBES, paſſing by the city of MEGARA, as he went vp into the councell houſe within the caſtell, there ſodainly tooke him a great crampe in his left thigh, that ſwelled extreamly, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but bloud which had filled the vaine: a Phiſitian of SYRACVSA in SICILE being there, ſtraight opened a vaine vnder the ankle of his foote, which made the paine to ceaſe: notwithſtanding there came ſuch abundance of bloud, that they could not ſtanche it, ſo that he ſounded oft, and was in great danger of preſent death. In fine, a way was found to ſtop it, and they caried him to LACEDÆMON, where he lay ſicke a long time, ſo that he was paſt going to the warres any

Ageſilaus cockering his children too much.

Ageſilaus iourney into Bœotia.

Antalcidas ſaying.

Rhetra, of Lycurgus.

Ageſilaus ſubtile deuiſe to ſhew the weakneſſe of the allies.

Ageſilaus fell ſodainly ſicke of a dangerous diſeaſe.

more. The SPARTANS in the meane time receiued great ouerthrowes both by sea and land, and among other, their greatest ouerthrow was at the battell of LEVCTRES, where the THEBANS ouercame and slue them in plaine battell. Then the GRECIANS were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereupon came Ambassadors and the Deputies from all the cities of GRECE, and met at LACEDÆMON to that ende. One of these Deputies was *Epaminondas*, a notable learned man, and a famous Philosopher, but as yet vnskilfull in warres. He seeing how the other Ambassadors curried fauor with *Agesilaus*, only he of the rest kept his grauitie to speake freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GRECE in generall, declaring to them all, how warres did only increase the greatnesse and power of the citie of SPARTA, and contrarily did minish and decay all other cities and townes of GRECE: and for this cause, that he did counsell them all to conclude a good and perfect peace indifferently for all, to the end it might continue the longer, when they were all alike. *Agesilaus* perceiuing then that all the GRECIANS present at the assemblie gaue him good eare, and were glad to heare him speake thus boldly of peace: asked him openly, if he thought it mette and reasonable, that all BOEOTIA should be set cleere at libertie againe? *Epaminondas* presently & boldly againe asked him: if he thought it iust and requisite to set all LACONIA cleere again at liberty. *Agesilaus* being offended therwith, stood vpon his feet, and commanded him to answer plainly whether they would set all BOEOTIA at libertie or not? *Epaminondas* replied vnto him with the self speach again, & asked him whether they would set al LACONIA at liberty or not? Then nettled *Agesilaus* so, that (besides he was glad of such a cloke, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the THEBANS) he presently put the name of the THEBANS out of the bill of those, which should haue bene comprised within the league, and cried open warres vpon them in the market place. For the rest, he licensed the other Deputies & Ambassadors of the people of GRECE to depart, with this conclusion: that they should louingly take order among themselues for the controuersies betwixt them, if they could peaceably agree together, & they that could not fall to such agreement, that then they should trie it by wars, for that it was a hard thing to take vp all quarrels among them. King *Cleombrotus* by chaunce was at that time in the countrie of PHOCIDE with his armie, vnto whom the Ephori wrote that he should forthwith spoile the THEBANS countrie: and therewith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fansie to the iorney, and were loth to make war with them, but yet durst not refuse to go, nor disobey the LACEDÆMONIANS. And notwithstanding that there were many signes presaging ill luck, as we haue written in the life of *Epaminondas*, & that *Prothous* LACONIAN was against the enterprise of this warre all that he could: *Agesilaus* would needs forward, hoping he had now found oportunitie to be reuenged of the THEBANS, sith all GRECE besides was in peace and at libertie, themselues onely exempted from treaties of peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very shortnesse of time, that made it manifest enough that this warre was begun in a geere, without any manner of reason. For the generall peace amongst the GRECIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, and the LACEDÆMONIANS were ouercome at the battell of LEVCTRES the fifteene of June: so as there was but twenty daies betwene them. There were slaine a thousand LACEDÆMONIANS with their king *Cleombrotus*, and the choisest of the valiantest SPARTANS about him. Amongst them was also slaine that goodly young man *Cleonymus*, *Sphodrias* sonne, of whom we spake before: who hauing bene beaten downe thrise at the kings foote, three times got vp againe, but at the length was slaine, valiantly fighting against the THEBANS. This great ouerthrowe chancing to the LACEDÆMONIANS vnlooked for, and withall so glorious a victorie vnto the THEBANS, as GRECIANS fighting with GRECIANS had neuer the like: the vanished citie of SPARTA notwithstanding deserued no lesse honour and commendation for her fortitude and worthinesse, than did the victorious citie of THEBES. For as *Xenophon* writeth that as amongst good men euen in table talke, and in their sportes and mirth there falleth euer some thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: euen so in like case, no lesse, but rather more, ought noble mens words to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in aduersitie as in prosperitie. At that time by chance there was a common feast day in the citie of SPARTA, which was full of strangers that came to see the daunces and sportes of them that

Epaminondas the Theban, sent Ambassador vnto Lacedamon.

The strife betwixt Agesilaus and Epaminondas for the libertie of Bœotia.

The Lacedæmonians slaine at the battell of Leuctres. Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians slaine. Cleonymus, the sonne of Sphodrias, slaine at Cleombrotus foote.

Xenophons saying.

that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arriued that brought the newes of the battell lost at LEVCTRES. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor straight ranne all about, that they were all vndone, and how they had lost the signory and commaundement ouer all GREECE: would not suffer them for all this to breake off their daunce in the Theater, nor the city in any thing to change the forme of their feast, but sent vnto the parents to euery mans house, to let them vnderstand the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they them selues remaining still in the Theater to see the daunces and sportes continued, to iudge who caried the best games away. The next morning when euery man knew the number of them that were slaine, and of those also that were escaped: the parentes and friends of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking chearefully of the matter, and one of them embraced an other. On the other side, the parents of them that scaped, kept their houses with their wiues, as folke that mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houses, for any matter of necessity: ye should see him looke so heauily and sad, that he durst not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Besides all this, euen amongest the women there was greater difference. For the mothers of them that kept their sons which came from the battell, were sad and sorrowfull, and spake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers of them that were slaine, went friendly to visite one an other, to reioyce together. Now when the people saw that their confederates beganne to forsake them, and did daily looke that *Epaminondas* glorying in his victory, would inuade PELOPONNESVS: then they beganne to bee pricked in conscience about the oracles of the goddes, thinking that this misfortune came to their city, for that they had thrust out of the kingdom a man perfect in lims, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the gods to beware of that aboue all things. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valiantnes, and his authority was such thereby, that they did not only vse him in war, as their king and soueraigne Captaine: but in ciuill causes also wherein there rose any question, they euer vsed his counsell and aduise. As they did, when they durst not punishe them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at SPARTA Tresantas, (being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houses and of greatest power within the city) least they should moue some sturre or commotion among them. (For by law, they can beare no office in the common wealth. It is shame and reproch to giue them any wiues, and also to mary any of theirs. Whosoeuer meeteth them may lawfully strike them, and they must abide it, and not giue them a word againe. They are cõpelled to weare poore tattered cloth gowns patched with cloth of diuers colours: and worst of all, to shaue the one side of their beards, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the danger great to deale with them, to execute the law according to the infamy they deserued, specially then standing in neede of a great number of men of warre: they referred them selues altogether vnto *Agesilaus*, to take such order in it as he thought good. But *Agesilaus* then, without changing or altering any thing of the law, said in open assembly at LACEDÆMON that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this policy he kept the law inuiolate, and saued also the honor of those poore men: and withall, to put these youths againe in heart, being amazed with this feare, he led the army into the countrey of ARCADIA, and would giue no battell, but onely tooke a small city of the MANTINIANS, and foraged the country. This againe did a litle reuiue the city of SPARTA with some hope, to make that it should not vtterly despaire. But shortly after, *Epaminondas* inuaded the countrey of LACONIA, with forty thousand footemen well armed, besides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the spoile: so that in all, there were about three score and tenne thousand fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was well neare sixe hundred yeares sith the DORIANS possessed LACEDÆMON, and in all that time til then they neuer saw enemies in their country that durst inuade them: but then they sacked and burnt all that came in their way, euen vnto the riuer of Eurotas, and hard adioyning vnto SPARTA, and no man durst come out to resist them. For *Agesilaus* (as *Theopompus* writeth) would not suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to go out to fight against such a tempest and fury of warre, but hauing fortified the middest of the city, and garded euery end of the streetes with souldiers, hee patiently bare all the bragges and threates

The constancy and fortitude of the Spartans

The fortitude of the Spartan women.

Tresantas be cowardes, or faint hearted men.

Punishment at Sparta, for cowardly souldiers.

Epaminondas inuadeth Laconia with three score and ten thousand men.

of the THEBANS, which challenged him out to fight, and bad him come into the field to defend his countrey, that only was the cause of all these their calamities, hauing him selfe procured this war. If this went to *Agesilaus* heart, no lesse grieuous were these troubles to him that rose within the city. As the cries and running to and fro of the old men, which were mad to see that they did before their eies: and of seely women also, which no ground nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe, as straught of their wits, to heare the noise the enemies made, and to see the fire which they raised all the fieldes ouer. Much more sorrowfull also did this make him, when as he bethought him selfe, that entring into his kingdome at such time as the city of SPARTA was in the greatest prosperity that euer it was, he now saw his honor eclipsed, and the glory of his kingdome ouerthrowen: and the rather, for that him selfe had often aunted, that LACONIAN women had neuer seene the smoke of any enemies campe. And as they say of *Antalcidas* one day, that he answered an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valiantnesse of one an others nation, alledging for himselfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driuen the LACEDÆMONIANS from the riuer of Cephisus. It is true, said the LACONIAN: but we did neuer driue you from the riuer of Eurotas. The like answer made a meane man of SPARTA, to one of the ARGIVES that cast him in the teeth, there are diuers of your LACONIANS buried in the countrey of ARGOLIDE: so are there none of yours, said he, buried in LACONIA. It is reported, that *Antalcidas* being one of the Ephori at that time, did secretly send his children into the Ile of CITHÆRA, fearing least the city of SPARTA should be taken. *Agesilaus* perceiuing that the enemies forced to passe ouer the riuer, to enter the city: he stood to defend the middle part of the city, being the highest place of the same, and there had his men set in order of battell. Now at that time, by chaunce the riuer of Eurotas was swelled greater then of ordinary, by reason of the snow waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the THEBANS with the coldnes, then roughnes of the same, in passing it ouer. Some shewing *Agesilaus* how *Epaminondas* marched formost before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer off him, saying neuer a word but this onely: Oh, what a noble fellow is that? *Epaminondas* hauing done all that he could possible to giue the LACEDÆMONIANS battell, euen within the city selfe of SPARTA, that he might there haue set vp some tokens of triumph, he could neuer intise *Agesilaus* to come out of his fort: wherefore he was driuen in the end to depart thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the country. There fell out a conspiracy of two hundred men in SPARTA, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that quarter of the city where the temple of *Diana* stood, called Issorium, a place of strong situation, and ill to distresse. Hereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS in fury would straight haue set vpon them. But *Agesilaus* fearing great mutiny and stur vpon it: commaunded that no man should stur: and him selfe vnarmed, in a poore gown went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, yee haue not obeied my commaundement. This is not the place I appointed you to assemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to disperse your selues, some one way, some an other way, shewing them the quarters of the city. The traitors hearing these words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied: and so leauing that strength, went into those partes of the city that he had shewed them. *Agesilaus* then bringing others thither, possessed the fort of Issorium, and tooke fifteene of those conspiratours, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake out an other conspiracy farre greater then the first, of the SPARTANS them selues which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sodaine sturre and garboile, and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard: on the other side to neglect it, the conspiracy was ouer dangerous. *Agesilaus* hauing consulted with the Ephori, did put them all to death, without any iudgement of law, neuer SPARTANS before them suffering death, without due order of law. Againe, whereas diuers of their neighbors, and of the *Ilotes* them selues, (whom they had billed in their bandes for souldiers) stale away, and ranne to their enemies, which did much discorage them that remained: he warned his men that they should euerie day goe to their couches where they lay, and that they should take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, because they should not know the names of them that were fled in this sort. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, some say that they went out of LACONIA by reason

Certaine witty aunswers.

Conspiracies at Lacedæmon vnder Agesilaus.

Issorium the temple of Diana.

A fine deuise to apprehend the traitors.

The departure of the Thebans out of Laconia

reason of the winter that came on, whereuppon the ARCADIANS discharged their bandes, and euery one departed his way in disorder. Others also hold opinion, that they continued there three moneths together, during which time they destroyed the most part of the countrey. *Theopompus* writeth notwithstanding, that the Captaines of the THEBANS hauing determined to depart, there came one *Phrixus* a SPARTAN vnto them, sent from *Agesilaus*, who brought them tenne talents that they should depart out of their countrey. Thus had they money giuen them to defray their charges homewardes, to doe that, which they them selues had long before determined to haue done. And yet doe I wonder, how it is possible that all other historiographers knew nothing of this, and that *Theopompus* onely could tell of it. All doe acknowledge truely, that *Agesilaus* onely was the cause that the city of SPARTA was saued: who leauing his ambition and selfe will, being passions borne with him, did wisely foresee their safety. Neuertheless, after this great ouerthrow, hee could neuer raise SPARTA againe to her former greatnesse. For like as a whole body, which hauing acquainted it selfe continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfet presently, and so putteth all in daunger: euen so *Lycurgus* hauing framed a perfect state of gouernment in the common wealth of SPARTA, to make her citizens liue in peace and amity together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good law-maker thought vnmeete to continue happy life: they were straight ouerthrowen and all went to wracke. By this time *Agesilaus* was growen olde, and could no more goe to the warres for very age: but his sonne *Archidamus*, with the aide which *Dionysius* the tyraunt of SYRACVSA sent vnto them, wanne a battell against the ARCADIANS, called the teareless battell: for there died not one of his men, and they slue a great number of their enemies. This victory plainely shewed the great weakenesse and decay of the city of SPARTA. For in former times it was so common a thing vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did sacrifice nothing else to the goddes in token of thankes, within the city, but a poore cocke: and they that had fought the battell made no boast of it: neither did they that heard the news reioice greatly at it. For when they had wonne that great battell at the city of MANTINEA, which *Thucydides* describeth: the Ephori only sent the messenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victory, and that they vnderstoode *Archidamus* came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the city, but the father him selfe went first of all to meete him, with the teares in his eies for ioy, and after him all the other Magistrates and officers of the city, and a swarme of old folke both men and women came downe to the riuers side, holding vp their handes to heauen, and thanking the goddes, as if their city had redeemed and recouered her shame and lost honour, and begunne now to rise againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, some say, that the husbandes durst not boldly looke their wiues in the faces, they were so ashamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the city of MESSINA being by *Epaminondas* reedified and replenished with people, he called home againe out of all partes, the naturall inhabitants of the same. The SPARTANS durst not fight with him (nor to hinder his purpose) though it spighted them to the hearts, and were angry with *Agesilaus*, for that in his raigne they had lost all that territory, which was as great as all LACONIA selfe, and that for goodnes and fertility compared with the best parts of all GREECE, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And this was the cause why *Agesilaus* would not agree to the peace, which the THEBANS sent to offer him: and all because he would not relinquish that in words, which the enemies kept in deedes. Therefore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without recouering the thing he looked for, but had in manner also lost the city of SPARTA by a warlike stratageme, in the which he was deceiued. For the MANTINIANS being newly reuolted again from the alliance of the THEBANS, and hauing sent for the LACEDAEMONIANS: *Epaminondas* receiuing intelligence that *Agesilaus* was departed from SPARTA with all his power to aid the MANTINIANS, marched away secretly by night from TEGEA, without the priuity of the MANTINIANS; and went straight to SPARTA, the which he had almost surprised on the sodaine (going an other way then *Agesilaus* came, (being in manner without men to defend it. Howbeit a THESPIAN called *Euthynus*, as *Callisthenes* sayeth, (or as *Xenophon*

Agesilaus saued the city of Sparta.

The teareless battell of Archidamus, ouercomming the Arcadians.

The Lacedemonians were not wont to reioyce much at any victory.

Messina restored againe by Epaminondas.

Epaminondas second iourney vnto Sparta.

writeth, a CRETAN,) brought *Ageſilaus* newes of it: who diſpatched a horſeman ſtraight to aduertiſe them of the city of SPARTA, and marching forward him ſelfe to returne, ſtayed not long after before he arriued. He was no ſooner come, but incontinently alſo came the THEBANS, who paſſing ouer the riuer of Eurotas, gaue aſſault to the city. Then *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that there was no more place nor time of ſecurity as before, but rather of deſperation and courage: he valiauntly defended it, more then an olde mans yeares could beare. Thus, through courage and deſperate minde, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did euer vſe it, he put by the daunger, and ſaued the city of SPARTA from *Epaminondas* handes, ſetting vp markes of triumphe for repulſing of the enemies, and making the women and children of SPARTA to ſee the LACEDÆMONIANS how honorably they rewarded their nurſe and countrey for their good education: but *Archidamus* chiefely of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into euery part of the city, with a few about him, to repulſe the enemies whereſoeuer the daunger was greateſt. It is ſayed alſo that at that time there was one *Iſadas* the ſonne of *Phœbidas*, that did maruellous ſtraunge things to behold, both in the face of his enemies, as alſo in the ſight of his friendes. He was of goodly perſonage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being ſtarke naked, and vnarmed, his body nointed with oyle, hauing in one hand a boreſtaffe, and in the other a ſword, in this manner he went out of his houſe, and ranne amongeſt them that fought, killing and ouerthrowing his enemies that withſtoode him, and was not once hurt, either for that the goddes preſerued him for his manhoodes ſake, or elſe becauſe men thought him more then a man. The Ephori immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honor and reward of his valiantneſſe: but withall they ſet a fine on his head to pay a thouſand ſiluer Drachmas for his raſhe attempt, to hazard him ſelfe, in battell, vnarmed for defence. Shortly after they fought an other great battell before the city of MANTINEA. There *Epaminondas* hauing ouerthrowen the firſt rancks of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and coragiouſly diſtreſſing the reſt, valiantly following the chaſe: there was one *Anticrates* a LACONIAN, who receiuing him (as *Dioſcorides* writeth) ſlue him with his boreſpeare. The LACEDÆMONIANS to this day notwithſtanding, do call the offspring of this *Anticrates*, *Macheriones*: as much to ſay, as ſwordmen, as though he had ſlaine him with a ſword. The LACEDÆMONIANS did eſteeme this *Anticrates* ſo much, for that deadly ſtroke he gaue (becauſe they were afrayd of *Epaminondas* while he liued) that they gaue him that ſlue him, great honors and dignities, and diſcharged all his offspring and kindred from paiment of ſubſidy and common contributions, which priuiledge one *Callicrates*, a kinſeman of this *Anticrates* enioyed euen in our time. After this battell and death of *Epaminondas*, the GRECIANS hauing taken peace generally amongeſt them, *Ageſilaus* would needes exclude the MESSENIANS from being ſworne to this peace, ſaying: that they neede not ſweare, becauſe they had no city. Now, foraſmuch as all the GRECIANS elſe did receiue them as amongſt the number, and tooke their oth vnto this peace: the LACEDÆMONIANS brake off from this generall peace, and none but they only made war, in hope to recouer the MESSENIANS country, and all through the allurement of *Ageſilaus*, who for this cauſe was thought of the GRECIANS cruell and vnſatiable man for warres, to deale ſo craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, hee brought him ſelfe in diſcredit with all men, being compelled to make his coffers bare of money, borrowing of them ſtill, and raiſing ſundry contributions amongeſt them: whereas in deede it had beene his beſt way to haue ended all thoſe miſeries, hauing ſo happy an occaſion offered at that time, and not to haue loſt ſo great an Empire of ſo many townes and cities, both by ſea and land, and all to plague his countrey, to winne the land and riches of the MESSENIANS. But yet was this moſt ſhame vnto him of all other, when he gaue himſelfe vnto one *Tachos*, a Captaine of the EGYPTIANS, euery man thinking it a ſhametull part of him, that ſuch a perſonage as he (reputed the chiefeſt man of all the GRECIANS, and the which had filled the world with report of his fame and glory) ſhould for money let out his perſon to hire, and the glory of his name, vnto a barbarous perſon, a traitour and rebell to his king and maiſter, to become a mercenary Captaine and ſouldier to doe him ſeruice. And moreouer, he being now foure ſcore yeares of age and vpwardes, his body all mangled with woundes, though he had vndertaken this honourable charge for the recouery of the liberty of

Ageſilaus repulſed Epaminondas from Lacedæmon.

The fortitude of Archidamus

The valiantnes of Iſadas a Spartan.

Iſadas rewarded and amerced.

The death of Epaminondas.

Macheriones why ſo called.

Ageſilaus greedy of wars.

of the GRECIANS, yet had his ambition deserued some blame: for noble acts haue their time, neither the good and ill doe nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocrity. But *Agesilaus* had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in seruice, specially for the profite of the common wealth, but perswaded him selfe that it was a dishonor to him to liue idly in a city and doe nothing, till death should come and make his summons: thereuppon forthwith he leuied men of warre through all GREECE with the money *Tachos* sent vnto him, and with them tooke sea, hauing thirty SPARTANS counsellers and assistants to him, as he had in his first iourney. Now *Agesilaus* being arriued in EGYPT, all the chiefe Captaines and Gouernours of king *Tachos* came to the sea shore, and honourably receiued him: and not they only, but infinite numbers of EGYPTIANS of all sorts (that were maruellous desirous of him, for the great fame that went abroad of *Agesilaus*) came thither from all partes to see what manner of man he was. But when they saw no stately traine about him, but an old gray-beard sitting on the grasse by the sea side, a litle man that looked simply of the matter, and but meanely apparelled in an ill fauored thred bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the very tale, that the mountaines should bring forth, and was deliuered of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered when they saw men bring him presentes to welcome him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geese, and such grosse things: and refused all confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to giue them to the women his slaues. *Theophrastus* writeth, that he delighted maruellously in the rushe Papyrus, and liked the garlandes they made of them, for their finesse and the handsomnesse, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Hauing spoken at that time with *Tachos*, who was assembling his army to goe on his iorney: hee was not made chiefetaine generall, as he looked he should haue bene, but was appointed onely Colonell of all the straungers, *Chabrias* Generall of all the army by sea, and the chiefe of all the rest was *Tachos* himselfe in person. This at the first grieued *Agesilaus* to the heart, being driuen whether he would or no, to beare with the vanity and pride of this EGYPTIAN. So he sayled with him into PHENICIA, against the PHENICIANS, imbasing him selfe against his noble disposition and minde, and gaue him place, vntill he saw time of reuenge. It chaunced that one *Nectanebos* a nephewe of this *Tachos*, hauing the leading of part of this army, rebelled against him, and being chosen king by the EGYPTIANS, he sent vnto *Agesilaus*, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did also vnto *Chabrias*, and prayed him to ioyne with him, promising great rewardes vnto them both. *Tachos* vnderstanding that, besought them both that they would not forsake him. *Chabrias* for his part also did likewise intreate *Agesilaus*, and perswade him what he could, to continue friendship with *Tachos*. *Agesilaus* aunswered him, for thee, *Chabrias*, I am sure of thine owne good will, and therefore mayest doe what thou thinkest good: but take it not with me. For I am sent hither a Captaine by my countrey, to serue the EGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honesty for me to make warre with them, whom I am sent to succour and aide: were it not that they them selues which sent me, doe now commaund me the contrary. This aunswer being made, he sent certaine of his men to SPARTA to accuse *Tachos*, and to commend *Nectanebos*. Both they also for their parts sent to intreate the councell of LACEDÆMON: the one as being alwaies their friend and confederate, and the other promising to be their faithfull friend thenceforth. The LACEDÆMONIANS hauing heard the requests of both, answered them openly, that *Agesilaus* should consider of his matter: and wrote secretly to him, that he should do what he thought best for the common wealth of SPARTA. So *Agesilaus* taking with him the mercenary souldiers which he had brought out of GREECE, went vnto *Nectanebos*, cloking his departure, that it was for the benefite of his countrey, to bewray the wicked thing: but in deede taking away the visard to benefite his countrey, they might by a better name rightly haue tearmed it treason. Howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS placing the chiefest point of honor, to consist in the benefit of their country: did acknowledge nothing to be iustice, but that which they thought might serue for the aduauncement of the glory of SPARTA. *Tachos* seeing him selfe forsaken thus by his mercenary straungers, fled. But now on the other side, there rose an other king in the city of MENDES, against this *Nectanebos*, who hauing leauied to the number of a hundred thousand fighting men, came to fight

Agesilaus derided of the Egyptians.

Agesilaus despised all dainty things.

Agesilaus forsaketh Tachos, and goeth vnto Nectanebos.

with *Nectanebos*. But he thinking to encorage *Ageſilaus*, told him, that in deede they were great number of men of all ſorts together, and ſpecially men of handy craft, and therefore they were not to be feared, becauſe they knew not what warre ment. But *Ageſilaus* answered him againe: it is not their number that I feare, but their rudeneſſe and vnskilfulneſſe, which is hardeſt of al to deceiue. For warlike ſtratagems doe moſt preuaile againſt men that have leſt feare and experience: and therefore they foreſee one thing rather then an other. But men of no iudgement nor experience, neither feare danger, nor haue forecaſt, and therefore do they him no more aduantage that ſeeketh to deceiue them, then the wraſtler by ſleight is able to ouerthrow him, whom he can not ſturre nor remoue. Afterwards the MENDESIAN king himſelfe ſent vnto *Ageſilaus*, to winne him if he could. *Nectanebos* then beganne to be afraid when *Ageſilaus* counſelled him to try it by battell as ſoone as he could, and not to prolong this warre againſt ignoraunt men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their ouer-multitude might intrench him round about, and preuent him in diuerſe things: then he beganne to doubt and ſuſpect him more, and thereupon retired into a great city well walled about, and of great ſtrength. *Ageſilaus* being offended that he miſtruſted him thus, tooke it inwardly: but being aſhamed to turne againe vnto the third, and alſo to depart without any exploite done, he followed him, and encloſed him ſelfe within thoſe walles. The enemies purſuing him hard, came vnto the city, and beganne to entrench it round, to keepe him in. Then the EGYPTIAN king *Nectanebos* fearing a long ſiege, determined to giue them battell. Thereto the hired GRECIANS gaue conſent, as deſiring no better match, and the rather alſo for that there was but ſmall ſtore of corne within the city. But *Ageſilaus* perſwading the contrary, would in no wiſe conſent to it: whereuppon the EGYPTIANS thought worſe of him then before, and plainely called him traitor to their king. Howbeit he did patiently beare all their accuſations, expecting time to performe an exploite he entended, which was this. The enemies had caſt a deepe trench without to compaſſe them in. When this trench drew neare to end, and that both endes lacked not much of meeting, tarrying till night came on, he commaunded the GRECIANS arme, and to put them ſelues in readineſſe: then he came vnto the EGYPTIAN, and ſayd vnto him. Lo here is an excellent occaſion preſented to ſaue thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall til I ſaw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing leaſt otherwiſe we might haue loſt it. Now ſith the enemies them ſelues haue with their owne handes giuen vs the means to ſaue our ſelues by this trench they haue caſt, the which as much as is finiſhed thereof doth hinder their great multitude to helpe them ſelues, and that which is yet left vnfiniſhed doth giue vs oportunity to fight with them of euen hand: determine to ſhew thy valure, and following vs, ſaue thy ſelfe and thy people. For the enemies which we ſhall aſſaile before vs, shall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trenche which defendeth vs on either ſide, can no way hurt vs. *Nectanebos* hearing his words, wondered at his great wiſdome, and ſo thruſting in among the GRECIANS, did aſſaile the enemies: the which were ſoone caſt and thrown and put to flight, as many as durſt reſiſt and make head againſt them. *Ageſilaus* hauing wonne *Nectanebos* againe to truſt him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with the like ſubtilty wherewith he had firſt beguiled them, and which they knew not how to auoide. For one while he made as though he fled, and intiſed them to follow him: ſodainely againe he would turne this way and that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a ſtrait ſluce, walled about of either ſide, with great broad ditches full of running water: ſo that when they were euen in the middeſt of it, he ſodainely ſtopped their paſſage with the front of his battell, which he caſt to the breadth of the ſluce, and thus made his number of fighting men equall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compaſſe him in behinde nor flanke him on the ſides. They hauing in this ſort made ſome ſmall reſiſtaunce, in the end turned their backes and fled, and left a great number ſlaine in the field: the reſidue after this ouerthrow forſooke their Captains, and fled ſtraglingly here and there. Thus the affairs of the EGYPTIAN king after that time had good ſucces, and was quietly ſtabliſhed in his kingdome, making much of *Ageſilaus*: and doing him all honour poſſible, prayed him to tary with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needes haſten home to his countrey, which was at warre with others, knowing that his city of SPARTA was without money, becauſe they

In whom ſtratagems take moſt effect.

The ſtratagem of Ageſilaus againſt the Egyptians.

were driuen to giue pay vnto ſtrangers. Thereupon *Nectanebos* in the end tooke his leaue of him very honorably, preſenting him a gift (beſides all other honors he did him) of two hundred and thirtie ſiluer talents in readie mony, to defray the charges of the warre in his country. Howbeit the ſea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, hauing notwithſtanding recouered land with his ſhips in a deſert place of the coaſt of LYBIA, which was called the haven of *Menelaus*, after he was foureſcore and foure yeare old: of the which he had raigned one and forty yeares king of SPARTA, and thirtie yeares thereof and more he was alwaies taken and reputed for the greateſt perſon, and in manner Chiefetaine generall of all GREECE, vnto the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACEDEMONIANS hauing a cuſtome to burie the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their country, in the ſame place where they deceaſed: (the bodies of their kings excepted) the SPARTANS which were at that time about *Ageſilaus*, annointed his bodie with waxe for lacke of honny, and caried him home to SPARTA in this manner. His ſonne *Archidamus* ſucceeded him in the kingdome, whoſe iſſue ſucceſſiuely raigned continually after him, vnto the time of *Agis* (who was the fifth king in ſucceſſion after *Ageſilaus*) whom in deede *Leonidas* put to death, becauſe he ſought to reſtore the LACEDEMONIANS ancient diſcipline and forme of life.

The liberalitie of king Nectanebos vnto Ageſilaus.

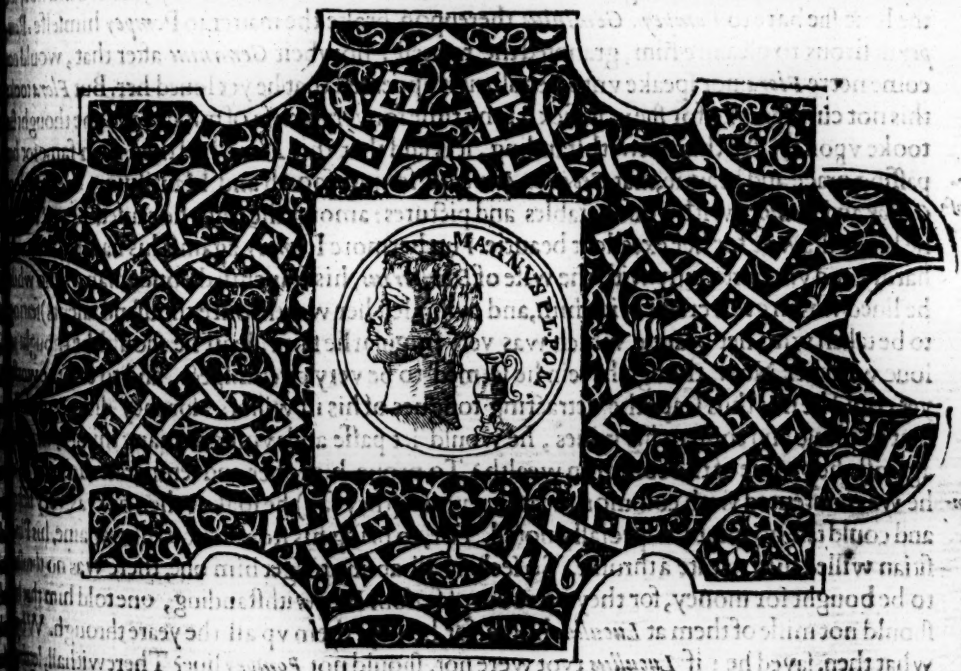
The death of Ageſilaus.

The raigne of Ageſilaus.

Ageſilaus body nointed with waxe for lacke of honny.

The end of the life of Ageſilaus.

THE LIFE OF *Pompey.*



THE ROMAINS ſeeme to haue loued *Pompey* from his childhood, with the ſelfe affection that *Prometheus* in the tragedy of *AEſchylus* appeareth to haue borne vnto *Hercules*, after that he was deliuered by him: when he ſaied,

So great a hate I bare not to the father,
But that I loue the ſonne of him much rather.

The father of Pompey hated in Rome.

For the ROMAINS neuer ſhewed more bitter hate againſt any other Captaine, then they did vnto *Strabo* *Pompeys* father. Truly ſo long as he liued, they feared his greatneſſe obtained by armes, for in deede he was a noble Captaine: but being ſtriken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from

Strabo, the father of Pompey

the beare whereon his bodie lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villanie.

The loue of the Romaines vnto Pompey.

Contrariwise, neuer any other ROMAINE (but *Pompey*) had the peoples earnest goodwill soone, nor that in prosperitie and aduersity continued longer constant, than vnto *Pompey*. Only cause procured the fathers hate, and that was: an vnsatiable and greedy desire of mo But *Pompey* his sonne, was for many occasions beloued. As, for temperance of life, ap to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnes of word, and curtesie in conuersation: so that there was neuer man that requested any thing with lesse ill will then he, nor that more willingly pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gaue without disdaine, and tooke with honor. Furthermore, being but a childe, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan good willes before he spake: for his countenance was sweete, mixed with grauitie, and be come to mans state, there appeared in his gesture and behauiour a graue and princely matc His haire also stoode a litle vpright, and the cast and soft mouing of his eyes, had a cert resemblance (as they said) of the statues and images of king *Alexander*. And because ci man gaue him that name, he did not refuse it himselfe: insomuch as there were some wh spottingwise did openly call him *Alexander*. Whereupon *Lucius Philippus* a Consull, wa ashamed to say openly in an oratiō he made in *Pompeys* fauour, that it was no maruell if h ing Philip, did loue *Alexander*. It is reported also, that when *Flora* the curtisan waxed old, much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which she had with *Pompey* being a young m telling that after she had lyen with him, she could not possiblie rise from him, but she m needes giue him some sweete quippe or pleasannt taunte. She would tell also howe one *Pompeys* familiars and companions called *Geminius*, fell in loue with her, & was a maruello earnest suter to obtaine her goodwill: and that she aunswered him flatly, she would not, the loue she bare to *Pompey*. *Geminius* thereupon brake the matter to *Pompey* himselfe. P pey desirous to pleasure him, graunted the request: howbeit *Geminius* after that, would come neere *Flora*, nor speake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But *Flora* this not curtisan like, for she was sick a long time for very griefe of minde, and the thought tooke vpon it. All this notwithstanding, it is said that this *Flora* had then such fame for passing grace and beautie, that *Cecilius Metellus* setting foorth and beautifying the te *Castor* and *Pollux*, with goodly tables and pictures: among the rest, he caused her pi be liuely drawne for her excellent beautie. Furthermore *Pompey*, against his nature, dea hardly and vncourteously with the wife of *Demetrius*, his franchised bondeman (who he liued was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thousand talents) to be taken with her beautie which was very singularlie faire, least he should be thou loue with her. Now, though herein he seemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the yet could he not thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill willers: for they did acc that to please and content his wiues, he would let passe and winke at many things, against the profite of the common wealth? To proue his sober and temperate diet, a he was contented with common meates: a word (they say) he spake when he was ve and could tast no meate, is specially noted. For, to bring his stomacke to him againe, h sitian willed him to eate a thrushe. So seeking all about to get him one, there was no to be bought for money, for they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him should not misse of them at *Lucullus* house, for he kept them vp all the yeare through. what then, sayed he: if *Lucullus* ryot were not, should not *Pompey* liue? Therewithall, his Phisitians counsell alone, he made them dresse such meate as was euery where But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now *Pompey* being a young man, and in th with his father, that was in armes against *Cinna*: there lay with him in his tent a com of his, called *Lucius Terentius*, who being bribed with money, had promised *Cinna* to k and other confederators also had promised to set their Captaines tent a fire. This co was reuealed vnto *Pompey* as he sate at supper, which nothing amated him at all but he freely, and was merrier with *Terentius* then of custome. So when it was bed time, he of his owne tent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his safety. *Terentius* thi hower come to attempt his enterprise, rose with his sword in his hand, and went to bed where he was wont to lie, and gaue many a thrust into the matteresse. After he

Flora the curtisan loued Pompey.

Flora the curtisan, was passing faire.

The temperance of Pompey in diet.

The treason of Lucius Terentius against Pompey.

that all the campe ſtraight was in an vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the ſouldiers in all haſte would needes haue gone and yeelded to their enemie, beginning already to ouerthrowe their tentes, and to truſſe away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult, durſt not come out of his tent: notwithſtanding *Pompey* his ſonne ranne amongſt the mutinous ſouldiers, and humbly beſought them with the teares in his eyes, not to doe their Captaine this villanie, and in fine threwe himſelfe flatling to the ground ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them march ouer him, if they had ſuch a deſire to be gone. The ſouldiers being aſhamed of their follie, returned againe to their lodging, and chaunging minde, reconciled themſelues with their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that *Strabo*, *Pompeys* father, was departed out of the worlde, *Pompey* being his heire, was accuſed for the father, to robbe the common treaſure. Howbeit he confeſſed and auowed, that it was *Alexander* one of his fathers infranchiſed bondmen that had ſtolen the moſt part of it, and brought him in before the Iudges. Notwithſtanding, he was accuſed himſelfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cordes of huntſmennes, and bookes that were taken at Aſculum. He confeſſed the hauing of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had loſt them ſince, when *Cinna* returned vnto ROME with his ſouldiers, who breaking into his houſe by force, ſpoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitiue ſentence, in which time *Pompey* ſhewed himſelfe of good ſpirite and vnderſtanding, more then was looked for in one of his yeares: inſomuch he wanne ſuch fame and fauor by it, that *Antiſtius* being Prætor at that time, and iudge of his matter, fell into ſuch a liking with him, that ſecretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by friends broken to *Pompey*, he liked of the match, & the parties were ſecretly aſſured. This was not ſo cloſely conueyed, but the people perceiued it, by the care and paines *Antiſtius* tooke to fauour his matter. Inſomuch, when the Iudges gaue iudgement, and cleered him: all the people together, as if they had bene agreed, cried out with one voice, Talaſſio, Talaſſio, being the vſuall and common crie they vſed of olde time at mariages in ROME. This cuſtome by reporte of auncient folke came vp in this manner. At what time the chiefeſt peeres and Lordes of ROME did raviſh the SABINES daughters, which came to ROME to ſee common ſportes plaied: there chanced a fewe raſcalles (as hoggeheards or neatheards) to cary away a goodly faire woman. They fearing ſhe ſhould be taken from them, cried out in the ſtreetes as they went, Talaſſio, as if they would haue ſaid, ſhe is for *Tallaſſius*. This *Tallaſſius* was a young gentleman well knowne, and beloued of moſt men: ſo that ſuch as heard him but named onely, did clap their hands for ioy, and cried out with them, Talaſſio, commending the choice they had made of him. So, hereof they ſay came this cuſtome, that euer ſince they haue cried this worde Talaſſio vnto them that are newly maried, becauſe the mariage of that faire young maide proued fortunate, and happy vnto *Talaſſius*. And this me thinkes ſoundeth neareſt to the troth of that they report of this wedding crie of Talaſſio. Shortly after this iudgement giuen, *Pompey* married *Antiſtia*. After that, going vnto *Cinnaes* campe, they wrongfully accuſed him for ſomething, whereupon he being afraied, ſecretly ſtale away. Now when they could not finde him in *Cinnaes* campe, there ran ſtraight a rumor abroad, that *Cinna* had put him to death. Therevpon, they that of long time had maliced *Cinna*, did ſet vppon him for this occaſion. But he thinking to ſaue him ſelfe by flying, was ſtraight ouertaken by a priuate Captaine that followed him with his ſword drawen in his hand. *Cinna* ſeeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and tooke his ſeale from his finger wherewith hee ſealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tuſh, ſayed the Captaine, I come not to ſeale any couenaunt, but to chaſtiſe a villaine and cruell tyraunt: and therewithall thruſt his ſword through him, and ſlue him preſently. *Cinna* being ſlaine in this ſort, *Carbo* ſucceeded him, and tooke the gouernment in hand, being a more cruell tyraunt then the firſt. Shortly after came in *Sylla*, long wiſhed for, and deſired of the moſt part of the ROMAINES, for the grieuous oppreſſions and miſeries they endured, that they thought them ſelues happy to change Gouernour: for their city was brought into ſuch miſery, as hoping no more to ſee ROME recouer her loſt liberty, they deſired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now *Pompey* at that time was in a place

Pompey accuſed for robbing the common treaſure.

The cauſe of the crie of Talaſſio at mariages in Rome.

Pompey maried Antiſtia.

The death of Cinna.

of ITALY called PICENVM (now the marches of ANCONA) where he had certaine inheritance, but much more, great loue and good will of the cities for his fathers sake. He seeing that the noblest men of ROME forsooke their houses and goods, to flie from all partes vnto *Syllaes* campe, as vnto a place of safetie: would not goe to him as a fugitiue and cast away to saue himselfe, without bringing him some power to increase his army, but would honorably goe thither with an armie, as he that ment first to doe himselfe pleasure. So he felt the good will of the PICENTINES, who willingly tooke his part, and reiected them that were sent by *Carbo*. Among them there was one *Vindius*, that stepping forth, said: that *Pompey* which came from schoole the last day, must now in haste be a Captaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time, *Pompey* being but three and twentie yeare olde, tarying to receiue no authoritie from any man, tooke it vpon him himself, and causing a tribunall to be set vp in the midst of the market place of AVXIMVM, a great populous city: he commanded the two brethren called the *Ventidians* (being the chiefest men of the citie, and they that for *Carboes* sake withstoode his doings) without delay foorthwith to auoide the citie, and so beganne to leauie men, and to appoint Captaines, sergeantes of bandes, Centeniers, and such other officers as appertaine to martiall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that tooke part with *Carbo*, fled euery man, and all the rest willingly yeelded vnto him: whereby in shorte space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, cartes, and all manner of beasts for cariage. In this sort he tooke his iourney towards *Sylla*, not in hast, as a man affraide to be met with by the way, but by small iourneys, staying still where he might hurt his enemy, causing the cities euery where as he came to reuolt from *Carbo*. Neuertheless, three Captaines of the contrarie part, *Carinna*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus*, all three did set vpon *Pompey* together, not all in a fronte, nor of one side, but in three seuerall places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to haue made him sure at the first onset. This nothing amazed *Pompey*, but putting his force together in one place, he first marched against *Brutus*, hauing placed his horsemen (among the which he was himselfe in person) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were GAVLES, comming to giue charge vpon him, he ranne one of the chiefest among them through with his launce, and slue him. The other GAVLES seeing him slaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footmen: so that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among themselues, and some fled one way, some an other way, the best they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were dispersed for feare: came all in to *Pompey*, and yeelded themselues. Afterwards *Scipio* the Consull comming against *Pompey* to fight with him, when both battels were in maner ready to ioyne: before they came to throwing of their dartes, *Scipioes* souldiers saluted *Pompeys* men, and went on their side. So was *Scipio* driuen to flie. And in fine, *Carbo* him selfe hauing sent after him diuerse troups of horsemen by the riuer of Arsis: *Pompey* made towards them, and did so fiercely assaile them, that he draue them into such places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon, they seeing no way to scape, yeelded them selues, horse and armour, all to his mercy. *Sylla* all this while heard no newes of these ouerthrowes: wherefore, as soone as he vnderstoode of it, fearing least *Pompey* should miscary, being enuironned with so many Captaines of his enemies, he made hast to march towardes him for to aide him. *Pompey* vnderstanding of his approach, commaunded his Captaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Generall might see them brauely appointed when he should present them vnto him: for he looked that *Sylla* would do him great honor, and in deed he did him more honor, then *Pompey* looked for. For, when *Sylla* saw him a farre off comming towardes him, and his army marshalled in so good order of battell, and such goodly men, that so brauely aduaunced them selues, being couragious for the victory they had obtained of their enemies: hee lighted a foote. When *Pompey* also came to doe his duety to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as Emperour, or soueraigne Prince) *Sylla* resaluted him with the selfe name, beyonde all mens expectation present, litle thinking that he would haue giuen so honourable a name, vnto so yong a man as *Pompey*, who had not yet bene Senator: considering that he him selfe did contend for that title

Pompeys first Captaineshippe vnder Sylla.

Pompey was Chiefetaine of an army at 23. yeares of age. The citie of Auximum.

Pompey goeth vnto Sylla.

Pompeys victories of the Marians.

Pompey ioyned with Sylla.

Pompey called Imperator of Sylla.

title and dignitie, with the faction of *Marius* and *Scipio*. Furthermore, the entertainment that *Sylla* gaue him euery way, was answerable to his first kindnes offered him. For when *Pompey* came before him, he would rise and put off his cappe to him, which he did not vnto many other noble mē about him. All this notwithstanding, *Pompey* gloried nothing the more in him selfe. Wherfore when *Sylla* would straight haue sent him into GAVLE, becausse *Metellus* that was there, was thought to haue done no exploit worthy of so great an armie as he had with him: *Pompey* answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an ancient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience than himselfe. Yet if *Metellus* of himselfe were contented, and would intreate him: that he would willingly goe and helpe him to ende this warre. *Metellus* was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then *Pompey* entring GAVLE did of himselfe wonderfull exploites, and did so reuiue *Metellus* old courage and valiantnesse to fight, which now beganne to faint, like boyling copper that being poured vpon the colde and hard copper, doth melt and dissolue it, as fast or faster, than fire it selfe. For like as of a wrestler, who hath bene counted very strong, and the chiefest in all games, hauing euer borne the prize away where he hath wrestled, they neuer recorde among them his childish victories and wrestlings, as things of no account: euen so I am affraide to speake of the wonderfull deedes that *Pompey* did in his childhoode, becausse they are obscured in respect of the infinite great warres and battels which he had wonne afterwards. For I am affrad that whilest I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly passe ouer his chiefest actes and most notable enterprises, which do best declare his naturall disposition and singular wit. Now when *Sylla* had ouercome all ITALIE, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did rewarde all his Lieutenants and Captaines that had taken his parte, and did aduance them to honorable place and dignity in the commonwealth, franckly granting them all that they requested of him. But for *Pompey*, reuerencing him for his valiantnes, and thinking that he would be a great stay to him in all his warres: he sought by some meanes to allie him to him. *Metella* his wife being of his opinion, they both perswaded *Pompey* to put away his first wife *Antistia*, and to marrie *Æmylia* the daughter of *Metella*, and of her first husband, the which also was an other mans wife, and with childe by her husband. These mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for *Syllaes* time, rather then agreeable to *Pompeys* nature and condition: to see *Æmylia*, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husband, to marie her great with childe, and shamefully to forsake *Antistia*, who not long before had lost her father, and for respect of her husband that did put her away. For *Antistius* was murthered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take parte with *Sylla* for his sonne in lawe *Pompeys* sake: and her mother voluntarily put her selfe to death, seeing her daughter receiued such open wrong. By these apparant causes, these vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miserable tragedie, by meanes of the death of *AEmylia*, who shortly after miserably died with childe in *Pompeys* house. Then came newes to *Sylla*, that *Perpenna* was gotten into SICILE, and that he had made all that Iland at his deuotion, as a safe place to receiue all *Syllaes* enemies: that *Carbo* also kept the sea thereaboutes with a certaine number of shippes: that *Domitius* also was gone into AFRICKE: and diuers other noble men that were banished, that had scaped his proscriptions and outlawryes, were all in those partes. Against them was *Pompey* sent with a great army. Howbeit he no sooner arriued in SICILE, but *Perpenna* left him the whole Iland, and went his way. There he fauorably dealt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and misery, and set them againe at liberty, the MAMERTINES onely excepted, which dwelt in the city of MESSINA. They despising his tribunall and iurisdiction, alledged the auncient order and priuiledge of the ROMAINS, set downe in times past amongst them. But *Pompey* aunswered them in choller: what doe ye prattle to vs of your law, that haue our swords by our sides? It seemeth also that *Pompey* dealt too cruelly with *Carbo* in his misery. For sith he must needes die, as there was no remedy but he should: then it had bene better they had killed him when he was taken. For then they would haue imputed it to his malice, that so had commaunded it. But *Pompey* after he was taken, made him to bee brought before him that had bene thrise Consull at ROME to be openly examined, and he sitting in his chaire of state or tribunall condemned him to die in presence of them all: to the great offence and misliking of

The honor Sylla did vnto Pompey.

Pompey went to aide Metellus in Gaule.

Wonderfull victories of Pompey.

Pompey put away his wife Antistia, and maried AEmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syllaes wife.

The death of Antistius.

Pompey sent from Sylla into Sicile.

Law must giue place to armes.

euery one that was present. So *Pompey* bad them take him away, and carie him to execution.

The death of Carbo.

When *Carbo* came to the scaffold where he should be executed, and seeing the sword drawne that should strike off his head: he praied the executioners to giue him a litle respit and place to vntrusse a point, for he had a paine in his bellie. *Caius Oppius* also (one of *Iulius Cæsars* friends) writeth, that he dealt very cruelly in like maner with *Quintus Valerius*. For *Pompey*, said he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and fewe like vnto him, when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him a side, and walked a fewe turnes about: then when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commaunded his guard to carie him away, and to dispatche him. Howbeit we may not giue too light credit to all that *Oppius* writeth, speaking of *Iulius Cæsars* friends or foes. For *Pompey* in deed was compelled to make away the greatest personages of *Syllaes* enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriously taken: but for the rest, all those that he could secretly suffer to steale away, he was contented to winke at it, and would not vnderstand it: and moreouer did helpe some better to saue themselues. Nowe *Pompey* was determined to haue taken sharpe reuenge of the citie of the HIMERIANS, which had stoutly taken the enemies part. But *Sthenis*, one of the Gouernours of the citie, craued audience of *Pompey*, tolde him he should do them wrong and iniustice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that had not offended. *Pompey* then asking him, what he was that durst take vpon him to father the offence of them all. *Sthenis* aunswered straight, that it was himselfe that had perswaded his friends, and compelled his enemies to do that which they did. *Pompey* being pleased to heare the franke speech and boldnesse of this man, first forgaue him the fault he had committed, and consequently all the other HIMERIANS. *Pompey* vnderstanding that his souldiers did kill diuers men in the high wayes, he sealed vp all their swords, and whose seale soeuer was broken he was well fauoredly punished. *Pompey* being busie about these matters in SICILE, receiued letters & commission from *Sylla* and the Senate, to depart thence immediatly into AFRICK, to make warre vpon *Domitius* with all his power, who had leauied already more men of warre than *Marius* had, not long before, when he came out of AFRICKE into ITALIE: & had there ouerthrowne all the ROMAINES doings, being become of a fugitiue outlaw, a cruell tyrant. *Pompey* thereupon hauing speedily put himselfe in readinesse to take the seas, left *Memmius* his sisters husband Gouernor of SICILE: and so himselfe imbarked, & hoised saile with six score gallies, and eight hundred other shippes or bottomes, to transport their victuals, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatsoeuer. After he was landed with all his fleete, part at VTICA, and part at CARTHAGE: there straight came to him seuen thousand soldiers from the enemies, and yeelded themselues; besides seauen whole legions that he brought with him. They say moreouer, that at his arriuall, he had a pleasant chance happened vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his souldiers stumbled on a treasure by chance, and got thereby a great masse of money. The residue of the armie hearing that, thought sure that the field where this treasure was found, was full of golde and siluer, which the CARTHAGINIANS had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. *Pompey* hereupon, for many dayes after, could haue no rule of his souldiers, neither could he choose but laugh, to see so many thousand men digging the grounde, and turning vp the fielde: vntil in the ende they wearied themselues, and came and prayed him then to leade them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their follie. *Domitius* came to *Pompey* with his armie set in battell ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quamire before him that ran with a swift running streame, verie ill to get ouer: besides that, from the verie breake of day it had poured downe and rained so fast, and was so great a winde withall, that *Domitius* thinking all that day they should not fight, commaunded his people to trusse away, and remoue. *Pompey* on the other side, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, sodainly made his men to marche, and passed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order: were maruelously amazed, and in that hurly burly would haue made resistance. But they were neither all together, nor yet euenly set in battell ray, and had besides the winde beating the raine full in their faces. So did the storme much hurt vnto the ROMAINES also, for they could not one see an other: insomuch as *Pompey* himselfe was in great danger of being killed by one of his owne

The bold speach of Sthenis.

Pompey sealed vp his souldiers swords.

Pompeys iorney into Africke vnder Sylla against Domitius.

Domitius camped by Pompey with his armie.

owne ſouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the worde of the battell, and was ſomewhat long before he anſwered him. In fine when he had ouerthrown his enemies with great ſlaughter: (for they ſay, that of twenty thouſand of them, there were but three thouſand ſaued) *Pompeyes* ſouldiers ſaluted him by the name of Imperator. But he anſwered them, that he would not accept the honour of that name, ſo long as he ſaw his enemies campe yet ſtanding: and therefore, if it were ſo they thought him worthy of that name, that firſt they ſhould ouerthrow the trench and fort of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The ſouldiers when they heard him ſay ſo, went preſently to aſſault it. There *Pompey* fought bare headed, to auoide the like daunger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe by force, and in it ſlue *Domitius*. After that ouerthrow, the cities in that countrey came and yeelded them ſelues, ſome willingly, and others taken by force: as alſo they tooke king *Iarbas*, that had fought for *Domitius*, and his realme was giuen to *Hiempſall*. But *Pompey*, being deſirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his army, went many daies iourney into the maine land, and ſtill conquered all where he came, making the power of the ROMAINS dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that countrey, the which made but ſmall account of them at that time. He ſayed moreouer, that the wilde beaſtes of AFRICKE alſo ſhould feele the force and good ſucceſſe of the ROMAINES: and thereupon he beſtowed a few daies in hunting of Lions and Elephantes. For it is reported, that in forty daies ſpace at the vttermoſt, he had ouercome his enemies, ſubdued AFRICKE, and had eſtabliſhed the affaires of the kings and kingdoms of all that countrey, being then but foure and twenty yeare old. So when he returned vnto the city of VTICA, letters were brought from *Sylla*, willing him to diſcharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion only, tarying the comming of an other Captaine that ſhould be ſent to ſucceede him in the gouernment of that countrey. This commaundement, grieued him not a litle, though he made no ſhew of it at all: but his ſouldiers ſhewed plainely that they were offended. For when *Pompey* prayed them to depart, they began to giue out broad ſpeeches againſt *Sylla*, and told directly that they were not determined (whatſoeuer became of them) to forſake him, & they would not that he ſhould truſt vnto tyrant. *Pompey* ſeeing that he could not perſwade them, by any reaſon to be quiet, roſe out of his chaire, and retired into his tent weeping. But the ſouldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chaire of ſtate, where he ſpent a great part of the day, they intreating him to remaine there and commaund them, and he deſiring them to obey *Sylla*, and leaue their mutinies. But in fine, ſeeing them importunate to preſſe him to it, he ſware he would kill himſelfe, rather then they ſhould compell him: yet they ſcant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported vnto *Sylla*, that *Pompey* was rebelled againſt him. *Sylla* when he heard that, ſaied to his friends: well, then I ſee it is my deſtiny, in mine olde daies to fight with children. He meant ſo, becauſe of *Marius* the younger, who had done him much miſchiefe, and had beſides put him in great danger. But afterwards vnderſtanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in ROME were determined to goe and meete *Pompey*, and to receiue him with all the honour they could: becauſe he would goe beyond them all in ſhew of good will, he went out of his houſe to meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to ſay great, and commaunded all them that were preſent to giue him that name alſo. This notwithſtanding, ſome ſay, that it was in AFRICKE this name was firſt giuen him by a common crie of al his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by *Sylla*. In deed it is true that *Pompey* himſelf being ſent Proconſull into SPAINE, long time after that, was the laſt that ſubſcribed all his letters and commiſſions with the name of *Pompey* the great: for this name then was ſo commonly knowen and accepted, as no man did enuy it. And therefore rightly is the wiſedome of the ancient ROMAINS, to be both commended & had in admiration: which did not only reward ſeruice in the field with ſuch honorable names and titles, but ciuil ſeruice and good gouernment alſo in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at ROME called Maximi, to ſay, very great: of the which *Valerius* was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwixt the people and Senate. The other was *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchiſed, who through their riches and fauor had obtained that place. After that, *Pompey* required the honor of triumphe, but *Sylla* denied it, allea-

Pompeyes victory of Domitius.

Domitius ſlaine.
Pompey tooke king Iarbas.

Pompeis conqueſtes at 24. yeares of age.

The loue of the ſouldiers vnto Pompey.

Pompey called Magnus, by Sylla.

The wiſdom of the Romaines commended for rewarding for-raine and home ſeruice.
Valerius and Rullus called Maximi in Rome.

ging that none could enter in triumph into ROME, but consulles or Prætors. For sith Scipio the first who in SPAINE had ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, neuer desired this honour of triumphe, being neither Consull nor Prætor: much lesse should he stand vpon demaund of triumph into ROME, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and besides, it would purchase him enuie of his honor and greatnes. These reasons did *Sylla* aleadge against *Pompey*, and told him plainly that if he were bent to stand in it, he would resist him. All this blanked not *Pompey*, who told him frankly againe, how men did honor the rising, not the setting of the sunne: meaning therby, how his owne honor encreased, and *Syllaes* diminished. *Sylla* heard him not very perfectly what he sayed, but perceiuing by their countenances that stoode by, that they wondered at it, he asked what it was he sayed. When it was told him, he maruelled at the boldnes of so young a man, and then cryed out twise together, let him then triumph a goddes name. Many being offended therewith, *Pompey* (as it is reported) to anger them more, woulde needes be brought in in triumphant charriot drawen with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from those kings and princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the gate of the citie being too narrow, he was driuen to leaue the Elephantes, and was contented to be drawen in with horses. Now his souldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promised them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumphe: he sayed he passed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumph, then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereupon, there was a famous man at that time called *Seruilius*, who at the first was one of the chiefest against *Pompeyes* triumph, who sayd openly: now I know that *Pompey* indeed is great, and deserueth triumph: being euident enough, that if he would, he might then haue easily bene made Senator: he sued not for that, but as they say, sought honor by a stranger mean lesse honorable. For if he had bene made Senator, so young, it had not bene so great a matter: but to haue such honor before he was Senator, that was maruellously to be noted. But this wan him the more fauour and good will still amongst the common people: for they were glad when after his triumph they saw him in companie amongst the ROMAIN Knights. On the other side it spighted *Sylla* to see him come so fast forward, and to rise to so great credit: notwithstanding, being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to keep it to himselfe, vntill that *Pompey* by force & against *Syllaes* will, had brought *Lepidus* to be Consull, by the helpe & good will of the people that furthered his desire. Thereuppon *Sylla* seing *Pompey* returning ouerthwarte the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honor him, he sayd vnto him: ô young man, I see thou art glad of this victory, and so hast thou cause, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to haue had such fauor of the people, as for thy sake to haue made *Lepidus* Consull (the vilest person of all men) before *Catulus* the honestest man of the citie. But I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleep not, and looke well to thy busines, for thou hast aduanced a dangerous enemie to thy selfe. Now the chiefest thing wherein *Sylla* discouered most his ill will vnto *Pompey*, was in his last will and testament: for he gaue legacies vnto euery one of his friendes, and some of them he made tutors and ouerseers of his son, but he made no mention of *Pompey* at all. This notwithstanding, *Pompey* tooke it well enough. And where *Lepidus* and some other would haue kept *Syllaes* body from buriall in the field of *Mars*, and that his funeralles should not be openly solemnized: he contrariwise brought him very honorably and safely to the ground. Shortly after *Syllaes* death, his wordes of prophecy vnto *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus*, proued true. For *Lepidus* vsurping the authoritie which *Sylla* had before, not colourably, but openly entred straight in armes, sturring vp againe those of *Marius* faction, whom *Sylla* could not be reuenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise againe. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Consull *Catulus* (whom the best and soundest part of the people followed) was thought a maruellous honest man, both iust and modest: howbeit, a better gouernor in peace, then a good man of warre, insomuch as time required *Pompeyes* skill and experience. So *Pompey* stood not doubtfull which way he would dispose himselfe, but tooke part straight with the nobility and honestest men, and was presently chosen Captain of their army against *Lepidus*: who had already wonne the greatest parte of ITALIE, and with an army vnder the conduct of *Brutus*, kept GAVLE on this side the mountaines called GALLIA CISAL-

PINA

Pompyes stout answer vnto Sylla.

Pompey not being Senator, triumpheth against the law.

Marcus Lepidus created Consull.

Sylla fallen from the loue of Pompey

Lepidus mouethciuil war.

PINA. And for the reſt *Pompey* eaſily ouercame it, howbeit he lay a long time before Modon, beſieging of *Brutus*. In the meane ſeaſon *Lepidus* came to ROME, & being hard at the wals demanding the ſecond Conſulſhip, made them afrayed in the citie with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all ſortes. Howbeit this feare was cooled ſtraight, by a letter which *Pompey* ſent to ROME, aduertiſing how he had ended this warre without any bloodſhed: for *Brutus*, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeelded himſelfe vnto *Pompey*, who gaue him a certen number of horſemen that conducted him vnto a ſtrong towne vpon the riuer of Poe: where the next day after, *Geminius* being ſent by *Pompey*, ſlew him. But hereof *Pompey* was greatly blamed, for that he had written letters to the Senate from the beginning of the chaunge, how *Brutus* had put himſelfe into his handes: and afterwards wrote letters to the contrary, which burthened him for putting of him to death. This *Brutus* was father of that *Brutus*, which afterwardes by the helpe of *Caſſius* ſlue *Iulius Cæſar*: howbeit he ſhewed not himſelfe ſo like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did. As we haue declared more at large in his life. Furthermore *Lepidus*, being driuen to forſake ITALIE, fled into SARDINIA, where he died (as it is reported) of a ſickneſſe that he had, not for any ſorrow or griefe of his owne affaires, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his hart, knowing therby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time *Sertorius* in SPAYNE, who was another maner of warrier then *Lepidus*, & that kept the ROMAINS in great awe: for that all the fugitiues of the late ciuill warres were fled to him as from the laſt diſeaſe of the warres. He had already ouerthrowen many inferior Captaines, & was now wreſtling with *Metellus Pius*, that in his youth had bene a noble ſoldier, but now being old, made warres but ſlowly, and would not coragiouſly take preſent occaſions offered him, which *Sertorius* by his nimblenes and dexterity tooke out of his hands. For he would euer houer about him, when he thought leaſt of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of ſouldiers, and would ſtill lay ambuſhes in euery corner, and round about him: where the good old man *Metellus* had learned to fight in battell raye, his men being heauie armed. Hereupon *Pompey* keping his army alway together, practiſed at ROME, that he might be ſent into SPAIN to aide *Metellus*. But *Catulus*, notwithſtanding that he commanded him to diſperſe his armie, *Pompey* ſtill kept them together by colour of new deuiſes, & was continually about ROME in armes, vntill that by *Lucius Philippus* means he had obtained the gouernment of that coũtry. They ſay that one of the Senators maruelling to heare *Philip* propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: how now *Philip*, doeſt thou then think it meet to ſend *Pompey* Proconſhill (to ſay, for a Conſull) into SPAINE? no truly ſayed *Philip*, not Proconſull onely, but *Pro conſulibus*: (to ſay, for both Conſulles) meaning, that both the Conſulles for that yeare were men of no value. Now when *Pompey* was ariued in SPAINE, men begã ſtraight to be caried away, (as the maner is commonly where new gouernors be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereupon *Sertorius* gaue out proud and bitter wordes againſt *Pompey*, ſaying in mockery, he would haue no other weapon but roddes to whippe this young boy, if he were not afrayed of this olde woman: meaning *Metellus* the old man. But notwithſtanding theſe gallant bragges, he ſtood better vpon his gard, and went ſtronger to fight than he did before, being afrayed of *Pompey*. For *Metellus* was very diſſolute of life (which no man would haue iudged in him) and was giuen ouer too much to ryot and pleaſure: howbeit they ſaw in him a maruellous ſodaine change both of his honor and glory which he vſed before, as alſo the cutting off of his ſuperfluous expence. That thing, beſides that he did honour *Pompey* greatly by, wan him alſo much more the goodwill of the people, when they ſaw that he drew himſelfe downe to a ſtraighter life. And this was no great paine to him for of his owne diſpoſition he was a graue man, and temperatly giuen for his deſires. In this warre fortune changed diuerſly, as it is commonly ſene in warres: but nothing grieued *Pompey* more then *Sertorius* winning of the citie of LAVRON. For he thinking to haue ſhut him in, & had giuen out ſome glorious words of the matter: wondered when he ſaw himſelfe ſtraight compaſſed in, that he could not ſtirre out of the campe where he laye, and was driuen beſides to ſe the citie burnt before his face. This notwithſtanding, afterwards at a ſet battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he ſlue *Herennius* and *Perpenna*, both notable ſouldiers and *Sertorius* Lieutenantes, and with them ten

Brutus the father, ſlaine by Pompey.

The death of Lepidus.

The valiantnes of Sertorius in Spayne

Pompeyes iorney into Spaine againſt Sertorius.

Metellus giuẽ to riot and pleaſure.

Sertorius wan the citie of Lauron in the ſight of Pompey.

Pompey ſlue Herennius and Perpenna.

thousand men. This victory so encoraged *Pompey*, that he made hast to fight with *Sertorius* alone, becaus *Metellus* should haue no part of the honor of the victory. So they both met by the riuer of Sucron, about sunne set, both fearing *Metellus* comming: the one that he might fight alone, & the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doubtfull in the end of the battell: for either of their wings had the vpper hand. Betwene the two Captaines, *Sertorius* had the greater honour: for he alone ouercame all them that stoode before him. And as for *Pompey*, there was a great man of armes that being on foot, came and set vpon him, & hauing both their swordes in their handes, they both lighted vpon their handes, but not both in one sort: for *Pompeyes* hand was but a litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut off. Then *Pompeyes* men fell vpon him, all his own fellowes on that side being fled from him: notwithstanding, beyond all hope, he saued himselfe after a strange sorte, by casting vp his horse among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harnes, hauing a capatison of great value: and in the meane time, while they were busie deuiding this booty among them, and fighting for it: he escaped their handes. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bandes into the field, to confirme the victory, which either of them supposed they had gotten. But *Metellus* came to *Pompey* at that present time, whereupon *Sertorius* went his way, and dispersed his army: for his campe was easily broken, & sodainly gathered againe together. For *Sertorius* would sometime wander the fieldes alone, and at another time againe he would haue a hundreth and fifty thousand fighting men together in the fielde, like a vehement streame that sometime is dried vp, and that sodainly againe is all of a flood. *Pompey* after this battell going to welcome *Metellus*, when they came neere one another, he commaunded his sergeantes and officers to put downe their bundell of roddes and axes which they carried before him to honor *Metellus* withall, who was a better man than himselfe. But *Metellus* would not suffer them, but shewed himselfe equall with him in that, and in all things else, not respecting his seniority, nor that he had bene Consull, and *Pompey* not, sauing when they camped together, *Metellus* gaue the watchword to all the campe. Notwithstanding, commonly they camped asunder, for their enemy that was so flitting from place to place, and was seene in so sundry places in so short time, compelled them to be a sunder to foresee the worst, drawing them sodainly from one purpose to another: so that in fine, cutting them off from victuals euery way, spoyling their country, and keping the sea side, he draue them both out of the prouinces of their charge which they had in SPAYNE, and did compell them to goe some other where, for lacke of victuals. *Pompey* in the meane time hauing spent the most part of his goods in this warre, sent to ROME for money to pay his souldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they sent him no money, he woulde returne with his armie into ITALIE. *Lucullus* then being Consull, though *Pompeyes* enemy, procured they should send him money: for he practised to be sent Captaine against king *Mithridates*, and therfore was afrayed to giue *Pompey* any occasion to returne, who desired nothing more then to leaue *Sertorius*, to bend his force against *Mithridates*, whose ouerthrow should be more honorable to him, and also lesse dangerous. In the meane space, *Sertorius* died, being betrayed by those whom he thought his friendes, among the which *Perpenna* was the chiefe man, that after *Sertorius* death would needes counterfeate his doings, hauing the same meanes, the same furniture, and the same power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit and skill to employ them. *Pompey* therefore marching diuidly towards him, and finding how ignorant *Perpenna* was in his affayres: he layed a bayte for him of ten cohorts which he sent to prey in the fieldes, commanding them to disperse themselues abroade as farre as they could, one from another. *Perpenna* straight tooke the occasion, and gaue them charge, and had them in chase. But *Pompey* tarying him at the ford, was readie for him with all his armie set in order: he gaue him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all this warre, becaus the most of the Captaines were slaine in the field, and *Perpenna* the chiefe of all taken prisoner, whom he presently put to death. But herein *Pompey* was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor obliuion (as some do burden him) of *Perpennaes* frendship shewed him in SICILIA, but rather deserued praise to haue determined so wisely for the benefit of the common wealth. For *Perpenna* hauing in his custody all *Sertorius* writings, he shewed letters of the greatest noblemen of ROME, (which were desirous of change of gouernment) willing him

Battell betwixt Pompey and Sertorius. Sucron fl.

The modestie of Pompey and Metellus.

Pompey ouercame Perpenna, and slue him.

him to returne into ITALIE. *Pompey* vpon sight of these letters, fearing least they would breed greater sedition & stur in ROME, then that which was already pacified: put *Perpenna* to death as soone as he could, and burnt all his papers and writings, not reading any letter of them. Then *Pompey* remaining in SPAINE a certaine time, till he had pacified all commotions and tumultes maruellously out of order: he brought his armie backe againe into ITALIE, and arriued there when the warre of the bondmen and fensers led by *Spartacus*, was in greatest furie. Vpon his comming therefore, *Crassus* being sent Captaine against these bondmen, made haste to giue them battell, which he wan, and slue twelue thousand, three hundreth of these fugitiues. Notwithstanding, fortune meaning to giue *Pompey* some part of this honor, fiue thousand of these bondmen escaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon he hauing ouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate that *Crassus* had ouercome the fensers in battell, and that he had pluckt vp this war by the rootes. The ROMAINS receiuing *Pompeyes* letters, were very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of SPAINE againe, and the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, there was no man, although it were in sporte, that euer gaue any man else the honor, but vnto *Pompey* only. For all this great honor and loue they bare vnto *Pompey*, yet they did suspect him, and were afrayed of him, because he did not disperse his army, that he would follow *Syllaes* steppes, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereuppon as many went to meet him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after he had put this suspition quite out of their heads, telling them that he woulde discharge his armie after he had triumphed: then his ill willers could blame him for nothing else, but that he was more enclined vnto the people then to the nobilitie, and that he had a desire to restore the Tribuneship of the people which *Sylla* had put downe, onely to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which indeed was true. For the common people at ROME neuer longed for thing more, than they did to see the office of the Tribune sette vp againe. Yea, *Pompey* himselfe thought it the happiest turne that euer came to him, to light in such a time, to doe such an acte. For, had any other man preuented him of that, he coulde neuer haue founde the like occasion possiblie to haue requited the peoples good willes vnto him, in such as in that. Nowe therefore this seconde triumphe and first Consulshippe being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothing the greater, nor better man. And yet was it a shewe and signification of his greatnesse, the which *Crassus* (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of all them that at that time dealt in matters of state, and made more estimation of himselfe then of *Pompey* and all the rest) neuer durst once demaunde: before he had craued *Pompeyes* good will. *Pompey* was very glad of his request, and had sought occasion of long time to pleasure him: and thereupon made earnest suite vnto the people for him, assuring them he would as much thanke them for making *Crassus* his colleague and fellow Consull, as he would, for making himselfe Consull. All this notwithstanding, when they were created Consulles, they were in all things contrarie one to another, and neuer agreed in any one thing while they were Consuls together. *Crassus* had more authoritie with the Senate but *Pompey* had more credit with the people. For he restored them the office of the Tribune, and passed by edict, that the Knightes of ROME should haue full power againe to iudge causes ciuill and criminall. It was a pleasant sight also vnto the people, when he came with the Censors in person, to pray that he might be dispenced withall for going to the warres. For it was an ancient custome in ROME, that the Knightes of ROME hauing serued a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, should bring their horse in the middest of the market place before the two Censors, declaring euery Captaine vnder whom they had serued, in what iornies and countries they had bene, and hauing also deliuered account of their good behauior and seruice, they then prayed to be dismissed from the warres. Now if it appeared that they had done good seruice, there were they honourablie rewarded: or otherwise openly shamed and punished. At that time, *Gellius* and *Lentulus* the two Censors, being honorably set in their tribunall or iudgement seate, taking view of all the ROMAINS Knightes that mustered before them, to be seene and examined, they maruelled when they sawe *Pompey* comming at the farther ende of the market place, hauing all the markes of a Consull borne before him, and himselfe leading his horse in his hande by the bridle. When

Pompey burnt Sertorius letters: the like also did Iulius Cæsar when he ouercame Pompey.

Pompey ouercame the rest of the bondmē.

Pompey and Crassus first Consulshippe.

The custome of the knightes of Rome.

Pompey as a knight of Rome sueth to be discharged from the warres.

Pompey submitteth himselfe to the Censors.

Pompey came neerer, and that they sawe it was he, he commaunded his sergeauntes that caried the axes before him, to make roome for him to passe by the barres with his horse, where the Censors sate. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and reioycing, being verie silent. The Censors themselues also were maruellous glad to see him so obedient to the lawe, and did him great reuerence. In fine the elder of the Censors did examine him in this sorte. *Pompey* the great, I pray thee tell mee if thou hast serued so long time in the warres as the lawe doeth appoint? Then answered *Pompey* aloude: yes verily that I haue, and vnder no other Captaine then my selfe. The people hearing this aunswer, made an open shoute for ioy, they were so gladde to heare it: and the Censors them-selues came from their iudgement seate, and went to accompanie *Pompey* home to his house, to please the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their hands, with great signes of ioy. At the ende of their Consulshippe, when misliking increased further betweene *Pompey* and *Crassus*, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time neuer spake in open assembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and tolde the people openly: how *Iupiter* had appeared to him in the night and had commaunded him to tell both the Consulles from him, that they should not leaue their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all these wordes *Pompey* sturred not. But *Crassus* first tooke him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the people. My Lordes, I thinke not my selfe dishonored to giue place to *Pompey*, sith you your selues haue thought him worthy to be called the great, before he had any haire on his face, and vnto whom you graunted the honor of two triumphes before he came to be Senator. When he had sayed his minde, they were made friendes together, and so surrendred vp their office. Now for *Crassus*, he held on his former manner of life which he had begun. *Pompey* as neere as he could gaue ouer to plead mens causes any more, & began litle and litle to withdrawe himselfe from frequenting the market place, and matters of iudgement, comming seldome abroad, & when he did he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his house, or talke with any man, but he was euer accompanied with a great number, & he reioyced to himselfe, to see that he had alwaies such a traine after him: for that made him to be honored the more, & gaue him great countenance to see him thus courted, thinking it dishonor to him to be familiar with meane persons. For men that rise by armes, are easily despised, when they come to liue like priuate citizens: because they cannot fashion themselues to be companions with the common people, (who citizen-like vse a common familiarity together) but looke to be their betters in the city, as they are in the field. Yea & contrarily, they that doe acknowledge themselues to be their inferiors in warres: will thinke foule scorne if they be not their superiors in peace. And by this meanes when they haue a noble warrier among them that followeth publike causes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battelles he hath obtained) they obscure his glory, and make him an vnderling vnto them: whereas they doe not otherwise enuie any souldiers that are contented equally to giue them place and authoritie, as plainly appeared shortly after, by *Pompey* himselfe. By such an occasion, the power of pirats on the sea, tooke beginning in the coutry of Cilicia, which was not reckoned of at the first, because it was not perceiued, till they grew bold and venturous in king *Mithridates* wars, being hired to do him seruice. And afterwards the Romaines being troubled with ciuill warres, one fighting with another euen at Rome gates, the sea not being looked to all this while, it set them a gog, and made them go farther then euer they did before. For they did not only rob & spoile all marchant venturers by sea, but rifled also all the Iles & townes vpon the sea coast: insomuch as there ioyned with them, men of great wealth & nobilitie, and of great wisdom also, & entred into their fellowshippe, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had set vp at sea alls on state houses in sundry places, they had sundry hauens and beacons on the land, to giue warning by fire all alongst the sea coast, and those well kept and watcht: moreouer, they had great fleetes of ships ready furnisht with excellent good galliots of ores, skilfull pilots & mariners, their shippes of swift saile, & pinnaces for discouery, but withall so gloriously set out, that men lesse hated their excesse, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all guilt, the coueringes of the same all of purple silke, delighting only to make a glorious shew of their pillage. All the sea.

Pompey and Crassus made friendes.

Pompeys pride and glory.

The beginning of the pirats warre.

The power and insolencie of the pirats.

sea coast ouer, there was no sight of any thing but musicke, singing, banqueting, and rioting, sales of Captaines, and men of great quality, & ransomes of a thousand prisoners: and all this was to the shame & dishonor of the ROMAINES. Their ships were about a thousand in number, & they had taken aboue 400. townes. They had spoiled & destroied many holy temples that had neuer bene touched before. As the temple of the twins in the Ile of CLAROS, the temple of *Samothracia*, the temple of Earth in the citie of HERMION, & the temple of *Æsculapius* at EPIDAVRVM: the temples of *Neptune* in ISTHMOS, TÆNARIA, and CALAVRIA: and the temples of *Apollo* in ACTIVM, in the Ile of LEVCADES: the temples of *Iuno* in SAMOS, in ARGOS, & in LYCANIA. They had also many strange sacrifices & certain ceremonies of religion amongst themselues, in the mount Olympus, & among other, the misterie of *Mithres*, which remaine vnto this time: and remaineth yet in being vnto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent parts and iniuries they did the ROMAINES vpon the sea, they went a land, & where they found any houses of pleasure vpon the sea coast, they spoiled and destroyed them: and on a time they tooke two ROMAINE Prætors, *Sextilius* & *Bellinus*, being in their purple robes, with their sergeants & officers attending on them, & caried them quite away. An other time also they stale away the daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had receiued honor of triumph) as she went a walking abroad in the fields, and she was redeemed for a great summe of money. But yet the greatest spight & mockery they vsed to the ROMAINES, was this. That when they had taken any of them, and that he cryed he was a citizen of ROME, and named his name: then they made as though they had bene amazed, and affraide of that they had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgiue them. The poore prisoner thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled themselues as though they seemed fearefull. For some of them came vnto him, and put shoes on his feete: others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the ROMAINE fashion, for fear (said they) least he should be mistaken an other time. When they had played all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their ship ladders, and willed him on it, and bad him go his way, he should haue no hurt: and if he would not go of him selfe, then they cast him ouer the bord by force, and sent him packing. These rouers and sea theeues had all the sea Mediterraneum at commandement: insomuch there durst not a marchant looke out, nor once traffique that sea. And this was the onely cause that moued the ROMAINES (fearing scarsity of victuals, and a great dearth) to send *Pompey* to recouer the signiory & empire of the sea from these pirates. The first man that moued it might be decreed, that *Pompey* should not be only Admirall, or Generall by sea, but should haue absolute power to command all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge: was *Gabinius*, *Pompeys* friend. The summe of this decree gaue him full power and absolute authoritie of all the sea from *Hercules* pillers, and of the maine land, the space of foure hundred furlongs from the sea. (For the ROMAINES dominions at that time in fewe places were further then that: notwithstanding, within that compasse were many great nations and mighty kings.) Furthermore, it gaue him power to choose of the Senate fifteene Lieutenants, & to giue vnto euery one of them, seuerall prouinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also to take money out of the treasure, of the Generall receiuers of the state, to defray the charges of a fleete of two hundred saile, with full power besides to leauie what men of warre hee thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he listed. This law when it had bene read openly ouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceede all enuie, but also that it gaue them apparant cause of feare, to giue such absolute power vnto a priuate person. Whereupon, they were all against it but *Cæsar*, who fauoured the decree, not so much to pleasure *Pompey*, as the people, whose fauor he sought. The noble men fell marueilously out with *Pompey*: and at the length one of the Consuls was very hotte with him, and told him he looked to follow *Romulus* steps, but peraduenture he would come shott of that end he made. Thereupon the people thought to haue killed him. After that, *Catulus* stoode vp to speake against this edict. The people at the first heard him quietly, because he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of enuy, to speake many goodly things in the praise of *Pompey*, and in fine,

The pirates nauie, a thousand ships.

The pirates scorning of the Romaines, when they were taken.

Gabinius law for Pompeys authoritie against the pirates.

aduiſed the people to ſpare him, and not to venture in ſuch dangerous warres (one after another) a man of ſo great account, as they ought to make of him. If yee chance to looſe him (ſaid he: whom haue you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: your ſelfe. The perceiuing that he loſt his labour, ſeeking to turne the people from their determination: he left it there, and ſaide no more. *Roſcius* to ſe next after him to ſpeake, but he could haue no audience. When he ſawe that he could not be heard, he made a ſigne with his fingers, that they ſhould not giue *Pompey* alone this authoritie, but ioyne an other with him. The people being offended withall made ſuch an outcrie vppon it, that a crow flying ouer the market place at that inſtant, was ſtriken blind and fell downe amongſt the people. Whereby it appeared that foule falling out of the aire to the ground, doe not fall for that the aire is broken or proceed with any force or furie: but becauſe the very breath of the voice (when it commeth with ſuch a violence, as it maketh a very tempeſt in the aire) doth ſtrike and ouercome them. Thus for that day, the aſſembly brake vp, and nothing paſt: and at the day appointed when this decree ſhould paſſe by voices of the people, *Pompey* went abroad into the country. There being aduertiſed that the decree was paſt for the confirmation of his charge, he returned againe by night into the citie, becauſe he would auoide the enuie they would haue borne him to haue ſeene them run out of all parts of the citie vnto him, to haue waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and ſacrificed to the goddes: and audience being giuen him at an open aſſembly, he handled the matter ſo, that they gaue him many things beſides to enlarge his power, almoſt doubling the preparation ſet downe and appointed at the firſt decree. For he ordained that the common wealth ſhould arme him fiue hundred ſhippes, and they leuied for him ſixe ſcore thouſand footemen, and fiue thouſand horſemen, and choſe beſides fourſcore and twentie Senators, which had euery one of them bene Generals of armies, and two generall Treaſurers alſo. While things were thus a preparing, the price of victuals fell by chance, which reioyced the people ſo much, that they ſtucke not to ſay, that the name of *Pompey* only had alreadie ended this warre. This notwithſtanding, he deuided all the ſea betwene the Iles into thirteene regions, and in euery of them he appointed a certaine number of his ſhippes and moreouer, one of his Lieutenantes ouer them. Thus hauing diſperſed his power all broad, he brought all the pirates ſhippes that were in a fleete together, within his daunger, and when had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Nowe for them that had diſperſed themſelues betimes, or that otherwiſe could ſcape his generall chaſe: they fled all into CILICIA, as bees into the beehiue, againſt whom he would needes goe himſelfe in perſon with threeſcore of his beſt ſhippes. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had ſcoured all the THVSCANE ſea, the coaſtes of LYBIA, SARDINIA, SICILE, and of CORSICA: of all theſe theeues which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within fortie dayes ſpace, taking infinite paines, both himſelfe and his Lieutenants. Now when one of the Conſuls called *Piſo* did all the beſt he could to hinder *Pompeys* preparation, and had diſcharged his power men, for that he enuied *Pompeys* proſperitie: *Pompey* ſent his ſhippes before to make towardes ITALIE to arriue at the citie of BRVNDVSIVM. He in the meane time, went through THYSCANE to ROME, where, ſo ſoone as his comming was knowen, all the people ran out to meete him, as if he had bene abſent a long time: and that which made the people more ioyfull to ſee him, was the ſodaine change of victuals vnlooked for, that daily came to the towne out of all partes. But *Piſo* went neere to be depriued of his Conſulſhip: for *Gabinius* had the decree written, and ready to preſent to the people. But *Pompey* would not ſuffer it. So, hauing gently brought all to paſſe as he deſired, he went vnto the city of BRVNDVSIVM, and there tooke ſea, and hoiſed ſaile. Now though his haſtie voyage, and ſhortneſſe of time made him paſſe by many good cities without comming into them: notwithſtanding, he would not paſſe by the citie of ATHENS, but landed there, and after he had ſacrificed to the goddes, returned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the citie, he read two writings that were made in his praiſe, the one within the gate which ſaid thus.

At the voice of the people, a crow flying fell downe.

Pompeys preparation againſt the pirates.

Cyrenaicum mare

The courteſie of Pompey vnto Piſo.

The humblier that thou doſt thy ſelfe as man behaue,
The more thou doſt deſerue, the name of god to haue.

And the other writing was without the gate, which ſaid:

VVe wisht for thee, we waite for thee,
VVe worship thee, we waite on thee.

Now because *Pompey* hauing taken certaine of these rouers by sea that kept together, did ...them gentlely when they required pardon, and hauing their shippes and bodies in his ...wer, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled ...m his other Captaines and Lieutenants, and went and yeelded themselues, their wiues ...d children into his handes. *Pompey* pardoned all them that came in of themselues, and by ...r meanes he came to haue knowledge of the rest, and to followe them where they went, ...hom hee tooke in the ende: but knowing that they deserued no pardon, they hid them ...ues. Yet the most part and the richest of them, had conueyed their wiues, children and ...ods, and all other their family vnmeete for warres, into strong castles and litle townes vp-...n mount Taurus: and such men as were able to carie weapon, imbarked, and lay before ...nie of CORACESIVM, where they taried *Pompey*, and gaue him battell, first by sea, and there ...re ouercome, and afterwardes they were besieged by lande. Howbeit shortly after, they ...yed they might be receiued to mercie, and thereuppon yeelded their bodies, townes, and ...ndes which they had fortified, and were hard to haue taken and worse to haue approa-...ed. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirates in lesse then three monethes driuen from ...e sea whersoeuer they were. He wanne also a great number of other shippes, besides foure ...re and tenne gallies armed with copper spurres. And touching the men whom they had ...en (who were in number aboue twentie thousand persons) he did not only consider whe-...r he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise part on the other side to let them ...e at libertie, to gather force againe, being so great a number of them as in deede they were, ...d all poore men and souldiers. Therefore, weying with himselfe that man by nature is not ...ne a wild or sauage beast, but contrarily becommeth a brute beast changing nature, when ...fallith to vice: and againe is made tame and ciuill in time, changing place and manner of ...: (as brute beastes that being wilde by nature doe also become gentle and tractable, with ...ter vsage by continuance) he determined to draw these pirats from the sea into the vpland ...d to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ...ound. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine small townes of the CILICIANS, that ...re scant inhabited, and were very glad of them, giuing them land to keepe them with. The ...re of the SOLIANS also, that not long before had bene destroied by *Tigranes* the king of AR-...IA, being desirous to repleniſh that againe, he placed many of them there. He bestowed ...mselfe also in the citie of DYMA in the countrie of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked inha-...nts, and had great store of very good land. Now therfore his enemies reproued him great-...y and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his best and greatest friendes misliked him. ...r *Metellus* that gentle person (a cosen to that *Metellus* which was his colleague, and made ...res in SPAYNE with him against *Sertorius*) was sent Prætor into CRETA, before *Pompey* ...s chosen Generall against the pirates. This CRETA, next vnto CILICIA, was euen a ser-...l denne of pirates. *Metellus* finding there a great number of these theeues, tooke many of ...m and put them to death, euen all that came to his handes. Then, such as had scaped from ...m, being straightly besieged, sent vnto *Pompey* to pray him of pardon, and to take them to ...rcie: declaring vnto him, that the Ile of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, be-...se all partes of that region from the sea came iust within the compasse limited him on the ...le. *Pompey* pardoning them vpon their submission, wrote vnto *Metellus*, and commaun-...d him to leaue off his warre, and therewithall charged all the cities, that they should not o-...y *Metellus* commaundements. After that he sent *Lucius Octauius*, one of his Lieutenantes, ...o entred into the townes *Metellus* besieged, and fought for the pirates. This made *Pompey* ...t only hated and enuied, but derided also: for that vnder his name he had protected such vile ...nues, that had neither God nor law, and giuen them his authoritie to saue their liues, for a ...e enuie and emulation he bare vnto *Metellus*. And therefore they rightly reproue *Achilles* ...d say that he shewed not the part of a wise man, but of a young foole besides himselfe, for ...re of glorie, making a signe to the GRECIANS, forbidding them to strike at *Hector*, to the ...d that as *Homer* said:

The victorie of Pompey vpon the pirates.

How pirates were tamed.

Pompeys lewd fact against Metellus.

Achilles dishonest fact.

Least he too late should to the battell runne,
When others had the honor of it wonne.

But *Pompeys* fact was worse than this. For he fought for the common enemies of the world, & only to deprive a ROMAINE Prætor of triumph, who had done great good seruice to haue destroyed them. This notwithstanding, *Metellus* left not off his warre for *Pompeys* letters, but hauing taken the pirates by assault, he put them to death: and afterwardes hauing done *Oliuius* open shame through his campe, he let him goe. When newes came to ROME, that the pirates warre was brought to good end, & that *Pompey* hauing no other seruice in hand, went visiting the cities vp & downe: one *Manilius* a Tribune of the people, put forth an other decree vnto them of this effect. That *Pompey* taking all the army *Lucullus* had, & the prouinces vnder his gouernment, with al BITHYNIA, which *Glabrio* kept: should go make warr vpon the kings *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, keeping in his hands notwithstanding al his iurisdiction and army by sea, in as royall maner as he had it before. In fine, this was euen to make one man Monarch and absolute Prince of all the ROMAINE Empire. For by this second decree, he had all these countries not named in his former commission, added to amplifie his authority, as PHRIGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA & ARMENIA, with all the armies and forces with the which he had ouercome those two mightie Kings. Then the Senate stucke not so much at the iniurie that was offered vnto *Lucullus*, depriuing him of the honor of his doings, to giue it to an other, that should rather succeede him in honour of triumph, than in danger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifest iniury, and shewed themselues too vnthankefull: but that which most grieued them, was to see *Pompeys* power established in a plaine tyranny. Hereupon therefore, one of them perswaded and encouraged an other, stoutly to withstand this edict, and not to suffer their libertie to be lost in this sort. Notwithstanding, when the day came that the decree should passe, they were so affraide to anger the people, that their hearts failed them, & none durst speake against it but *Catulus* onely: that earnestly inueyed against the passing of it a long time together, and greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his part, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they should looke to seeke out some mountaine or high rocke to retire safely vnto to defend their libertie, as their ancesters had done in old time before them. All this preuailed not, for the decree passed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was *Pompey* in his absence made Lorde almost of all that, which *Sylla* by force of armes and great effusion of bloud (hauing made himselfe Lord of ROME) had before in his power.

Pompey appointed Lucullus successor.

The boldnes of Catulus in dissuading Manilius law.

Pompeys great dissimulation.

When *Pompey* had receiued letters from ROME, aduertising him what the people had past in his behalfe: some say that at the receite of them (in the presence of his familiar friendes that were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulation) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieued him maruellously to haue such great offices and charge laid vpon him, one in the necke of an other, and burst forth in these wordes. O goddes, shall I neuer see an ende of such a world of troubles as I haue? Had it not beene better for me to haue bene a meane man borne and vnknowen, than thus continually to be in warre with armor on my backe? What, shall I neuer see the time, that breaking the neckes of spight and enuy gainst me, I may yet once in my life liue quietly at home in my country with my wife & children? When *Pompey* spake those wordes, his familiar friends could not abide to see his deep dissimulation, knowing that besides his naturall ambition and couetous desire to rule, he was glad in his hart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and *Lucullus*, which his deedes forthwith bewrayed. For he presently sent out precepts into euery quarter, commanding all sortes of souldiers to come to him immediatly, and made also all the Princes and kings within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the countries altered and changed all that *Lucullus* had established before. Furthermore, he did release the penalties enioyned them, and tooke from them also the giftes that *Lucullus* bestowed on them. In fine, this was all his purpose and desire: to make them that honored *Lucullus* know, that he had no further power & authority to doe any thing. *Lucullus* finding himselfe hardly handled by *Pompey*, the friends of either side thought good they should meete & talke together: which came so to passe, for they met in the country of GALATIA. And because they both were great

Quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.

Pompey and Lucullus meeting in Galatia.

Captaines

Captaines of the ROMAINE armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their sergeants & officers that caried the bundels of rods before them, wreathed about with laurell boughes. When they met, *Lucullus* came out of a close & woddy country, all couered with greene trees, & *Pompey* on the other side had passed through a great sandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon *Lucullus* sergeantes seeing the laurell boughes drie and withered away, which *Pompeys* sergeantes caried, they gaue them of their greene and fresh boughes to beautifie the rodes and axes. This was a plaine token that *Pompey* came to take *Lucullus* honor from him. In truth *Lucullus* had bene Consull before *Pompey*, & so was he also older man than he: yet the dignity of *Pompey* was greater, because he had triumphed twise. At their first meting, their entertainment & discourse was with great ceremony and courtesie as might be, one highly praising the others deedes, reioycing at ech others good successe: but at parting, they fell to hotte wordes together, *Pompey* vpbrayding *Lucullus* auarice, and *Lucullus Pompeys* ambition, so that their friendes had much a doe to part them. *Lucullus* departing thence, deuided the landes in GALATIA, which he had conquered, and bestowed them & other gifts, on such as he thought good. *Pompey* on the other side camping hard by him, specially commaunded the people in euery part to obey him in nothing whatsoeuer he did: and besides, he tooke all his souldiers from him, leauing him only sixteene hundred, which he supposed were such, as for disdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but small seruice. Furthermore, to blemish the glory of his doings, he told euery body *Lucullus* had fought with the pompe & shadow only of these two kings, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, *Mithridates* being then prepared for warres, with shieldes, swordes, and horses. *Lucullus* for reuenge on the other side said, that *Pompey* went to fight but with a shadow of warre, like a cowardly bussard that preyeth vpon dead bodies, which others haue slaine: and to cut a sunder the remaine of this warre ended by an other, as he had done before, attributing the honour of the ouerthrowe of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, and *Spartacus*, to himselfe, where indeede *Metellus*, *Crassus*, and *Catulus* did ouercome them. And therfore it was no maruell, that he sought the glory and honor to triumph for the kingdomes of PONTVS and ARMENIA: sith that through his subtill practises he had obtained triumph for a fewe slaues and fugitiues. *Lucullus* being nowe gone his way, *Pompey* sent good garrisons vnto all the coastes vppon the sea, from the prouince of PHOENICIA, vnto the realme of BOSPHORVS. That done, he tooke his iorney by lande towardes *Mithridates*, who had in his campe thirtie thousand footemen, and two thousande horsemen, and yet durst not offer battell, but camped first vpon a mountaine of great strength, and hard to get vp on: notwithstanding shortly after, he forsooke it for lacke of water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith *Pompey* tooke it. Who, coniecturing by the nature of the plantes and trees in that place which were very greene, and also by diuers holes he found, that for reason thereabouts should be some springs: he commaunded them to digge welles in euery corner, so that in a very short time all his campe had water enough, and he wondred at *Mithridates*, that he could not find that out in all the time he lay there. In the end, he went and camped rounde about *Mithridates*, and intrenched him with a wall within his owne campe: who after he had abidden the siege fiue and forty daies, fled away with all the choice of his army, vnknowing to *Pompey*, hauing first slaine al the sicke and impotent persons within his campe. After that, *Pompey* found him an other time by the riuer of Euphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that *Mithridates* would passe ouer the riuer before he could preuent him in time, he raised his campe againe, & marched away at midnight. About that time, they say, that *Mithridates* sawe that in a dreame, which did prognosticate what should happen. He thought, that hauing the winde in the poope of the shippe, he was vnder saile, in the middest of the sea of *Mare Bosphorum*, and that he was maruellous glad of it, and reioyced with them that sailed with him, thinking himselfe certainely past all danger: yet sodainly againe, that all this ioy left him, and that he floted vp and downe the waues of the sea, vpon a litle peece of the shippe that was broken, trusting to the mercy of the windes. As hee was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that *Pompey* was come so neere, that there was no shift, but they must needes fight to defende their campe. Thereupon his Captaines straight beganne to put his men in battell ray, readie

Pompeys iorney against Mithridates.

Mithridates dreame.

to fight. *Pompey* vnderstanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubt to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compasse them in to keepe them from flying, & then in the morning to set vpon them more easily, his men being the better souldiers. But *Pompeys* old Captaines were so earnestly in hand with him to perswade him they might fight, that in the end he was contented they should giue charge. Now it was not so darke but they could somewhat see, for the moone that was very low and vppon her setting, gaue light enough to discerne the body of a man: yet because the moone was very low, the shadow which gaue out further farre then their bodies, came almost euen to their very enemies, which did let the that they could not certainely iudge what space of ground was betwene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their dartes at the ROMAINES, but they hurt neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The ROMAINES perceiuing that, ran vpon the with great cries. But the barbarous people durst not abide their charge they were so affraide, but turned their backes, and ranne away for life, so that they were slaine downe right. Thus were there tenne thousande of the barbarous people slaine and more, and their campe also taken. As for *Mithridates* himselfe, at the beginning of the onset, he made a lane among the ROMAINES with eight hundred horsemen, & passed cleane through them. But incontinently his men dispersed vpon it, some one way, some an other way, so that he was left alone but with three persons only, whereof *Hypsicratea* was one of the number, which had euer bene valiant and had a mans heart: whereupon, for that cause *Mithridates* called her *Hypsicrates*. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of PERSIA, and mounted also on a horse after the PERSIAN maner, was neuer weary with any long iorney the king made, nor neuer left to wait vpon his person, and to looke to his horse: vntill such time as the king came to a strong castle called Inora, where was great store of gold & siluer, and the kings chiefest treasure. Then *Mithridates* tooke off his richest apparell he had there, & gaue it amongst them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poison besides to euery one of his friends to cary about them, because they should not (vnlesse they would themselues) fall into their enemies handes aliue. From thence he thought to take his iorney into ARMENIA vnto king *Tigranes*. Howbeit *Tigranes* sent to let him, and further proclaimed by trumpet, that he would giue a hundred talentes to him that could kill him. Thereupon, passing by the head of the riuer of Euphrates, he fled through the country of CHOLCHIDA. In the meane time, *Pompey* inuaded the country of ARMENIA, at the request of *Tigranes* the younger, who was reuolted against his father, & went to meete with *Pompey* at the riuer of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into *Mare Caspium*. So they both together marched on further into the country, receiuing such townes as yeelded vnto them. But king *Tigranes* (that not long before had bene consumed and destroyed by *Lucullus*) vnderstanding that *Pompey* was of a milde and gentle nature, he receiued his garrisons into his strongest fortes and royall houses, and went himselfe with his friends and kinsemen to meete *Pompey*, & to yeeld himselfe vnto him. When he came hard to his campe, being a horse back there came out two sergeants of *Pompeys*, and commanded him to light and go in a foote, for there was neuer man seene a horse back within the ROMAINES campe. *Tigranes* did not only obey them, but further plucked off his sword and gaue it them: and in fine, when he came almost to *Pompey*, taking off his royall hat from his head, he would haue laid it at *Pompeys* feet, & falling downe most shamefully on the ground, imbased himselfe to imbrace *Pompeys* knees. But *Pompey* himselfe preuented him, and taking him by the hande, made him to sit downe by him on the one side of him, and his sonne on the other. Then he saide vnto them both: as for the other losses you haue susteined heretofore, you must thanke *Lucullus* for them, who hath taken from you SYRIA, PHOENICIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, and SOPHENA: but for that you haue left you till my comming, I will let you enioy it, paying to the ROMAINES a fine of fifteen thousand talents for the iniury you had done them, prouided also, that your sonne haue the kingdome of SOPHENA for his part. *Tigranes* accepted the conditions of peace. The ROMAINES then saluted him king. He was so glad therof, that he promised to giue euery souldier halfe a Mina, euery Centener tenne Minas, and to euery Colonell of a thousand men a talent. His sonne was very angry withall: insomuch as *Pompey* sending for him to come to supper with him

Pompey ouerthrew Mithridates.

Hypsicratea, Mithridates concubine otherwise called Hypsicrates, for her valiantnes like a man.

Tigranes yeeldeth himselfe vnto Pompey.

Tigranes laide his diademe at Pompeys feete.

him, he aunſwered againe, that was not the friendſhip he looked for at *Pompeys* handes, for he ſhould finde many other ROMAINES that would offer him that curteſie. *Pompey* for his anſwere, clapped him vp as a priſoner, and kept him to be led in triumph at ROME. Shortly after, *Phraates* king of PARTHIA ſent Ambaſſadours to *Pompey* to demaund this young Prince, that was his ſonne in law, & to tell him that the riuer of Euphrates muſt be the vttermoſt confines of his conqueſtes. *Pompey* aunſwered againe, that *Tigranes* had more right to his ſonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would do it with iuſtice. So, leauing *Afranius* in ARMENIA to keepe the country, *Pompey* paſſed by other nations which inhabite about mount Caucaſus, hauing *Mithridates* in chaſe: of which nations, two of the chiefeſt & of greateſt power, are the ALBANIANS & IBERIANS. The IBERIANS do ſtretch out vnto mount Moſchium, and to the realme of PONTVS. The ALBANIANS lye towardes the Eaſt, & Mare Caſpium. Theſe men firſt ſuffered *Pompey* to paſſe through their country, vpon his ſending to thē. But winter hauing ſtolen vpon the ROMAINES while they were there, & they buſily occupied about *Saturnes* feaſts: the barbarous people hauing leauied aboue forty thouſand fighting men in one camp together, came and paſſed ouer the riuer of Cyrnus. (This riuer commeth from the mountaines of the IBERIANS, and receiuing the riuer of Araxes into it, which paſſeth through ARMENIA, diſperſeth it ſelfe into twelue ſeuerall mouthes, and ſo falleth into Mare Caſpium. Some notwithſtanding hold opinion, that Cyrnus receiueth not the riuer of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it ſelfe, and falleth into the ſame ſea, neare vnto the mouthes of the other.) *Pompey* might if he had would haue kept them for comming ouer the riuer, yet did he ſuffer them quietly to paſſe ouer. When they were all ouer, he went againſt them, ouercame them in battell, and ſlue a great number of them in the field. Afterwardes he pardoned their king, ſubmitting himſelfe vnto *Pompey* by his Ambaſſadours, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went againſt the IBERIANS: who were no leſſe in number, then the ALBANIANS were at the firſt, and alſo better ſouldiers, and were reſolutely bent to do good ſeruice vnto *Mithridates*, and to driue out *Pompey*. Theſe IBERIANS were neuer ſubiect to the Empire of the PERSIANS, nor of the MEDES, and ſcaped alſo from being ſubiect to the MACEDONIANS, for that *Alexāder* neuer ſtayed in the country of HYRCANIA: whom alſo *Pompey* ouercame in a great and bloudy battell, hauing ſlaine nine thouſand in the field, and taken ten thouſand priſoners. From thence he went into the countrey of COLCHIS. There *Seruilius* met him by the riuer of Phaſis, with the fleete of ſhippes with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to follow *Mithridates* further, who had hid himſelfe amongſt a people that were neighbours vnto the ſtraights of BOSPHORVS, and the mariſſes Meotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore alſo, he had newes that the ALBANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be reuenged of them. Thereupon he paſſed againe ouer the riuer of Cyrnus, with great paine and daunger, becauſe the barbarous people had made a ſtrong defence a great way alongeſt the riuer ſide, with a maruellous number of great trees, feld and layed a croſſe one ouer an other. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty paſſed through thē, he fell into an euill fauoured coūtrey, where he ſhould trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereupon he cauſed ten thouſand goats skinnes to be filled with water, and ſo went forward to meete with his enemies, whom he found by the riuer of Abas, being ſixe ſcore thouſand footemen, and twelue thouſand horſemen, but all (or the moſt of them) ill armed with wild beaſtes skinnes. Their Chiefetaine was *Coſis*, the kings owne brother. He, when the battell was begun, flew vpon Pompey, and threw a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. *Pompey* on the other ſide, ranne him through with his launce on both ſides, & ſlue him ſtarke dead. Some ſay alſo, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this battell, which fought of the barbarous peoples ſide, cōming frō the mountaines that runne alongeſt the riuer of Thermodon. For, after the ouerthrow giuen, the ROMAINES ſpoyling the dead, found targets, and buskinnes of the AMAZONES, but not the body of a woman among them. They alſo do inhabite on the ſide of the mountaine Caucaſus that looketh towardes Mare Hyrcanium, and do not border vpon the ALBANIANS: but the GELE, and the LELEGES are betweene them, with whom they company two monthes yearely euery yeare meeting together, by the riuer of Thermodon, and all the reſt of the yeare,

Tigranes ſon a priſoner.
Ambaſſadours ſent from the king of Parthia vnto Pompey.
Caucaſus mōs.
Albani, and Iberes: what manner of people.
Cyrnus fl.
Pompey ouerthrew the Albanians.
Pompey ouercame the Iberians.
Phaſis fl.
The Albanians rebell againſt Pompey.
Abas fl.
Pompey ſlue Coſis, the kings brother of the Albanians.
The Amazones.
Gele and Leleges, people that do companie with the Amazones.
Thermodon fl.

they liue a part by themselues. After this last battell, *Pompey* going to inuade the country of HYRCANIA, as farre as Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venemous serpẽts which he met with, being come within three dayes iourney of it. So he returned backe againe into ARMENIA the lesse, and there receiued presents which were sent vnto him from the kings of the ELYMIANS and the MEDES, & wrote very curteously vnto them againe: howbeit he sent *Afranius* with part of his armie against the king of the PARTHIANS, who had inuaded the country of GORDIENA, & harried & spoyled the king of *Tigranes* subiectes. Notwithstanding, he draue him out, & followed him vnto ARBELITIDE. Furthermore, all the lemmans and cõcubines of king *Mithridates* being brought vnto *Pompey*, he would touch none of them, but sent them all home againe, to their parents and friends, because the most of them were either the daughters of Princes, of noble men, or of Captaines. Notwithstanding, *Stratonice* that of all the rest of his lemmans, had most credit about *Mithridates*, vnto whom he had left all the charge of his castell, where the greatest part of his treasure of gold and siluer lay, was a singers daughter, who as they sayd, was not rich but an old man. She hauing song one night before *Mithridates*, being at supper, he fell in such fancie with her, that he would needes haue her lye with him the same night, and the old man her father went home offended, because the king would not so much as giue him one gentle word. But the next morning when he rose, he maruelled to see the tables in his house full of plate of gold and siluer, and a great company of seruing men, groomes of chamber and pages, and that they had brought him maruellous rich apparell, and a horse ready at the gates brauely furnished, as the kings familiars did vse when they went abroad into the citie: he thought it was done in mockerie, to haue made sport with him, and therefore would haue runne his way, had not the seruing men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that dyed of late, which the king had bestowed on him, and that all this he saw, was but a little portion in respect of the other goods and lands he gaue him. So the old man beleeuing them, at the length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and got vp a horse backe, and riding through the streetes, cried, all this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to scorne for it, he told them: maisters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out, but rather that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so mad for ioy. Such was *Stratonices* birth and parentage, as we haue told you. She did then deliuer this castell into *Pompeys* hands, and offered him many goodly rich presents: but he would take none of them, other then such as serued to adorne the temples of the goddes, and to beautifie his triumph, and left all the rest with *Stratonice* her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the king of the IBERIANS, hauing sent him a bedstead, a table, and a chaire of cleane gold, praying him to take it as a remembraunce from him: he deliuered it ouer vnto the Treasurers custodie, to be accountable for it vnto the state. In an other castell called Cœnon, he found certaine secret letters sent from *Mithridates*, which pleased him maruellously to read, because thereby he plainly vnderstood the kings nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poysoned (besides many other) *Ariarathes* his owne sonne, and *Alcæus* the SARDIANIAN, because he had wonne the bell, at the horse race before him. There was also interpreting of dreames, that either himselfe or his wiues had dreamed, and also loue letters betwixt *Monimé* and him. *Theophanes* writeth also, that there was found an oration of *Rutilius*, in the which he intised and perswaded *Mithridates* to put all the ROMAINES to death that were in Asia. Howbeit in reason men thinke, that this was a shamefull lye, maliciously deuised by *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, because he was but a counterfeit to him: or peraduenture to gratifie *Pompey*, whose father *Rutilius* in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as euer liued. Thence *Pompey* departed towardes the citie of AMISVS. There his ambition brought him to commit such factes, as he himselfe did condemne before in *Lucullus*: for that his enemy being yet aliue, he tooke vpon him to establish lawes, to giue giftes, and distribute such honours, as Captaines that had obtained victorie were wont to do, when they had ended all warre and trouble. For he himselfe (*Mithridates* being yet the stronger in the realme of BOSPHORVS, and hauing a great puissant army about him) did all that which he reproued an other for, appointing prouinces, and geuing out giftes to euery man according as he deserued: to gratifie twelue

Stratonice, Mithridates chiefe harlot.

Pompeys abstinence from taking of gifts.

Mithridates remembraunces.

Rutilius, an historiographer.

Pompeis fault.

twelue barbarous kings, with diuers other Princes, Lordes and Captaines, that came to him thither. Writing also to the king of PARTHIA, he disdained to giue him that title, which others were wont to do in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kings. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great desire to winne SYRIA, and to go through the country of ARABIA, euen vnto the red sea, because he might enlarge his conquestes and victories euery way, euen vnto the great sea Oceanum, that compasseth all the whole earth. For in LIBYA, he was the first ROMAINE that conquered all to the great sea. On the other side, in SPAYNE he enlarged the Empire of ROME, & brought the confines thereof vnto Mare Atlanticũ. And thirdly, hauing lately the ALBANIANS in chase, he came almost vnto Mare Hyrcaniũ. Thus he put himselfe in iourney, intending his circuite vnto the red sea, specially because he saw *Mithridates* so ill to follow, & worse to ouercome by force when he fled, thẽ when he fought my battell: and that made him say, that he would leaue a sharper enemy behinde him, then himselfe: and that he ment, famine. For he appointed souldiers with sufficient number of shippes, to lye in wait for the marchaunts that sayled to the country of BOSPHORVS, to cary them any victuals or other marchaundises, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that should attempt it. Then he went forward with the best part of his army, and in his way, found the bodies of dead ROMAINES which *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen vnder the leading of *Triarius* their Captaine, & were yet vnburied. So he caused them all to be taken vp, & honourably buried. *Lucullus* hauing forgotten, or otherwise neglected to do it, in my conscience that was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him. *Pompey* now hauing by *Afranius* subdued the ARABIANS, dwelling about mount Amanus, went himselfe in person into SYRIA, and made a gouernement & prouince of it, being won to the ROMAINE Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull king: and conquered all IVRIE also, where he tooke king *Aristobulus*, and builded certaine cities there, and deliuered others also from bondage, which by tyrants were forcibly kept, whom he chastised well enough. Howbeit he spent the most part of his time there, deciding of controuersies, pacifying of contentions and quarels by arbiterment, which fell out betwixt the free cities, Princes and kings, and sent of his friends into those places where he could not come himselfe. For on a time when he was chosen arbitratour betwixt the PARTHIANS & the ARMENIANS, touching the title of a country which both parties claimed: he sent three commissioners thither to iudge definitiuely betwixt them both. If *Pompeys* fame & renowne were great, no lesse was his vertue, iustice and liberalitie, which indeede did hide many faults, his friends and familiars about him did commit. For truely he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punish them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did vse them so well that complained vnto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter: that he made them contented, patiently to beare their couetousnesse and straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him whom he loued best, was called *Demetrius*, a bondman infrãchised, who otherwise was very discrete in his doings, but being somewhat too bold of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. *Cato* the Philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good iudgement and of a noble minde, in *Pompeys* absence went to see the city of ANTIOCH. Now for himself, his maner was alwayes to go a foote, and all his friends besides that did accompany him to honour him, were a horseback. He perceiuing a farre off, a great sort of people comming towardes him all in white, and of one side of the streete litle children, and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring at the first he was angry with all, thinking they had done it for his sake to honor him, that they made this procession, which he in no wise would haue had done. Thereupon he commaunded his friends to light from their horses, and to go a foote with him. But when they came neare to the gate of the citie, the maister of the ceremonies that led this procession, hauing a garland on his head, and a rod in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them: where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come? *Catoes* friends laughed to heare this question: then sayd *Cato* alas poore citie, and so passed by it. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* himselfe was cause that *Demetrius* had the lesse ill will borne him, then otherwise he should haue had: because they saw how boldly he would vse *Pompey*, and how well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when *Pompey* oftentimes had bidden some to dinner or supper,

Pompeys iourney into Syria.

Pompey brought Syria into the forme and gouernement of a prouince.

Pompeys vertues.

The power and insolencie of Demetrius Pompeys infranchised bondman.

Catoes exclamation against Demetrius Pompeys infranchised bondman.

while he was entertaining and welcomming of them, and would tary till they were all come. *Demetrius* would be set at the bord, and presumptuously haue his head couered euen to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIE out of this iourney, he had already purchased the goodliest houses of pleasure and fayrest walkes that were about ROME, and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly called *Demetrius* gardens: though his maister *Pompey* was but meanly housed till his third Consulship. Howbeit afterwardes, he built that famous stately Theater, called *Pompeys* Theater, and ioyned vnto that also an other house, as a penthouse to his Theater, farre more sumptuous and stately then the first, and yet no more then needed. In somuch as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he maruelled, and asked where abouts it was, that *Pompey* dyned & supped. Their things are reported thus. Now, the king of the ARABIANS, that dwelt about the castell called Petra, hauing neuer vntill that time made any accompt of the ROMAINES army, was this greatly afrayed of them, and wrote vnto *Pompey*, that he was at his deuotion, to do what he would commaunde him. *Pompey* thereupon to proue him, whether he ment as he spake, brought his army before this castell of Petra. Howbeit this voyage was not liked of many men, because they iudged it was an occasion found out to leaue following of *Mithridates*, against whom they would haue had him rather haue bent his force, being an auncient enemy to ROME, and that began to gather strength againe, and prepared (as they heard say) to lead a great army through SCYTHIA & PANNONIA into ITALIA. But *Pompey* thinking he should sooner minish his power by suffering him to go on with warres, then that he should otherwise be able to take him flying: would not toyle to follow him in vaine. And for these causes he would needes make warres in other places, and linger time so long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farre from the castell of Petra, and had lodged his camp for that day: as he was riding and managing his horse vp and downe the camp, postes came flinging to him from the realme of PONTVS, and brought him good newes, as was easily to be discerned a farre off by the heades of their iauelings, which were wreathed about with laurell boughes. The souldiers perceiuing that, flocked straight about him: but *Pompey* would make an end of his riding first, before he read these letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and being importunate with him, he lighted from his horse, and returned into his camp, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand vpon to speake vnto them, and againe, the souldiers would not tarie the making of one after the manner of their camp, which men of warre do make themselues, with great turues of earth, laying one of them vpon an other: but for hast and earnest desire they had to heare what newes there was in the letters, they layd together a heape of saddles one vpon an other, and *Pompey* getting vp on them, told how *Mithridates* was dead, and had killed himselfe with his owne hands, because his sonne *Pharnaces* did rebell against him, and had wonne all that which his father possessed: writing vnto him, that he kept it for himselfe and the ROMAINES. Vpon these newes, all the camp (ye may imagine) made wonderfull ioy, and did sacrifice to the goodes, giuing them thankes, and were as merry, as if in *Mithridates* person alone, there had dyed an infinite number of their enemies. *Pompey* by this occasion, hauing brought this warre more easily to passe then he hoped for, departed presently out of ARABIA, and hauing speedily in few dayes passed through the countrys lying by the way, he came at length to the citie of AMISVS. There he found great presents that were brought vnto him from *Pharnaces*, and many dead bodies of the kings blood: and amongst the rest, *Mithridates* corse, which could not well be discerned by his face, because they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie vp the braine: neuertheless such as desired to see him, knew him by certaine scarres he had in his face. For *Pompey* would in no wise see him: but to auoid enuie, sent him away vnto the citie of SINOPE. He wondred much at the maruellous sumptuous rich apparell and weapons that he ware. The scabberd of his sword (which cost foure hundred talents) was stolen by *Publius*, and sold to *Ariarathes*. Also a hat of *Mithridates* of wonderfull workemanship, being begged of *Caius* his foster brother, was secretly giuen to *Faustus*, the sonne of *Sylla*, without *Pompeys* priuity. But afterwards when *Pharnaces* vnderstood of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. *Pompey* hauing ordered all things and established that prouince, went on his iorney homewards with great

Pompeys Theater.

The king of Arabia Petrea submitted himselfe to Pompey.

Mithridates death.

The value of Mithridates scaberd of his sword.

great pompe and glory. So, comming vnto MYTILENE, he released the citie of all taxes and payments for *Theophanes* sake, and was present at a certaine play they yearely make for games, where the Poets report their workes, contending one with an other, hauing at that time no other matter in hand, but *Pompeys* actes and ieستes. *Pompey* liked exceeding well the Theater where these playes were made, and drew a model or platforme of it to make a stately one then in ROME. As he passed by the citie of RHODES, he would needs heare all the Rethoritians, and gaue euery one of them a talent. *Possidonius* hath written the disputation he made before *Pompey*, against *Hermagoras* the Rethoritian, vpon the theame and proposition *Pompey* did giue them; touching the generall question. *Pompey* did the like at ATHENS vnto the Philosophers there. For he gaue towardes the reedifying of the city againe, fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into ITALIE, to haue bene very honorably receiued, and longed to be at home, to see his wife & children, thinking also that they long looked for him: but the fortune which the charge giuen him to mingle fortunes prosperity, with some bitter soppe of aduersity, layed a blocke in his way at home in his owne house, to make his returne more sorrowfull. For *Mutia* his wife had in his absence played false at tables. But *Pompey* being then farre off, made no account of the reportes nor tales that were told him. Howbeit, when he drew neare into ITALIE, and that he was more attentiue to giue eare to the ill reportes he heard: then he sent vnto her to tell her, that he forsaked her for his wife, writing nothing to her at that time, neither euer after told the cause why he had forsaken her. Nor withstanding, by other Epistles the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumours rane abroade in ROME which troubled them sore, being giuen out that he would bring his armie straight to ROME, and make himselfe absolute Lord of all the ROMANE Empire. *Crassus* thereupon, either for that he beleeued it indeede to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accusation more odious and the enuie towardes *Pompey* the greater, conueyed himselfe, his familie, and goodes, priuily out of ROME. So *Pompey* when he came into ITALIE, called all his souldiers together, & after he had made an oration vnto them, as time and occasion required, he commanded them to seuer themselues, and euery man to repaire home to apply his businesse, remembring to meete at ROME together, at the day of his triumphe. His army being thus dispersed, & straight spred abroad for newes: a marueilous thing happened vnto him. The cities seeing *Pompey* so great without souldiers, hauing but a small traine about him of his familiar friends onely: went all of the to meete him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquestes, but from some iourney taken for his pleasure. Such was the loue of the people to him, that they accompanied him to ROME, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into ITALIE: so that if he had bene disposed to haue made any innouatiõ in the common wealth, he had not needed his army. In those dayes there was a law, that no man should enter into ROME before his triumphe: whereupon *Pompey* sent to the Senate, to pray them to graunt the chusing of Consuls for a few dayes, because he might be present to further *Piso*, who sued for the Consulship that yeare. They denied him his request, by *Catoes* meanes that hindred *Pompey* marueiling to heare of his boldnes & plaine speach, which he only vsed of all other to defend his iust causes: had a marueilous desire to win him, & to make him his friend. So *Cato* hauing two neeces, *Pompey* desired to marry the one himselfe, & the other for his son. But *Cato* mistrusting this desire of *Pompeys*, that it was a colour only to win & corrupt him, denied him. His wife & sister on the other side, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliãce with *Pompey* the great. About that time it chãced, that *Pompey* being very desirous to preferre *Vatinius* to be Consull, he caused certaine money to be giuen amongst the tribes of the people, & the same was deliuered out to some, euen in his owne gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the city, euery man spake ill of *Pompey*: that he put the Consulship to sale for money vnto those that could not deserue it by vertue, sith himselfe only had obtained it by purchase of many a noble and worthy deede. Then sayd *Cato* to his wife & sister: loe now, we had bene partakers of this fault too, had we matched with *Pompey*. Whẽ they heard it, they confessed he had reason to refuse the match, for equitie & his honour. But now to his triumphe. For the sumptuousnesse & magnificẽce ther of, although he had two dayes space to shew it, yet he lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the shew, that were not seene, which would

Pompeys turne out Asia.

Mutia, the wife of Pompey.

Pompey forsooke his wife Mutia.

Pompey at his returne out of Asia, discharged his souldiers.

Pompeys honorable returne to Rome out of Asia.

A law for triumphe.

Cato refuseth Pompeys alliance.

Pompeys third triumphe.

haue ferued to haue set out an other triumphe. First there were tables caried, whereon were written the names and titles of all the people and nations for the which he triumphed, as these that follow. The kingdome of PONTVS, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, BITHYNIA, COLCHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, and MESOPOTAMIA: and furthermore, the people that dwell about PHOENICIA & PALESTINE, IVDÆA, & ARABIA: the pirats which he had ouercome both by sea & by land, in all parts of the world. In all these countryes, he tooke about a thousand castels, few lesse then nine hundred townes and cities, pirats ships eight hundred, & nine & thirtie desolate townes left without inhabitants, replenished againe with people by him. Moreouer, these tables declared, that the reuenue of the common wealth of ROME before these conquestes he made, amounted yearely but to fine thousand Miriades: and that from thenceforth with the summes he had added vnto the former reuenue, they should now receiue eight thousand & fine hundred Miriades: & that he brought precious ready gold & siluer, & in plate & iewels, to put into the common treasury, the value of twenty thousand talents; besides that which had bene distributed already amongst the souldiers: the which, he that had left for his share, had fifteen hundred Drachmas. The prisoners that were led in the show of this triumph, besides the Captaines of the pirats, were these that follow. The sonne of *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, with his wife and daughter: the wife of king *Tigranes* himselfe, called *Zosime*: *Aristobulus* king of IVDÆA: *Mithridates* sister with fine sonnes of hers, & some Ladies of SCYTHIA. The hostages also of the IBERIANS & the ALBANIANS, & of the kings of the COMMAGENIANS: ouer & besides a great number of other notable trophies which himselfe or his Lieutenants had won at sundry battels in diuers places. But the greatest honour that euer he wanne, and which neither other Consull of the ROMAINES but himself obtained, was this: that he made his third triumph of the three parts of the world. Diuers other ROMAINES had triumphed thrise before him, howbeit he first triumphed of AFRICKE: the second time of EVROPE: the third time of ASIA. So that it appeared by these three triumphes that he had triumphed in manner of all the land that is inhabited, being at that time, (as is reported by them which compare his doings vnto *Alexander* the great) vnder foure and thirtie yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neare forty. O happy had it bene for him, if he had dyed when he had *Alexanders* fortune: for all his life afterwardes, made his prosperitie hatefull, or his aduersity miserable. Imploying the honour and authoritie he had gotten by his valiantnesse, fauouring mens vniuste causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened his honour, and vnwares brought his greatnesse to nothing. For like as when the strongest place of a citie, which receiuing their enemies into them, do giue them the benefite of their owne strength: euen so, through *Pompeys* power, *Cæsar* growing to be great, ouerthrew him in the end with the selfe same meanes he imployed, to the ouerthrow of others. And thus it fortuned. *Lucullus* at his returne out of ASIA (where *Pompey* had vncurteously vsed him) was very well taken of the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was also come to ROME. For the Senate did counsell and incourage him to deale in the affaires of the state, seeing him wanne of late flow, & giuen too much to his ease and pleasure, by reason of his great wealth he had gotten. So when *Pompey* was come, he began to speake against him, and through the friendship and assistance of *Cato*, confirmed all his doings in ASIA, which *Pompey* had broken and reiected. *Pompey* finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driuen to haue recourse vnto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in friendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes the most impudent and vilest person was *Clodius*: who receiued him, & made him a prey vnto the people. For he had *Pompey* euer at his elbow, & against his honour caried him vp & down the market place after him, to speake as occasion serued to confirme any matter or decree which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompence of his good will, he craued of *Pompey* (not as a thing dishonorable, but beneficiall for him) that he would forsake *Cicero*, who was his friend, and had done much for him in matters of common wealth. *Pompey* graunted his request. Thereupon *Cicero* being brought in daunger of law, and requiring *Pompeys* friendship to helpe him, he shut his doore against them that came to speake in his behalfe, and went out himselfe at an other backe doore. *Cicero* thereupon fearing the extremitie of law, willingly forsooke ROME. At that time, *Iulius Cæsar* returning home from his

The countryes conquered by Pompey.

Captaines led in Pompeys third triumph.

Pompey conquered three partes of the world: Africke. Europe. Asia.

Pompey triumphed thrise before the age of forty yeares.

The change of Pompeys fortune and honour.

Lucullus beloued of the Senate at his returne out of Asia.

Lucullus inueyed against Pompey, by Catoes assistance.

Pompey ioyned with Clodius, Tribune of the people.

Pompey forsaketh his friend Cicero.

worldshippe out of SPAINE, beganne to lay such a plotte, that presently brought him into
his favour, and afterwardes much increased his power, but otherwise vtterly vndid *Pompey*
the common wealth. Now he was to sue for his first Consulshippe, and considering the
matie betwixt *Pompey* and *Crassus*, if he ioyned with the one, he made the other his enemies:
desired to make them friendes, a thing seeming of great honestie at the first sight, but yet a
silent deuise, and as subtile a practise as could be. For the power of the citie being before
time into two partes (as a shippe euenly ballest of ech side) and maintained the common
both vpright: being now brought into one mans power, there was no possibilitie to with-
stand, so that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereupon, *Cato* wisely told them afterwardes,
how the ciuill warres betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæsar* was cause of the destruction of the com-
mon wealth: that their enmity and discord was not the chiefe originall cause of this miserie,
but their friendshippe and agreement. For by their friendshippe *Cæsar* was chosen Consull,
straight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for restoring of the co-
lonies belonging to ROME, and for distributing of lands to them that had none, imbasing the
authoritie and dignitie of the chiefe Magistrate, and making the Consulshippe in maner no bet-
ter then the Tribuneship of the people. *Bibulus* his colleague and fellow Consull, did what he
could to resist him, and *Cato* also did aide him to his power: vntill *Cæsar* openly brought *Pom-*
pey into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if
he did giue his consent to the decrees which he did set forth. *Pompey* aunswered him, he did.
Why then, said *Cæsar*, if any man will by force let the passing of this law by voices of the peo-
ple, wilt thou not then come to helpe them? Yes that I will in deede, said *Pompey*. Against
all them that threaten with the sword, I will bring both sworde and target. *Pompey* in all his life
time did nor spake thing that men more misliked, then that which he said at that time. His
friends excused him, and said it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his
deedes afterwards shewed, that he was altogether at *Cæsars* commaundement. For not many
dayes after, he maried *Iulia* the daughter of *Cæsar*, which was affianced, or made sure before,
to *Seruilius Cæpio* when no man thought of it: and to pacifie *Cæpioes* anger, he gaue him
his owne daughter in mariage, whom he had also promised before vnto *Faustus* the sonne of
Sylla. *Cæsar* also maried *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piso*. After this, *Pompey* filling all ROME
with souldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Consull *Bibulus* came into the market
place accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they sodainly set vpon him, and brake the bundels
of rods which his officers caried before him: and some one, whatsoeuer he was, cast a basket
of horse dung vpon his head. Moreouer, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were
very sore hurt. By this meanes, hauing cleared the market place of all their enemies, they
passed the law for diuision of lands, as they would themselues. The people being fleshed with
this baite, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would neuer sticke at any
matter that they would haue passed. So were all *Pompeys* matters confirmed, which *Lucullus*
was against: and they appointed vnto *Cæsar* also, the gouernment of the GAVLES on this side
and beyond the Alpes: and ILLYRIA for fiue yeares space, with foure whole legions. The next
yeare following were appointed Consuls, *Piso Cæsars* father in law, and *Gabinius* the greatest
flatterer *Pompey* had about him. But now while things stood in these tearmes, *Bibulus* though
he were Consull, kept him selfe close in his house for eight monethes space, and onely sent out
billes, and set them vp on euery post in open places, accusing *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. *Cato* on the
other side, as if he had bene inspired with the spirite of prophecy, tolde openly in the Senate
house, what would become of the common wealth and *Pompey*. *Lucullus* growing old, lay still
and tooke his pleasure, & would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was
that *Pompey* said: it was more vnseasonable for an old man to follow his pleasure, then to at-
tend matters of the common wealth. Yet him selfe shortly after was so doted of his yong wife,
that he would follow her vp and downe in the country, and in his gardens, and leaue all affairs
of waight aside. Whereupon *Clodius* being then Tribune of the people, despised *Pompey*, and
beganne to enter into seditious attempts. For when he had driuen *Cicero* out of ROME, and
had sent away *Cato* to make warres in CYPRVS, and that *Cæsar* also was occupied in GAVLE,
and finding that the people in like case were at his commaundement, because to flatter them he

Cæsar reconciled Pompey and Crassus.

Cæsars law for deuiding of landes. Lex Agraria.

Pompey gaue his consent with Cæsar, for passing his law Agraria.

Pompey maried Iulia, the daughter of Cæsar.

Bibulus the Consull, driuen out of the market place, by Pompey.

The law Agraria confirmed by the people.

Gaule and Illyria appointed vnto Cæsar.

Piso, and Gabinius, Consuls.

Cato foreshewth the ruine of the common wealth, and of Pompey.

Clodius the Tribune setteth vpon Pompey.

did what they would haue him: he attempted incontinently to vndo some things that Pompey had established. Amongst other things, he tooke *Tigranes* out of prison, and euer caried him vp and downe with him whersoeuer he went, and continually pict quarrels vnto Pompeys friends, to trie what credit he had. In the end Pompey comming abroad one day into the common assembly, to heare how a matter of his was hādled: this *Clodius* hauing a company of vagabondes and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be seene from the rest, began to aske these questions out aloude. Who is the licentiousest Captaine in all this city? What man is he that seekes for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They like a companie of dauncers or singers, when he spake and clapped his hands on his gowne, answered him straight aloude to euery question, that it was Pompey. This went to Pompeys hart, that was not wonte to heare himself ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kinde of fight: but yet it made him bite the lip more, when he saw the Senate glad to see him thus shamed and reproued, as it were reuenge and punishment for his vile betraying and forsaking of *Cicero*. So great sturre and vproare being made vpon this in the market place, and many men sore hurt, and one of Clodius bondmen being taken also in the prease of the people with a sword in his hand, very neere vnto Pompey: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing *Clodius* insolencie and proud words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as *Clodius* was Tribune, but kept at home still, consulting with his friends what way he should take to appease the anger of the Senate against him. Thereuppon, one of his friends called *Culeo*, perswaded him to put away his wife *Iulia*, and vtterly to refuse *Cæsars* friendship, and to sticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithstanding he was contented to hearken vnto them that gaue him counsell to call *Cicero* home againe, who was *Clodius* mortall enemie, and in great fauour with the Senate. Thereuppon, he brought *Ciceroes* brother into the market place, to moue the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and diuers were slaine of either side: notwithstanding, he ouercame *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought Pompey againe in fauour with the Senate, and standing with the lawe propounded to giue Pompey authoritie to cause corne to be brought to ROME, he once againe made him haue power both by land and sea to ouer all the territories of the ROMAINES. For all the hauens, marts & faires, and all store houses for corne, yea moreouer all the trade of marchandise and tillage, came vnder Pompeys hands. Then *Clodius* accusing him, said: that the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of victuals, but that they made a dearth of victuals, because the law should passe, to reuiue Pompeys power and authoritie againe, that was almost vnder foote. Other say, that this was a deuise of *Lentulus Spinther* the Consull, who gaue Pompey the greater authoritie, because he might be sent to put king Ptolomy againe into his kingdome. This notwithstanding, *Canidius* the Tribune preferred an other law to send Pompey without an army, with two sergeants only to carie the axes before him, to bring Ptolomy in fauor againe with the ALEXANDRIANS. This law seemed not to mislike Pompey: but the Senate with honest colour put by this law, as being afraide least Pompeys person should miscary in so doing. Neuertheless, litle papers were found throwne about the market place, and the Senate house, declaring that Ptolomy desired Pompey might come to aide him in *Spinthers* stead. *Timagenes* writeth notwithstanding, that Ptolomy went vnto ROME, & left ÆGYPT without any occasion giuen him, at the persuasion of *Theophanes*, who perswaded him to do so, because he would giue Pompey occasion to make new warres. But *Theophanes* craft and subtilty made not this matter so credible, as Pompeys wit and good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambitiō was nothing so vile nor ill, as that was. So, Pompey hauing now full authority to cause corne to be brought to ROME, he sent then his Lieutenants and friends abroade, and himselfe in person wente into SICILE. Nowe being ready to returne againe, there rose such a storme of winde in the sea, that the mariners were in doubt to wey their anckers. But himselfe first imbarked, and commanded them straight to hoise saile, crying out aloude, it is of necessitie I must go, but not to liue. So, through his boldnesse and good spirite, vsing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of marte, and markets with corne, and all the sea besides with shippes: insomuch, the plenty he brought did

Pompey was grieuously scorned of Clodius.

Commission giuen to Pompey for bringing of corne into Rome.

The restoring againe of Ptolomy King of AEgypt to his realme.

not

not only furnish the city of ROME, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a lively spring that dispersed it selfe through all ITALIE. About that time, the great conquests that *Cæsar* made in GAVLE, did set him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres farre from ROME, with the BELGEANS, SWISSES, and Englishmen: he by secret practise, was in the middest among the people at ROME, & most against *Pompey* in the waightiest affaires of the commonwealth. For he had the power of an armie about his person, which he did harden with paines and continuall practise, not with intent to fight onely against the barbarous people: for the battels he had with them, were in maner but as a hunting sporte, by the which he made himselfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the worlde. But furthermore, by the infinite gold & siluer, and the incredible spoiles and treasure which he wan vpon the enemies whom he had ouercome: and by sending great presents also to ROME, to the AEdiles, Prætors, Consuls, and their wiues, he purchased him many friends. Therefore, after he had passed ouer the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of LVCA: a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate themselues almost two hundred persons (and amongst them, *Crassus* and *Pompey* by name) went out of ROME vnto him. Furthermore, there were seene at *Cæsars* gate, sixe score sergeants carying axes before Prætors, or Proconsuls. So *Cæsar* sent euery one backe againe, either full of money, or good words: but with *Pompey* and *Crassus*, he made a matche, that they two together should sue to be Consuls, and that he himselfe would send them good aide to ROME, at the day of election, to giue their voices. And if they were chosen, that they should then practise by decree of the people, to haue the gouernments of some new prouinces and armies assigned them: and withall, that they should adiorne the gouernment of those prouinces he had, for fiue yeares more. This packe being bewrayed and spred abroad through ROME, the honestest sort misliked much thereof. Whereupon *Marcellinus* at an open assembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would sue for the Consulship at the next election. So, they being vrged by the people to make answere, *Pompey* spake first, and said: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. *Crassus* answered more gently, that he would doe that which should be best for the commonwealth. Then *Marcellinus* sharpely inueying against *Pompey*, he angrily againe cast him in the teeth, and said, that *Marcellinus* was the rankest churle, and the vnthankfullest beast in the world: for that of a dum man he had made him eloquent, and being in manner starued and famished, many a time he had filled his bellie. This notwithstanding, diuers that before were determined to sue for the Consulship, went no further in it, sauing *Lucius Domitius*, whom *Cato* counselled and incouraged not to giue it ouer: for, said he, thou doest not contend for the Consulship, but to defend the common libertie of thy country against two tyrants. *Pompey* therefore fearing *Catoes* faction, least that hauing all the Senates good willes, he should drawe also the best parte of the people after him: thought it not good to suffer *Domitius* to come into the market place. To this ende therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first onset, slue the torche bearer that caried the torche before him, and made all the rest flie: amongst whom also *Cato* was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of *Domitius*. *Pompey* and *Crassus* being become Consuls after this sorte, they ordered themselues nothing the more temperately, nor honestly. For first of all, the people being about to choose their prætor, *Pompey* being at the assembly of the election, perceiuing that they would choose *Cato*, brake vp the assembly, falsely alleadging that he had noted certaine ill signes, and afterwards, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they chose *Antius* and *Vatinius* prætors. After that, by *Trebonius* tribune of the people, they published edicts, authorising *Cæsars* charge for fiue yeares longer, according to the appointment they had made with *Cæsar*. Vnto *Crassus* also they had appointed SYRIA, and the warre against the PARTHIANS. Vnto *Pompey* in like case, all AFRICKE, and both SPAYNES, with foure Legions besides of the which, at *Cæsars* desire, he lent him two legions to help him in his war in GAVLE. These things done, *Crassus* departed to his Prouince, at the going out of his Consulship: and *Pompey* remained at ROME about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many goodly plaies to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for learning and musicke, and caused wilde beasts also to be baited and hunted, and killed a fiue hundred lions. But of all things,

Great repaire vnto Cæsar, wintring at Luca.

The violence of Pompey obtayning the second Consulship Pompey and Crassus second Consulships.

Prouinces deuided vnto Pompey, Cæsar and Crassus.

there was no such fearefull sight and terrible fight, as was betweene the elephants. This great charge and bountifull expence, defraied by *Pompey*, to shew the people pastime and pleasure made him againe to be very much esteemed of, and beloued amongst the people. But on the other side, he wanne himselfe as much ill will and enuy, in committing the gouernement of his Prouinces and Legions into the handes of his Lieutenants, whileſt he himselfe romed vp and downe the pleasaunt places of ITALY, with his wife at his pleasure: either because he was farre in loue with her, or els for that she loued him so dearely, that he coulde not finde in his heart to leaue her companie. It was reported of her, (being knowne of many) that this young lady *Iulia* loued her husband more dearely, not for *Pompeys* florishing age, but for his assured continencie, knowing no other woman but her: besides also, he was no solemne man, but pleasant of conuersation, which made women loue him maruellously, vnlesse we will reprone the curtisan *Floraes* false testimonie. It is certaine, that at an election of the Ædiles, men rising sodainly in hurly burly, drew their swords, and many were slaine about *Pompey*: insomuch as his clothes being bloudied, he sent his men home in haste to fetche him other to change him. His young wife that was great with child, seeing his clothes bloudie, tooke such a fright vpon it, that she fell downe in a sounde before them, and they had much a doe to recouer her, and yet she fell straight in labour vpon it, and was deliuered. So that they themselues, which blamed him most for his good will he bare vnto *Cæsar*: could not reproue the loue he bare vnto his wife. An other time after that, she was great with child againe, whereof she died, and the childe liued not many dayes after the mother. As *Pompey* was about to carie her into the countrie to be buried, to a house he had there neere vnto the city of ALBA: the people by force tooke her corse, & caried it into the field of *Mars*, more for the pitie they tooke of the young Ladie, then to pleasure either *Cæsar* or *Pompey*: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for *Cæsars* sake being absent, then for *Pompey* that was present. But straight when his alliãce was broken, which rather couered, then bridled their ambitious desire to rule: there rose a new sturre in ROME immediatly, and euery mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and seditious words. Not long after that also came newes, that *Crassus* was ouerthrowne, and slaine in PARTHIA: who was a manifest stay and let to keepe them two from ciuill warres, for that they both feared him, and therefore kept themselues in a reasonable quiet together. But when fortune had taken awaie this third champion, who could haue withstood the better of them both that had ouercome the other: then might haue bene said of these two which remained, as the comicall Poet said:

The death of Iulia the daughter of Cæsar.

The beginning of the dissentiõ betwixt Pompey & Cæsar.

See how these champions purposing each others force to trie,
With nointed skin and dusty hands stand vaunting valiantly.

So litle can fortune preuaile against nature, hauing no power to stop couetousnesse: in so large and great an Empire, and such a wide countrie besides, could not containe the contentous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read,

Among the gods themselues all things by lot diuided are,
And none of them intrudes himselfe within his neighbours share.

Yet they thought not that the Empire of ROME was enough for them, which were but two. But *Pompey* spake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office before he looked for it, and also left it sooner then they thought he would haue done: and that he witnessed by discharging his armie so soone. Then thinking that *Cæsar* would not discharge his armie, he sought to make himselfe strong against him, by procuring offices of the citie, without any other alteration. Neither would he seeme to mistrust him, but he plainly shewed that he did despise and contemne him. But when he sawe that he could not obtaine the offices of the citie as he would, because the citizens that made the elections were bribed with money: he then left it without a magistrate, so that there was none either to command or that the people should obey. Hereupon there ran a brute straight, that there must needes be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was *Lucilius* tribune of the people who persuaded them to choose *Pompey*. But *Cato* stuck so stoutly against it, that the Tribune had like to haue lost his office, euen in the market place. But then many of *Pompeys* friends stepped vp, and excused him, saying: that he neither sought, nor would haue the Dictatorship.

Then

Then *Cato* commended him much, and praying him to see good order kept in the common wealth: *Pompey* being ashamed to denie so reasonable a request, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Consuls were chosen, *Domitius*, and *Messala*: but afterwardes when the state began to change againe, by the death of one of the Consuls, and that diuers were more earnestly bent to haue a Dictator than before, *Cato* fearing it would breake out with furie, determined to giue *Pompey* some office of reasonable authoritie, to keepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Insomuch, *Bibulus* himselfe being chiefe of the Senate, and *Pompeys* enemie, was the first that moued, *Pompey* might be chosen Consull alone: for, said he, by this meanes, either the commonwealth shall be ridde of the present trouble: or else it shalbe in bondage to an honest man. This opinion was maruelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, *Cato* standing vp, it was thought straight he would haue spoken against him. But silence being made him, he plainly tolde them, that for his owne part he would not haue bene the first man to haue propounded that was spoken: but sithence it was spoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, said he, it is better to haue an office to commaund, whatsoeuer he be, rather then none: and that he saw no man fitter to command, then *Pompey*, in so troublesome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that *Pompey* should be chosen sole Consull: and that if he sawe in his discretion he should neede the assistance of an other companion, he might name any whom he thought good, but not till two moneths were past. Thus was *Pompey* made Consul alone by *Sulpitius*, regent for that day. Then *Pompey* made very friendly countenance vnto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honor he had done to him, praying him priuately to assist him with his counsell in the Consulship. *Cato* answered him, that there was no cause why he should thanke him, for he had spoken nothing for his sake, but for respect of the commonwealth onely: and for his counsell, if he would aske it, he should priuately haue it, if not, yet that he would openly say that which he thought. Such a man was *Cato* in all his doings. Now *Pompey* returning into the citie, maried *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a maiden, but late the widow of *Publius Crassus* the sonne, that was slaine in PARTHIA, to whom she was maried a maiden. This Lady had excellent gifts to be beloued besides her beautie. For she was properly learned, could play well on the harpe, was skilfull in musicke and geometrie, and tooke great pleasure also in philosophie, and not vainely without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behauiour, without brawling & foolish curiositie, which commonly yong women haue, that are indued with such singular gifts. Her father also, was a noble man, both in bloud, and life. Notwithstanding, these vnlike mariages did nothing please some: for *Cornelia* was young enough to haue bene his sonnes wife. Now the best citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the commonwealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedie to redresse the same: and that he in the meane time gaue himselfe ouer to marying and feasting, where rather he should haue bene carefull of his Consulship, which was imposed vpon him against the lawe, for common calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had bene quiet. Furthermore, he sharpely proceeded against them, which by bribrie and vnlawfull meanes came to office: and hauing made lawes and ordinances for the administration of Iustice otherwise, he dealt iustly and vprightly in all things, giuing safetie, order, silence and grauitie, to matters of iudgement, with force of armes, himselfe being present: saiuing that when his father in lawe was also accused among other, he sent for the three hundred & threescore Iudges home to his house, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuser saw *Scipio* accompanied by the Iudges themselues, returning into the market place: he let fall his sute. This made *Pompey* againe be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he hauing made a lawe, that no man should praise the offendors, whilest their matter was a hearing: came himselfe and openly praised *Plancus* being accused. Thereupon *Cato* being one of the Iudges, stopped his eares with both his hands, saying: that he might not heare an offender praised, seeing it was forbidden by lawe. But therefore he was chosen for a Iudge, before they gaue sentence. Notwithstanding, *Plancus* was condemned by all the rest of the Iudges, to *Pompeys* great shame and reproache. Shortly after, *Hypseus*, one that had bene Consull, being likewise accused, watching *Pompey* on a time as he came out of

Variance among the Senate for Pompeys honor.

Cato spake in Pompeys fauour.

Pompey chosen Consull.

Pompey maried Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio.

The vertues of Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.

his bathe to go to ſupper: vpon his knees he beſought *Pompeys* fauour and helpe. But he ſtarely paſſed by him, and gaue him no other aunſwere, but tolde him, he marred his ſupper, and ſaid nothing els to him. This inconſtancy was much reproued in *Pompey*. Howbeit otherwile he ſet all things in good order, and choſe his father in lawe *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Conſulſhip, for the fiue laſt moneths. After that, he cauſed the gouernement of his prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commiſſion to take yearely out of the treaſure a thouſand talents to defray the charges of this warre. *Cæſars* friend ſeeing that, ſtepped vp for him, and praied that there might alſo be had ſome conſideration of him that had likewiſe great warres for the Empire of ROME: ſaying, that his good ſeruice deſerued either that they ſhould make him Conſull againe, or elſe that they ſhould prolong his charge and gouernment, ſo as he might yet peaceably enioy the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to the end that no other ſucceſſor might reape the fruite of his labour. Much ſturre and contention being about this matter at ROME, *Pompey* as though for good will he ment to excuſe the enuie they might haue borne *Cæſar*, ſaid: that he had receiued letters from him, by the which he requeſted a ſucceſſor, and to be diſcharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they ſhould graunt him priuiledge to demaund the ſecond Conſulſhip, although he were abſent. Which *Cato* ſtoutly withſtood, ſaying, that he muſt returne home as a priuate man, and leauing his armie, ſhould come in perſon to craue recompence of his countrie. But becauſe *Pompey* made no replie nor aunſwere to the contrie, men ſuſpected ſtraight that he had no great good liking of *Cæſar*, and the rather, becauſe he had ſent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him, vnder colour of his warre againſt the PARTHIANS. But *Cæſar* though he ſmelt him wherefore he ſent for his ſouldiers, returned them home with liberall reward. About that time, *Pompey* fell ſicke at NAPLES of a dangerous diſeaſe, whereof notwithſtanding he recouered againe. The NEAPOLITANS thereupon, by perſuaſion of *Praxagoras*, one of the chiefeſt men of their citie: did ſacrifice to the gods for his recouerie. The like did alſo their neighbours round about: and in fine, it ranne ſo generally through all ITALY, that there was no citie or towne (great or ſmall) but made open feaſt and reioycing for many daies together. Beſides, the infinite number of people was ſuch, that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was not place enough for them all, but the high waies, cities, townes and ports of the ſea, were all full of people, feaſting and ſacrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recouerie. Diuerſe alſo went to meete him, crowned with garlands, and ſo did attend on him, caſting noſegaies and flowers vpon him. Thus was his Iorney the nobleſt ſight that euer was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought alſo, that this was the chiefeſt cauſe of the beginning of the ciuill warres. For he fell into ſuch a pride, and glorious conceit of himſelfe, with the exceeding ioy he tooke to ſee himſelfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to proſper, he grew too bolde in deſpiſing of *Cæſars* power, as though he ſtood in no need of other power or care to withſtand him, but that he could ouercome him as he would, farre more eaſily, then he could haue done before. Furthermore, *Appius* thereupon returned from GAVLE, that brought him his two legions back againe which he had lent vnto *Cæſar*, reproching much his doings which he had done there, and giuing out many ſoule wordes againſt *Cæſar*. For he ſaid, that *Pompey* knew not his owne ſtrength and authoritie, that would ſeeke to make himſelfe ſtrong, by other power againſt him: conſidering that he might ouercome him with his owne legions, he ſhould bring with him, ſo ſoone as they ſaw but *Pompey* in the face, ſuch ill will did *Cæſars* owne ſouldiers beare him, and were maruellous deſirous beſides to ſee himſelf. Theſe flattering tales ſo puffed vp *Pompey*, and brought him into ſuch a ſecuritie and truſt of himſelfe, that he mocked them to ſcorne which were affraide of warres. And to thoſe alſo which ſaid, that if *Cæſar* came to ROME, they ſaw not how they could reſiſt his power: he ſmilingly aunſwered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for as oft as ſaid he as I do but ſtampe with my foote vpon the ground of ITALY, I ſhall bring men enough out of euery corner, both footemen and horſemen. In the meane time, *Cæſar* gathered force ſtill vpon him, and thenceforth drew neerer vnto ITALY, and ſent of his ſouldiers daily to ROME to be preſent at the election of the magiſtrates, and many of them that were in office,

Pompeys prouinces aſſigned him foure yeares further.

Pompey fell ſick at Naples. Great reioycing for the recouery of Pompeys health.

Pride, and fooles conceit, made Pompey deſpiſe Cæſar.

Appius ſoothed Pompey, and fed his humor.

Pompeys proud words.

office, he wanne with money: amongeſt whom, was *Paul*, one of the Conſuls, whom hee wanne of his ſide, by meanes of a thouſand fiue hundred talents. And *Curio* the Tribune of the people, whom he diſcharged of an infinite debt he ought: and *Marke Antony* alſo, who for *Curioes* ſake, was diſcharged likewiſe for part of the debt which *Curio* ought, being alſo bound as him ſelfe. Furthermore, it was found that a Captaine or Centurion ſent from *Ceſar*, being neare vnto the Senate, vnderſtanding that the councell would not prolong *Ceſars* gouernment which he required, clapping his hand vpon the pummell of his ſword: well ſaid he, this ſhall giue it him. So, to be ſhort, all that was done and ſaied, tended to this end. Notwithſtanding, the petitions and requeſtes that *Curio* made in *Ceſars* behalfe, ſeemed ſomewhat more reaſonable for the people: for he requeſted one of the two, either to make *Pompey* to put downe his army, or elſe to licence *Ceſar* to haue his army as well as he. For, either being both made priuate men, they would fall to agreement of them ſelues: or elſe being both of like ſtrength, neither of both would ſeeke any alteration, fearing one an other, but would content them ſelues either of them with their owne. Or otherwiſe, he that ſhould weaken the one, and ſtrengthen the other: ſhould double his power whom he feared. Thereto very whotly replied the Conſull *Marcellus*, calling *Ceſar*, theefe, and ſaied that he ſhould be proclaimed an open enemy to ROME, if he did not diſperſe his army. This notwithſtanding, in fine *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Piſo*, procured that the Senate ſhould decide the matter. For, ſaid he, all thoſe that would haue *Ceſar* leaue his army, and *Pompey* to keepe his: let them ſtand on the one ſide. Thereupon the moſt part of them ſtoode at one ſide. Then he bad them againe come away from them, that would haue them both leaue their armies. Then there remained only but two and twenty that ſtoode for *Pompey*: and all the reſt went of *Curioes* ſide. Then *Curio* looking aloft for ioy of the victory, went into the market place, and there was receiued of his Tribune faction, with ſhoutes of ioy and clapping of handes, and infinite noſegayes and garlands of flowers throwen vppon him. *Pompey* was not then preſent to ſee the Senators good will towardes him: becauſe by the law, ſuch as haue commaundement ouer ſouldiers, can not enter into ROME. Notwithſtanding *Marcellus* ſtanding vp, ſayd: that he would not ſtand trifling hearing of orations and arguments, when he knew that tenne legions were already paſſed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes againſt them: and that he would ſend a man vnto them, that ſhould defend their countrey well enough. Straight they chaunged apparell in ROME, as their manner was in a common calamity. *Marcellus* then comming through the market place vnto *Pompey*, being followed of all the Senate, went to him, and tolde him openly: *Pompey*, I commaund thee to helpe thy countrey with that army thou haſt already, and alſo to leauy more to aid thee. The like ſpeach did *Lentulus* vſe vnto him, who was appointed one of the Conſuls the yeare following. Now, when *Pompey* thought to leauy ſouldiers in ROME and to bill them, ſome would not obey him, a few others went vnwillingly to him with heauy hearts, and the moſt part of them cried, peace, peace. *Antony* alſo, againſt the Senates minde, red a letter vnto the people ſent from *Ceſar* containing certaine offers and reaſonable requeſtes, to draw the common peoples affection towardes him. For his requeſt was, that *Pompey* and he ſhould both of them reſigne their gouernments, and ſhould diſmiſſe their armies to make all well, referring them ſelues wholly to the iudgement of the people, and to deliuer vp account vnto them of their doings. *Lentulus* being now entred into his Conſulſhippe, did not aſſemble the Senate. But *Cicero* lately returned out of CILICIA, practiſed to bring them to agreement, propounding that *Ceſar* ſhould leaue GAVLE, and all the reſt of his army, reſeruing onely two legions and the gouernment of ILLYRIA, attending his ſecond Conſulſhippe. *Pompey* liked not this motion. Then *Ceſars* friendes were contented to graunt that hee ſhould haue but one of his legions. But *Lentulus* ſpake againſt it, and *Cato* cried out on the other ſide alſo, that *Pompey* was deceiued, and they both. So all treatie of peace was cut off. In the meane time, newes came to ROME, that *Ceſar* had wonne ARIMINVM, a faire great city of ITALY, and that hee came directly to ROME with a great power. But that was not true. For he came but with three thouſand horſe, and fiue thouſand footemen, and would not tary for the reſt of his army that was yet on the other ſide of the mountaines in GAVLE, but made haſt rather to ſurpriſe his enemies vpon the ſodaine, being afraied

Paul the Conſul bribed by Ceſar.

Curio and Antonius, Tribunes of the people, bribed by Ceſar.

Pompey choſen to goe againſt Ceſar.

Cicero moueth reconciliation betwixt Ceſar and Pompey.

and in garboyle, not looking for him so soone: rather then to giue them time to be prouided and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the riuer side of Rubicon, (which was the vtmost confine of the prouince he had in charge towardes ITALY) he stayed sodainely, weying with him selfe the great enterprise he tooke in hand. At the last, as men that being of a maruellous height from the ground do hedlong throw themselues down, closing of their eyes, and withdrawing their mindes from the thought of the daunger: euen so crying out these wordes only vnto them that were by, in the Greeke tongue, ἀναῤῥιπτω κύβον: in english, let the die be cast (meaning hereby to put all in hazard, and according to our prouerbe, to set all on six and seuen) he passed ouer with his army. Now, the newes of his comming being caried to ROME, they were in such a maruellous feare, as the like was neuer seene. For all the Senate ranne immediatly vnto *Pompey*, and all the other magistrates of the city fled vnto him also. *Tullus* asking *Pompey* what power he had to resist them, he answered him, faltring somewhat in his speach: that he had the two legions ready which *Cæsar* sent him backe againe: and that he thought with the number of them which hee had leauied, in hast, he should make vp the number of thirty thousand fighting men. Then *Tullus* cried out openly: ah, thou hast mocked vs *Pompey*: & thereupon gaue order they should send ambassadors vnto *Cæsar*. There was one *Phaonius* in the company, who otherwise was no ill man, sauing that he was somewhat too bolde, thinking to counterfeate *Catoes* plaine manner of speach: he bad *Pompey* then stampe his foote vppon the ground, and make those souldiers come which he had promised them. *Pompey* gently bare with *Phaonius* mocke. But when *Cato* told him also, what he had propheciedbefore hand of *Cæsar*, he answered him againe: in deed thou hast propheciedmore truly then I, but I haue dealt more friendly then he. Then *Cato* thought good that they should make him lieutenant general of ROME with full and absolute power to command all, saying that the selfe same men which doe the greatest mischiefe, know best also how to remedy the same. So he immediatly departed into SICILE, hauing the charge and gouernment of that country: and also euery one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALY being in armes, no man knew what was best to be done. For they that were out of ROME, came flying thither from all parts: and those on the other side that were within ROME, went out as fast, and forsooke the city in this trouble and disorder. That which might serue being willing to obey, was found very weake: and that on the other side which by disobedience did hurt, was too strong and il to be gouerned by the magistrats, hauing law to command. For there was no possibility to pacifie their feare, neither would they suffer *Pompey* to offer things as he would: but euery man followed his owne fancy, euen as hee found himself grieued, afraied, or in doubt, and in one day they were in diuers minds. *Pompey* could heare no thing of certainty of his enemies. For some, one while would bring him newes one way, and then againe an other way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he saw the tumult and confusion so great at ROME, as there was no meanes to pacifie it: he commaunded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behinde, that he would take them for *Cæsars* friends, and so at night departed out of the city. Then the two Consuls fled also, without doing any sacrifice to the goddes, as they were wont to do before they went to make any warres. So *Pompey*, euen in his greatest trouble and most daunger, might thinke him selfe happy to haue euery mans good will as he had. For, though diuers misliked the cause of this warre, yet no man hated the Captaine: but there were many found that could not forsake *Pompey* for the loue they bare him, then there were that followed him to fight for their liberty. Shortly after *Pompey* was gone out of ROME, *Cæsar* was come to ROME, who possessing the city, spake very gently vnto all them he found there, and pacified their feare: sauing that he threatned *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him to death, because he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the common wealth. Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter speach also, saying: that it was not so hard a thing for him to doe it, as to speake it. Thus hauing put downe *Metellus*, and taken that he needed to serue his turne, he tooke vpon him to follow *Pompey*, thinking to driue him out of ITALY, before that his army hee had in SPAINE should come to him. *Pompey* in the meane time, hauing taken the city of BRVNDVSIVM, and gotten some shippes together: he made the

Rubicon fl. Cæsar passed ouer the riuer of Rubicon.

Cæsars saying: let the die be cast.

Phaonius ouerbold words vnto Pompey.

Tumult at Rome vpon Cæsars comming.

Pompey forsooke Rome.

Cæsar entred Rome when Pompey fled.

Cæsar followeth Pompey.

two Consuls presently imbarke with thirty ensignes of footemen, which he sent beyond the sea before vnto DYRRACHIVM. And incontinently after that, he sent his father in law *Scipio*, and *Cneus Pompey* his sonne, into SYRIA, to prouide him ships. Him selfe on the other side, fortified the rampers of the city, and placed the lightest souldiers he had vpon the walles, and commanded the BRVNDVSIANS not to stur out of their houses: and further, he cast trenches within the city, at the end of the streetes in diuerse places, and filled those trenches with sharpe pointed stakes, sauing two streetes onely, which went vnto the hauen. Then the third day after, hauing imbarked all the rest of his souldiers at his pleasure, he sodainly lifting vp a signe into the aire, to giue them warning which he had left to gard the rampers: they straight came to him with speede, and quickly receiuing them into his shippes, he weied ancker, and hoised saile. *Cæsar* perceiuing the wals naked without ward, he straight mistrusted that *Pompey* was fled: who hasting after him, had almost run vpon the sharpe stakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the BRVNDVSIANS giuen him warning of them. So he staied, and ranne not ouerthwart the city, but fetched a compasse about to goe to the hauen: where he found that all the shippes were vnder saile, two shippes onely excepted, vppon the which were left a few souldiers. Some thinke that this departure of *Pompey*, was one of the best stratagems of warre that euer he vsed. Notwithstanding, *Cæsar* maruelled much, that he being in a strong citie, and looking for his army to come out of SPAINE, and being master of the sea besides, that he would euer forsake ITALY. *Cicero* also reproued him, for that he rather followed *Themistocles* counsel, then *Pericles*: considering that the troublesome time was rather to be likened vnto *Pericles*, then *Themistocles* time. Yea *Cæsar* himselfe shewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken *Numerius* one of *Pompeyes* frends, he sent him vnto *Pompey* at BRVNDVSIVM, to offer him reasonable conditions of peace: But *Numerius* followed *Pompey*, & sailed away with him. By this means, *Cæsar* in three score daies being lord of al ITALY without any bloud shed, he was very desirous to follow with speede after *Pompey*. But because he had no ships ready, he let him goe, and hasted towards SPAINE, to ioyne *Pompeys* army there vnto his. Now *Pompey* in the meane space, had gotten a maruellous great power together both by sea and by land. His army by sea was wonderfull. For he had fiue hundred good ships of war, and of galleys, foists, and pinnases, an infinit number. By land, he had all the flower of the horsemen of ROME, and of all ITALY, to the number of seuen thousand horse, all rich men of great houses, and valiant minds. But his footmen, they were men of all sorts, and raw souldiers vntrained, whom *Pompey* cõtinually exercised, lying at the city of BERROEE, not sitting idlely, but taking paine, as if he had bin in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpose to incorage others: for *Pompey* being eight and fifty yeare old, fight a foote armed at al peeces, and then a horseback, quickly to draw out his sword while his horse was in his full career, and easily to put it vp againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with such agility to hit pointe blacke, but also with strength to cast it such a way from him, that few young men could doe the like. Thither came diuers, kings, princes, and great lordes of countries, and yeelded them selues vnto him: and of ROMAINE captaines that had borne office, he had of them about him, the number of a whole Senat. Amongst them came vnto him *Labienus* also, who before was *Cæsars* frend, and had alwaies bene with him in his warres in GAVLE. There came vnto him also, *Brutus*, the sonne of that *Brutus* which was slaine in GAVLE, a valiant man, and which had neuer spoken vnto *Pompey* vntil that day, because he took him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defendor of the liberty of ROME. *Cicero* him selfe also, though he had both written and giuen counsell to the contrary, thought it a shame to him not to be amongest the number of them that would hazard their liues for defence of their countrey. There came vnto him also *Tidius Sextius* euen into MACEDON, notwithstanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legs: whom others laughing to scorne to see him come, when *Pompey* saw him, he rose and went to meete him, iudging it a good token of their goodwils vnto him, when such old men as he, chose rather to be with him in daunger, then at home with safety. Hereupon they sate in councell, and following *Catoes* opinion, decreede that they should put no citizen of ROME to death but in battell, and should sacke no city that was subiect to the Empire of ROME the which made *Pompeys* part the better liked. For they that had nothing to

Pompeys stratageme at Brundusium, for his flying thence from Cæsar.

Pompey forsaketh Italy.

Cicero reproued Pompey.

Cæsar leaueth Pompey, and goeth into Spaine.

Pompeys power in Greece.

Pompey being at Berroe, traineth his souldiers.

Labienus forsaketh Cæsar, and goeth to Pompey.

Cicero followeth Pompey.

do with the wars, either becauſe they dwelt far off, or els for that they were ſo poore, as otherwiſe they were not regarded: did yet both in deede and word fauour *Pompeys* part, thinking him an enemy both to the gods and men, that wiſhed not *Pompey* victory. *Cæſar* alſo ſhewed him ſelfe very mercifull and curteous, where he ouercame. For when he had won all *Pompey*'s army that was in SPAINE, he ſuffered the captaines that were taken to go at liberty, and only reſerued the ſouldiers. Then comming ouer the ALPES againe, he paſſed through all ITALY and came to the city of BRVNDVSIVM in the winter quarter: and there paſſing ouer the ſea, he went vnto the city of ORICVM, and landed there. Now *Cæſar* hauing *Vibius*, one of *Pompey*'s familiar friends with him, whom he had taken priſoner: he ſent him vnto *Pompey* to pray him againe that they might meete, and both of them diſperſe their armies within three daies, & being reconciled (giuing their faith one to an other) ſo to returne into ITALY like good friends together. *Pompey* thought againe, that theſe were new deuiſes to intrap him. Thereupon he ſtraightly went down to the ſea, and tooke all the places of ſtrength by the ſea ſide, ſafely to lodge his campe in, and all the ports, creekes and harbors for ſhips to lie in rode: ſo that what winde ſo euer blew on the skie, it ſerued his turne, to bring him either men, victuals, or money. *Cæſar* on the other ſide was ſo diſtreſſed both by ſea and by land, that he was driuē to procure battell, and to aſſaile *Pompey* euen in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: in whom moſt times he euer had the better in all skirmiſhes, ſauing once, when he was in danger to haue loſt all his army. For *Pompey* had valiantly repulſed his men, and made them flie, and had ſlain two thouſand of them in the field: but he durſt not enter pel mel with them into their campe as they fled. Whereupon *Cæſar* ſaied to his friends, that his enemy had wōn the victory that day, if he had knowen how to ouercome. This victory put *Pompeys* men in ſuch courage, that they would needs hazard battell. And *Pompey* him ſelfe alſo though he wrote letters vnto ſtrange kings, captains, and cities of his confederacy, as if he had already won all: was yet afraied to fight an other battell, thinking it better by traict of time, and diſtreſſe of victuals, to ouercome him. For *Cæſars* men being old and expert ſouldiers, and wont euer to haue the victory when they fought together: he knew they would be loth to be brought to fight any other kinde of way, to be driuen to often remouing of their campe from place to place, and alſo to fortifie and intrench them ſelues, and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hand, and fight it out. But notwithſtanding that *Pompey* had before perſwaded him not to be quiet, and not to ſturre, perceiuing that after this laſt bickering *Cæſar* being ſcanced with victuals raiſed his campe, and departed thence to goe into THESSALY, through the country of the ATHAMANIANS: then he could no more bridle their glory and courage, which cried, *Cæſar* is fled, let vs follow him. And others, let vs returne home againe into ITALY. And others alſo ſent their friends and ſeruants before to ROME, to hire them houſes neare the market place: intending when they came thither to ſue for offices in the common wealth. Some there were alſo that in a iollity would needs take ſhip, and ſaile into the Ile of LESBOS, vnto *Cornelia* (whom *Pompey* had ſent thither) to cary her that good newes, that the warre was ended. Thereupon aſſembling the councell, *Africanus* thought it beſt to winne ITALY, for that was the chiefeſt marke to be ſhot at in this warre: for whoſoeuer obtained that, had ſtraight SICILE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAINE, and GAVLE at commaundement. Furthermore, that it was a diſhonour to *Pompey* (which in reaſon ſhould touch him aboue all things) to ſuffer their countrey to be in ſuch cruell bondage and ſubiection vnto ſlaues and flatterers of tyrants, offering it ſelfe as it were into their handes. But *Pompey* neither thought it honorable for him, once againe to flie from *Cæſar*, and to make him follow him, ſith fortune had giuen him oportunity to haue *Cæſar* in chaſe: nor lawfull alſo before the gods, to forſake his father in law *Scipio*, and many other alſo that had bene Conſuls, diſperſed abroad in GREECE and THESSALY, which ſhould immediatly fall into *Cæſars* hands, with all their riches and armies they had. Furthermore, he ſaid, that they had care enough for the city of ROME, which drew the wars farthеſt off from them: ſo as, they remaining ſafe and quiet at home, (neither hearing nor feeling the miſery of warres) might in the end peaceably receiue and welcome him home, that remained conquerour. With this determination, he marched forward to follow *Cæſar*, being determined not to giue him battell, but to beſiege him, & only to compaſſe him in, that being

The clemency of Cæſar.

Cæſar coming out of Spaine, returned to Brundiſium.

Pompey ouerthrew Cæſar.

Pompey followeth Cæſar into Theſſaly.

being neare vnto him, and so to cut him off from victuals. There was also an other reason that made him to follow that determination. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech given out among the ROMAINE knights, that so soone as euer they had ouercome *Cæsar*, they should also bring *Pompey* to be a priuate man againe. Some say therefore, that *Pompey* would neuer afterwards imploy *Cato* in any greater matters of waight in all this warre, but, when he followed *Cæsar*, he left him captaine of his army, to keepe his carriage by sea, fearing that so soone as *Cæsar* were once ouercome, he would make him straight also resigne his authority. *Pompey* following *Cæsar* in this maner, faire and softly, they cried out vpon him, that he made no warre with *Cæsar*, but against his country and the Senat, because he might be still an heire: and that he would neuer leaue to haue them for his seruants and guard about him, which should rule and commaund the world. Furthermore, *Domitius Enobarbus*, calling him continually *Agamemnon*, and king of kings, made him much to be enuied. *Pharnax* also mocked him as much as the other, that spake most boldest: for hee went crying vp and downe, my maisters, I giue you warning, you are like to eate no figges this yeare. And *Lucius Afranius* also, he that had lost the army which he had in SPAINE, and was also suspected for a traitour, seeing *Pompey* then refused to come to battell: I maruaile, said he, that they which accuse mee, doe not lustely goe to finde him out, whom they call the marchaunt and common buyer of prouinces, to fight with him presently. With these and many such other lewd speaches, they compelled *Pompey* in the end (who could not abide to be ill spoken of, and would not deny his friendes any thing) to follow their vaine hope and desires, and to forsake his owne wise determination: the which thing, no good shippe maister, and much lesse a chiefe and soueraigne captaine, ouer so many nations and so great armies, should haue suffered and consented vnto. Now, he that did alwaies commend the physitions, that would not follow the fond desire of the sicke patients: was him selfe contented to obey the worst part of his army, fearing their displeasure, where their life or health stoode in hazard. For who would thinke or iudge them to be wise men, and in their wittes, who walking vp and downe their campe, did already sue to be Consuls and Prætors: considering that *Lentulus*, *Domitius*, and *Scipio*, were at strife together, making friendes to be high Bishoppe, (which office *Cæsar* had) as if they should haue fought with *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, or with the king of the NABATHEIANS, which had camped by them, and not with *Cæsar* and his army: who had taken a thousand townes by assault, had subdued aboue three hundred seuerall nations, and had wonne infinite battels of the GERMAINES and GAVLES, and was neuer ouercome: had also taken a million of men prisoners, and had likewise slaine so many at diuers battels. All this notwithstanding, they of *Pompeys* side still being importunate of him, & troubling him in this sort: in fine, when they were come into the fields of PHARSALIA, they compelled *Pompey* to call a councell. There *Labienus*, generall of the horsemen standing vp, sware before them all, that he would not returne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flie. The like oath all the rest did take. The next night following, *Pompey* thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honor him, made a maruellous great clapping of their handes: and that he him selfe did set forth the temple of *Venus* the conqueror with many spoiles. This vision partly put him in good corage, and partly againe made him doubt: for that he was afraied, because *Cæsars* family was discended from this goddesse *Venus*, that his dreame did signifie, that he should haue the honour of the victory, with the spoiles he should winne of him. Besides all this, there ran sodaine fearefull noises and tumults in his campe without any apparant cause, that waked all the campe vppon it. At the fourth watche, when the watch is renued in the morning, there was seene a maruellous great light ouer *Cæsars* camp, and they were all at rest. Of that, there came as it were a torch of a burning fire, and fell in *Pompeys* campe. The which *Cæsar* him selfe said he saw, when he went to search the watch. At the breake of the day, *Cæsar* being determined to raise his campe, and to goe to the city of SCOTVSA, as his souldiers were busie about ouerthrowing of their tentes, and sending away their bagges and baggage before: there came skoutes vnto him, that brought him word they saw a great deale of armour and weapon caried to and fro in their enemies campe, and heard a noise and bussling besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After

Pompey mocked of his owne souldiers.

Cæsars conquestes.

Labienus generall of Pompeyes horsemen

Pompeys dreame before the battell of Pharsalia.

Wonderfull noises heard in Pompeis camp.

these came in other skowtes, that brought word also that their voward was already set in bat-
tell raye. Then *Cæsar* sayed, that the day was now come they had longed for so sore, and that
they should now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of victuals: and thereupon
gaue order presently that they should put out the redde coates or armes vpon his tente, which
was the signe all the ROMAINES vsed to shew that they would fight. The souldiers seing them
out, left their cariage and tentes and with great shoutes of ioye ranne to arme themselues.
The Captaines of euery band also, bestowed euery man in such place as he should fight, and
so they countryed themselues into battell raye, without any tumult or disorder, as quietly as
if they should haue entred into a daunce. *Pompey* himselfe ledde the left wing of his armye
gainst *Antony*. The middle of the battell he gaue vnto *Scipio* his father in lawe being right
gainst *Domitius Caluinus*. The left wing also was led by *Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus*, the which
was garded with men of armes, for all the horsemen were placed on that side, to distresse *Cæ-*
sar if they could, that was directly against them: and to ouerthrowe the tenth legion that
was so much accounted of, being the valianteste souldiers the enemie had in all his armye
amongst the which *Cæsar* did euer vse to fight in person. *Cæsar* then seing the leste wing of
his enemies so strong with the gard of the horsemen, and being afrayed of the brightnes of
their armor: brought forward six ensignes for supply, which he placed hard behind the tenth
legion, commanding them that no man should stur, least their enemies should discouer them.
And furthermore, when the horsemen of the enemies should come to giue charge vpon them,
that then they should runne with speed on the one side of the formost rancks, and not to throw
their dartes farre from them, as the valianteste souldiers are wont to do, to come to the swords
the sooner: but to throw them vpwards into their enemies eyes and faces. For, sayd he, these
braue fellowes and fine daunters, will neuer abide to haue their faces marred. And this was
Cæsars deuise at that time. *Pompey* being a horsebacke, rode vp and downe to consider the or-
dinance of both battels: and perceiuing that his enemies stood still in their rankes, looking
for the signall of battell, and that his owne battell on the other side waued vp and downe dis-
orderly, as men vnskilfull in warres: he was afrayd they would flie before they were charged.
Thereupon he straightly commaunded them in the voward, that they should steadily keepe
their rankes, and standing close together should so defend themselues, receiuing the charge of
the enemy. But *Cæsar* disliked of that deuise, for thereby, sayd he, the force of their blowes was
lessened, and in withholding them from giuing the charge, he not only tooke away that cou-
rage which the assailant carieth with him that commeth with furie: but made them moreo-
uer faint harted, in receiuing the charge of the enemies. In *Cæsars* armie, there were about two
and twentie thousand fighting men: and in *Pompeyes* armie, somewhat aboue twise as many.
Now, when the word of battell was giuen of either side, and that the trumpets did sound the
allarme: euery man beganne to looke to himselfe. But a fewe of the chiefest of the ROMAINS,
and certaine GRECIANS that were there also out of the set battell, perceiuing the imminent
danger, began to bethinke them, to what passe the ambition and wil full contention betwene
these two men, had brought the state of ROME. For the weapons of kinsemen, the bands of
bretheren, the ensignes all alike, the flower of so many valiant men of one citie, did serue for a
notable example, to shew how mans nature prickt forward with couetousnes, is quite blind
and without reason. For if they could haue beene contented quietly to haue gouerned that
which they had conquered: the greatest and best part of the world, both by sea and by land,
was subiect vnto them. Or otherwise, if they could not haue quenched their vnstiable desire
of victorie and triumph, they had occasion of warre enough offered them against the PAR-
THIANS & GERMAINS. Furthermore they had enough to do besides to conquer SCYTHIA,
and the INDIANS: and withall, they had had an honest colour to haue cloked their ambi-
tious desires, if it had bene but to haue brought the barbarous people to a ciuill life. For what
horsemen of SCYTHIA, or arrowes of PARTHIA, or riches of Indians, could haue abidden
the power of three score and tenne thousand ROMAINE souldiers, and specially being led by
two so famous Captaines, as *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*? whose names, these strange and far nations
vnderstood long before the name of the ROMAINS: so great were their victories, hauing con-
quered so many wilde and barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one against
the

Pompeyes army set in battel ray in Pharsalia.

Cæsars order of fight.

Pompeyes ordinance of his battell.

Cæsar misliketh Pompeyes ordinance.

Battell betwixt Cæsar and Pompey. in Pharsalia.

the other, not regarding their honor which made them so ambitious: did not spare their own country, who had vntill that time remained vnuincible, both in fame and prowes. For, the alliance that was made betwene them, the loue of *Iulia*, & marying with her, was suspected frō the beginning to be but a deceit, & a pledge as it were of a conspiracie made betwene them, for their priuate benefit, more then for any true friendship. Now whē the fields of PHARSALIA were couered ouer with men, with horse and armor, and that the signall of battell was giuen on either side: the first man of *Cæsars* army that aduanced forward to giue charge, was *Caius Crassinius* a captaine of sixe score and fiue men, to performe a great promise which he had made vnto *Cæsar*. For *Cæsar*, when he came out of his tent in the morning, seeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the successe of this battell? *Crassinius* holding vp his right hand vnto him, couragiously cryed: Oh *Cæsar*, thine is the victorie, and this day thou shalt commend me either aliue or dead. Then remēbring these words, he brake out of the troupes, and many following after him, ranne amongst the middest of his enemies. Straight they came to the sword, and made great slaughter. But he pressing forwarde still, one with a dart ran him through the mouth, that the swords point came through at his neck. Thereupon *Crassinius* being slain, the battel was equall. *Pompey* did not make his left wing march out euenly, but staied, and cast his eyes abroad to see what his horsemen would doe, the which had alreadie deuided their companies, meaning to compasse in *Cæsar*, and to make the small number of horsemen which he had before him to giue backe vpon the squadron of his footemen. On the other side, as soone as *Cæsar* had giuen the signall of battell, his horsemen retired backe a litle, and the sixe enseignes which he had placed secretly behinde them, (being three thousand fighting men) ranne sodainely to assaile the enemie vpon the flancke, and when they came neere vnto the horsemen, they threw the points of their dartes vpwardes according to *Cæsars* commaundement, and hyt the young gentlemen full in their faces. They being vtterly vnskilfull to fight, and least of all looking for such maner of fight: had not the hearts to defend themselues, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heads, & clapping their hands on their faces, shamefully fled. They being ouerthrowen, *Cæsars* men made no account to follow them, but went and gaue charge vppon the battell of footemen, in that place specially where they had no guard of horsemen, whereby they might the easilliet be compassed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the vowarde also by the fourth legion, perceiuing themselues (contrarie to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies, where they thought to haue enuironed them: they could make no longer resistance. They also being likewise driuen to flie, when *Pompey* saw the dust in the element, and coniectured the flying of his horsemen: what minde he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgetting that he was *Pompey* the great: for that he went straight into his campe, and spake neuer a word to any man, rightly verifying *Homers* verses to this effect.

Caius Crassinius giueth the onset of Cæsars side.

Crassinius slaine.

Pompeis horsemen put to flight by Cæsar.

But mightie Ioue who sits aloft in yuorie chariot hie,
Strake Aiax with so great a feare that Aiax by and by,
Let fall his leatherne target made of tough oxe hide seuen fold,
And ranne away, not looking backe, for all he was so bold.

Pompey flying in the fields of Pharsalia.

In this estate *Pompey* entred into his tent, and sate him downe there a great while, and spake neuer a word: vntill such time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his campe. And then, he said no more: but what, euen into our campe? and so rising vp, he put a gowne on his backe euen fit for his misfortune, and secretly stale out of the campe. The other legions also fled: and great slaughter was made of the tent keepers, and their seruantes that guarded the campe. For *Asinius Pollio* writeth (who was at that battell on *Cæsars* side) that there were slaine onely but sixe thousand souldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe, *Cæsars* souldiers then found plainly the madnes & vanity of *Pompeys* men. For, all their tents and pauilions were full of nosegayes and garlands of mirtle, and their couches al couered with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, & men prepared readie to do sacrifice for ioy, rather then to arme themselues to fight. Thus went they to battel, caried away with this vaine and foolish hope. When *Pompey* was gone a litle way from his campe, he forsooke his horse,

Asinius Pollio reporteth this battell.

hauing a very few with him: & perceiuing that no man pursued him, he went a foot faire and softly, his head full of such thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of his like calling might haue, who for foure and thirty yeares space together, was wont continually to carie victorie away, and beganne then euen in his last cast, to proue what it was to flie, and to be ouercome: and who thought then with himselfe, how in one houres space he had lost the honor and riches which he had gotten in so many foughten fields and battels, wherby he was not long before followed and obeyed of so many thousand men of warre, of so many footemen, and of such a great fleete of shippes on the sea, and then to goe as he did in such poore estate, and with so small a traine, that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Then when he was passed the citie of LARISSA, and comming to the vallie of Tempé: there being a thirst, he fell downe on his belly and dranke of the riuer. Then rising vp againe, he went his way thence and came to the sea side, and tooke a fishers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the day, he went into a litle bote vppon the riuer, and tooke with him free men with him that were about him: and as for the slaues, he sent them backe againe, and did counsell them boldly to goe to *Cæsar*, and not to be affraide. Thus rowing vp and down the shore side, in this litle bote, he spyed a great shippe of burden in the maine sea, riding at anker, which was readie to weigh anker, and to saile away. The master of the shippe was a ROMAINE, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet knewe him by sight very well. He was called *Peticius*, who had dreamed the night before, that he sawe *Pompey* speake vnto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in pouerty and in miserie. So, he told this dreame vnto the mariners which sailed with him (as men commonly vse to do, especially when they dreame of such weightie matters, and being at leasure withall) and at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he saw a litle bote on the riuer rowing towardes them, and that there were men in it that shooke their clokes at them, and held vp their hands. Thereupon *Peticius* standing vp, knew *Pompey* straight, euen in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his bote, and gaue him his hande, calling him *Pompey* by his name, mistrusting (seeing him in that estate) what misfortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishap, he receiued him into his shippe, and all those he would haue with him: and then hoised saile. With *Pompey* there were both the *Lentuli* and *Faonius*. Shortly after also, they perceiued king *Deiotarus* comming from the riuer with them, that beckened and made signes to receiue them: which they did. At supper time, the master of the shippe, made readie such meate as he had abord. *Faonius* seeing *Pompey* for lacke of men to waite on him, washing of himselfe: ranne vnto him, washed him, and annointed him: and afterwardes continued still to waite vpon him, and to doe such seruice about him, as seruants do to their masters, euen to washing of his feete, and making ready of his supper. When a simple man saw him, that could no skill of seruice, he said:

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at thou come to see me, and why diddest thou not leaue me to cursed fate and my wicked de-
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bene dead before I heard of the death of my first husband *Publius Crassus*, whom the wretched
Parthians slew? And how wise a woman had I bene, if (according to my determination) I
had killed my selfe immediatly after him: where now I liue to bring yet this misfortune vnto
Pompey the great? It is reported that *Cornelia* spake these words, and that *Pompey* also answered
her in this maner. Peraduenture, *Cornelia* mine, thou hast knowen a better fortune, which hath
also deceiued thee, because she hath continued longer with me then her maner is. But since we
are borne men, we must patiently beare these troubles, and proue fortune againe. For it is no
impossible matter for vs againe to come into prosperitie out of this present miserie, as to fall
out of late prosperitie into present calamitie. When *Cornelia* heard him say so, she sent backe
into the citie for her stuffe & family. The Mitylenians also came openly to salute *Pompey*,
and praied him to come into the citie, and to refresh himselfe: but *Pompey* would not, & gaue
them counsell to obey the conqueror, & not to feare any thing, for *Cæsar* was a iust man, and of
courteous nature. Then *Pompey* turning vnto *Cratippus* the Philosopher, who came amõg the
citizens also to see him: made his complaint vnto him, and reasoned a litle with him about di-
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bene in his doings? And *Cratippus* might haue answered him, that for the ill gouernment of
the common wealth at Rome, it was of necessity that it should fall into the handes of a soue-
raigne prince. Peraduenture *Cratippus* might then haue asked him: how, and whereby *Pompey*
couldest thou make vs beleeue, if thou hadst ouercome *Cæsar*, that thou wouldest haue vsed
thy good fortune better then he? But for diuine matters, referre them to the goddes as it plea-
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noble house of *Scipio*, amongst the barbarous people, who thinke it lawful for the to vse what villany and insolency they list to any. For, admit she haue no villany offered her by them: yet is it an vndecent thing, to thinke she might haue bene dishonoured, they hauing her in their power to doe it. There was no perswasion (as they say) but this only that turned *Pompey* vnto Euphrates: for it seemeth that *Pompeys* counsell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into ÆGYPT, he departed out of CYPRVS in a gally of SYRIA with his wife *Cornelia*. The residue of his traine imbarked also, some into gallies, and others into marchants shippes of great burden, and so safely passed the sea without daunger.

Pompey arriueth in Aegypt and goeth to Peluſium. Pothinus an eunuch, and groome of the chamber to king Ptolomy, ruleth all AEgypt.

When *Pompey* heard newes that king *Ptolomie* was in the city of PELVSIVM with his army, making warre against his sister: he went thither, and sent a messenger before vnto the king, to aduertise him of his arriuall, and to intreate him to receiue him. King *Ptolomy* was then but a young man, insomuch as one *Pothinus* gouerned all the whole realme vnder him. He assembled a councell of the chiefest and wisest men of the court, who had such credite & authoritie as it pleased him to giue them. They being assembled, he commanded euery man in the king's name to say his mind touching the receiuing of *Pompey*, whether the king should receiue him or not. It was a miserable thing to see *Pothinus*, an eunuch of the kings, and *Theodotus* of CHIO, an hyred schoolemaster to teach the young king rethoricke, and *Achillas* ÆGYPTIAN to consult among themselues what they should doe with *Pompey* the great. These were the chiefest councellors of all his eunuches, and of those that had brought him vp. Now did *Pompey* ride at ancker vpon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this councell: in the which the opinions of other were diuers, for they would not haue receiued him: the other also, that he should be receiued. But the Rethoritian *Theodotus* to shew his eloquence, perswaded them that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, said he, if we receiue him, we shall haue *Cæsar* our enemy, & *Pompey* our Lord: and if they do deny him on the other side, *Pompey* will blame them for refusing of him, and *Cæsar* for not keeping of him. Therefore, this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him: for thereby they should winne the good will of the one, and not feare the displeasure of the other: and some say moreouer, that hee added this mocke withall: a dead man bites not. They being determined of this among themselues gaue *Achillas* commission to doe it. He taking with him *Septimius* (who had charge afore time vnder *Pompey*) and *Saluius* an other Centurion also, with three or foure souldiers besides, they made towards *Pompeys* gallie, about whom were at that time, the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely shew and manner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which *Theophanes* had put them in, seeing so few men come to them in a fisher bote: they began then to mistrust the small account that was made of them, & counselled *Pompey* to returne backe, and to launch againe into the sea, being out of the daunger of the hurling of a dart. In the meane time, the fisher bote drew neere, and *Septimius* rose & saluted *Pompey* in the ROMAN tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as soueraigne Captaine: and *Achillas* also spake to him in the Greeke tongue, and bad him come into his bote, because that by the shore side there was a great deale of mudde and sande bankes, so that his gallie should haue no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a farre off diuers of the kings gallies which were arming with all speed possible, and all the shore besides full of souldiers. Thus, though *Pompey* and his company would haue altered their minds, they could not haue told how to haue escaped: and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had giuen them therer occasion to haue executed his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before his end: he commanded two Centurions to go downe before him into the ÆGYPTIANS bote, and *Philip* one of his slaues infranchised, with an other slaue called *Scynes*. When *Achillas* reached out his hand to receiue him into his bote, he turned him to his wife and sonne, and said these verses of *Sophocles* vnto them:

The deliberation of the AEgyptians, for the receiuing of Pompey. Theodotus perswaded them to kill Pompey. A dead man biteth not. Achillas appointed to kill Pompey.

How Pompey was receiued into AEgypt.

The man that into Court comes free,
Muſt there in ſtate of bondage be.

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when he left his owne gally & went into the ÆGYPTIANS bote. The land being a great way off from his gally, when he saw neere a man

man in the bote ſpeake friendly vnto him, beholding *Septimius*, he ſaid vnto him: me thinkes my friend I ſhould know thee, for that thou haſt ſerued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no anſwere, nor ſhewed him any courteſie. *Pompey* ſeeing that no man ſpake to him, tooke a litle booke he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration that he ment to make vnto king *Ptolomy*, & beganne to read it. When they came neere the ſhore, *Cornelia* with her ſeruants and friendes about her, ſtoode vp in her ſhippe in great feare, to ſee what ſhould become of *Pompey*. So, ſhe hoped well, when ſhe ſawe many of the kings people on the ſhore, comming towards *Pompey* at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as *Pompey* tooke *Philip* his hande to ariſe more eaſily, *Septimius* came firſt behind him and thruſt him through with his ſword. Next vnto him alſo, *Salvius* and *Achillas* drew out their ſwords in like maner. *Pompey* then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his handes and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gaue him, coldly ſighing a litle. Thus being nine and fiftie yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at ancker in their ſhippes, when they ſaw him murthered, gaue ſuch a fearfull crie, that it was heard to the ſhore: then weying vp their ankers with ſpeed, they hoiſed ſaile, and departed their way, hauing winde at will that blew a luſty gale, as ſoone as they had gotten the maine ſea. The ÆGYPTIANS which prepared to rowe after them, when they ſaw they were paſt their reach, and vnpoſſible to be ouertaken: they let them go. Then hauing ſtriken off *Pompeys* head, they threwe his bodie ouer borde, for a miſerable ſpectacle to all thoſe that were deſirous to ſee him. *Philip* his infranchiſed bondman remained euer by it, vntill ſuch time as the ÆGYPTIANS had ſeene it their bellies full. Then hauing waſhed his bodie with ſalt water, and wrapped it vp in an old ſhirt of his, becauſe he had no other thing to lay it in: he ſought vpon the ſands, and found at the length a peece of an old fiſhers bote, enough to ſerue to burne his naked body with, but not all fully out. As he was buſie gathering the broken peeces of this bote together, thither came vnto him an old ROMAINE, who in his youth had ſerued vnder *Pompey*, and ſaid vnto him: O friend, what art thou that prepareſt the funerals of *Pompey* the great? *Philip* anſwered, that he was a bondman of his infranchiſed. Well, ſaid he, thou ſhalt not haue all this honor alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany thee in ſo deuout a deede, that I may not altogether repent me to haue dwelt ſo long in a ſtrange country, where I haue abidden ſuch miſerie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good happe, with mine owne hands to touch *Pompeys* bodie, and to helpe to burie the only and moſt famous Captaine of the ROMAINES. The next day after, *Lucius Lentulus* not knowing what had paſſed, comming out of CYPRVS, ſailed by the ſhore ſide, and perceiued a fire made for funerals, and *Philip* ſtanding by it, whom he knew not at the firſt. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But ſtraight fetching a great ſigh, alas, ſaid he, perhappes it is *Pompey* the great. Then he landed a litle, and was ſtraight taken and ſlaine. This was the end of *Pompey* the great. Not long after, *Cæſar* alſo came into ÆGYPT that was in great warres, where *Pompeys* head was preſented vnto him: but he turned his head aſide and would not ſee it, and abhorred him that brought it as a deteſtable murtherer. Then taking his ring wherewith he ſealed his letters, whereupon was grauen a Lyon holding a ſword: he burſt out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Pothinus* he put to death. King *Ptolomy* himſelfe alſo, being ouerthrowen in battell by the riuer of Nilus, vaniſhed away, and was neuer heard of after. *Theodotus* the Rethoritian eſcaped *Cæſars* hands, and wandred vp & downe ÆGYPT in great miſerie, deſpiſed of euery man. Afterwards, *Marcus Brutus* (who ſlew *Cæſar*) conquering ASIA, met with him by chance, and putting him to all the torments he could poſſibly deuiſe, at the length ſlew him. The aſhes of *Pompeys* bodie were afterwardes brought vnto his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a towne of hers by the citie of ALBA.

Pompey the great cruelly ſlaine as he landed.

The manlineſſe and patience of Pompey at his death.

The funerals of Pompey.

Lucius Lentulus ſlaine.

Cæſar arriueth in AEgypt.

Pompeys ring.

The murtherers of Pompey put to death.

THE COMPARISON OF *Pompey with Ageſilaus.*

How Pompey and Ageſilaus came to their greatneſſe.

NOw that we haue declared vnto you, the liues of *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*: let vs compare their maners and conditions together, which theſe. Firſt, *Pompey* came to his honor and greatneſſe, by his inge and ſo aduanced himſelfe: and was a great aide vnto *Sylla*, doing ny noble exploits, helping him to rid thoſe tirãts out of Italy held it in bondage. But *Ageſilaus* vſurped the kingdom of Lacedæmon, againſt the law of gods and men, condemning *Leotychides* baſtard, whom his brother auowed to be his lawfull ſonne: and temned beſides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of king. Furthermore, *Pompey* did honor *Sylla* while he liued, & when he was dead, gaue him die honorable buriall in deſpight of *Lepidus*: & maried his daughter vnto *Fauſtus* the ſon *Sylla*. *Ageſilaus* contrarily did diſhonor *Lyſander* vpon light occaſion: but *Pompey* had deſ leſſe for *Sylla*, than *Sylla* had done for him. *Lyſander* on the other ſide, had made *Ageſilaus* of Lacedæmon, and Lieutenant generall of all Greece. Thirdly, the iniuries that *Pompey* vnto the common weale, were done of neceſſitie to pleaſe *Cæſar* and *Scipio*, both of the fathers in law. *Ageſilaus* alſo, to ſatisfie his ſonnes loue, ſaued *Sphodrias* life that had deſ death, for the miſchiefe he had done the Athenians: and he willingly alſo tooke part *Phœbidas*, not ſecretly, but openly, becauſe he had broken the peace made with the The

The faultes of Ageſilaus and Pompey.

To cõclude, what hurt *Pompey* did vnto the Romaines, either through ignorance, or ſurely is frends: the ſame did *Ageſilaus* vnto the Lacedæmonians, through anger & in reuiuing warre with the Boeotians, vpon a full peace concluded. If we ſhall recken fortune of the one and the other, in the faults they committed: *Pompeys* fortune vnto the was vnlooked for. But *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the Lacedæmonians to am lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For though *Leotychides* had bene proued a ten thouſand times, yet had not the race of the *Eurytiontides* failed, but they could haue an other lawfull king among them, that ſhould haue gone vpright: had not *Lyſander*, *Ageſilaus*, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the Lacedæmonians. On the other againe for matters of gouernment, there was neuer ſuch an excellent deuiſe found out, done by *Ageſilaus*: to helpe the feare and danger the Lacedæmonians were in, for that fled at the battell of Leuctres, when he counſelled them to let the lawe ſleepe for day. Neither can any man match *Pompeys* with the like: who, to ſhew his friends what he was of, did breake the lawes which himſelfe had made. For *Ageſilaus* being driuen ceſſitie to aboliſh the lawe, to ſaue the life of his citizens, found ſuch a deuiſe that the law not hurtfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it ſhould

muſt needes commende this for a great vertue and ciuilitie in *Ageſilaus*, who ſo ſoone as he eiued the Scytala (or ſcrowle of parchement from the Ephori) returned into his country, d left the warre of ASIA. He did not as *Pompey*, who made himſelfe great to the benefite of e common wealth, and for the common wealthes ſake, did forſake ſuch honour and ſo great thoritie, as neuer Captaine before him, but *Alexander* the great, had the like in thoſe rtes. But now to other matter. Touching their battels and exploits in warres, the multi- *Things done by Ageſilaus and Pompey in warres.*
le of victories and triumphes that *Pompey* obtained, and the great armies that he led: *Xeno-*
w himſelfe if he were aliue, could not compare *Ageſilaus* victories vnto his: although for e ſingular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had libertie unted him, to write and ſpeake of *Ageſilaus* what he thought good. Me thinkes alſo, there s great difference betwixt *Pompey* and *Ageſilaus*, in their equitie and clemencie towardes ir enemies. For, whileſt *Ageſilaus* went about to conquer THEBES, and vtterly to race d deſtroy the citie of MESSINA, the one being an auncient citie of his country, and the o- *Ageſilaus loſt the ſignorie of the Lacedæmonians.*
er the capitall citie of BOEOTIA: he had almoſt loſt his owne citie of SPARTA, for at the ſt he loſt the commaundement and rule he had ouer the reſt of GREECE. The other con- rily gaue cities vnto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and ma- r of life: and when it was in his choiſe to lead *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, in triumphe at OME, he choſe rather to make him a confederat of the ROMAINES, ſaying, that he preferred rpetuall honour before one dayes glory. But ſince it is reaſon we ſhould giue the firſt place d honour of the diſcipline of warres, vnto a Captaine of the greateſt skill and experience in arres: the LACEDÆMONIAN then leaueth the ROMAINE far behind. For firſt of all *Ageſi-*
w neuer forſooke his citie, though it was beſieged with three ſcore & ten thouſand men, and t there were very few within the ſame to defend it, the which alſo a litle before had bene erthrowen at the battell of LEVCTRES. And *Pompey* on the other ſide, hearing that *Cæſar* *Pompeys fault to forſake Rome.*
ith fiue thouſand footemen onely had taken a towne in ITALIE: fled from ROME in very ate. And therein he can not be excuſed of one of theſe two: either that he fled cowardly ſo few men, or elſe that he had a falſe imagination of more. For he conueyed his wife and ildren away, but he left all the reſt without defence, and fled: where indeede he ſhould ei- er haue ouercome, valiantly fighting for defence of his country, or elſe haue receiued the onditions of peace which the conquerours ſhould haue offered him. For, he was a citizen nd allied vnto him. For he that thought it an vntollerable thing to prolong the terme of his ouernement, or to graunt him a ſecond Conſulſhip: did now giue him oportunitie, ſuffe- ng him to take the city of ROME, to ſay vnto *Metellus* the Tribune, & the reſt, that they were *A ſpeciall point of a skilfull Captaine.*
ll his priſoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefeſt point of an excellent Captaine, to compell is enemies to fight when he findeth himſelfe the ſtronger, and alſo to keepe himſelfe from mpulſion of fight when he is the weaker: *Ageſilaus* excelling in that, did euer keepe him ſelfe inuincible. *Cæſar* alſo had great skill therein, to keepe himſelfe from daunger being the eaker, and againe could tell how to compell *Pompey* to hazard battell, to his vtter deſtru- ion by land, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made himſelfe Lord of e treaſure, victuals, and alſo of the ſea, which his enemies had in their handes, without ghting. That which they alledge in his excuſe, is that which moſt doth condemne him, ſpe- ially for ſo great and skilfull a Captaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young Generall of n armie may eaſily be brought from his wife and ſafe counſell, with rumour and tumult of a w fearefull men, that ſhould perſwade him it were a ſhame and diſhonour for him if he did therwiſe: yet were this no ſtraunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for *Pompey* the reat, whoſe campe the ROMAINES called their country, and his tent the Senate, & called all e Prætors and Conſuls that gouerned at ROME, rebels and traitors to the common wealth f ROME: who could excuſe him (who was neuer ſeene commaunded by other then him elfe, but had bene alwayes chiefe Captaine and Generall in any warre he made, and euer had e vpper hand) but that he was drawen on by the ſcoffes of *Faonius*, and *Domitius*, to hazard attell, to endaunger the whole Empire and libertie of ROME, onely for feare they ſhould call im king *Agamemnon*? Who, if he had ſo much regarded preſent infamie, he ſhould haue ought from the beginning for defence of the citie of ROME, and not to haue taken example

of *Themiſtocles* policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a ſhame as he did, to lye in THESSALIE a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fields of Pharſalia for a Theater, or cloſe campe, of neceſsitie to fight which of them ſhould haue the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Herauld to ſummon him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he muſt aunſwere to his name, and come and fight, or elſe to looſe the honour of the crowne vnto an other. But there were infinite other fields and townes (and as a man would ſay the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by ſea gaue him choiſe to conquer if he would rather haue followed the ſteppes of *Fabius Maximus*, of *Marius*, of *Lucullus*, or of *Ageſilaus* himſelfe: who did patiently abide no leſſe tumultes within the citie ſelfe of SPARTA, when the THEBANS went to ſummon him to come out to fight, for all the reſt of his country. And in ÆGYPT alſo, he did abide many falſe accuſations againſt him, wherewith the king himſelfe did burthen him, praying him alwayes to haue a litle patience. In fine, hauing followed the beſt counſell which he had determined with himſelfe from the beginning, he ſaued the ÆGYPTIANS againſt their willes: and furthermore, he did not onely keepe the citie of SPARTA from ſo great a daunger, but did alſo ſet vp tokens of triumphe in the ſame againſt the THEBANS, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the ſlaughter, and beſides that, gaue his citizens occaſion to obtaine victorie afterwards. Hereupon *Ageſilaus* was highly prayſed of them, whoſe liues he had ſaued againſt their wils. And *Pompey* contrarily was blamed by themſelues, through whom he had offended: yet ſome ſay, that he was deceiued by his father in law *Scipio*. For he meaning to keepe the moſt part of the money to himſelfe which he had brought out of ASIA, did haſten and perſwade Pompey to giue battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had bene true, a worthy Captaine ſhould not ſo lightly haue bene brought into errour, vpon a falſe account, to hazard himſelfe to looſe all. Thus may we ſee what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their iourneys into ÆGYPT, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with ſmall honour, for moneys ſake to ſerue the barous people, with intent afterwardes to make warre with the GRECIANS. Laſtly, in that which we accuſe the ÆGYPTIANS for *Pompeys* ſake: for the like matter do they againe accuſe *Ageſilaus*. For, the one was cruelly put to death, and betrayed by them whom he truſted: and *Ageſilaus* forſooke them which truſted him, and went to the enemies, hauing brought aide to fight againſt them.

Ageſilaus conſtanter then Pompey.

Pompey flying into AEgypt is excuſed.

The end of Pompeys life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Alexander the great.

HAuing determined in this volume to write the life of king *Alexander*, and of *Iulius Cæsar*, that ouercame *Pompey*: hauing to speake of many things, I will vse none other preface, but onely desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch diuers, chiefly in those their noblest acts & most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write histories, but onely liues. For, the noblest deedes do not alwayes shew mens vertues & vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes mens naturall dispositions & manners appeare more plaine, then the famous battels wonne, wherein are slaine ten thousand men, or the great armies, or cities won by siege or assault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other partes of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and fauour of the countenance, in the which consisteth the iudgement of their manners and disposition: euen so they must giue vs leaue to seeke out the signes and tokens of the minde onely, and thereby shew the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to write the warres, battels, and other great things they did. It is certaine that *Alexander* was descended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and that of his mothers side, he came of the bloud of the *AEacides* by *Neoptolemus*. They say also, that king *Philip* his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother *Olympias*, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both receiued into the misterie and fraternity of the house of the religious: and that afterwardes, he did aske her in mariage of her brother *Arymbas*, with whose consent they were maried together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that dispersed it selfe all about into diuers flames. King *Philip* her husband also, shortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did seale his wiues belly, and that the seale where with he sealed, left behind the printe of a Lyon. Certaine wisards and soothsayers, told *Philip* that this dreame gaue him warning to looke straightly to his wife. But *Aristander* TELMESIAN answered againe, that it signified his wife was conceiued with child, for that they do not seale a vessell that hath nothing in it: and that she was with child with a boy, which should haue a

The face sheweth mens manners and conditions.

The parentage of Alexander. Olympias the wife of Philip king of Macedon.

Olympias dreame.

King Philips dreame.

Olympias serpent.

Lions hart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay a sleepe in her bed, there was seene a serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that withdrew Philips loue and kindnesse from her, & caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he was wont to do: either for that he feared some charme or enchantment, or else for that he thought himselfe vnmeete for her company, supposing her to be beloued of some god. Some do also report this after an other sort: as in this maner. That the women in those parts of long time, haue bene commonly possest with the spirite of *Orpheus*, and the diuine fury of *Bacchus*, whereupon they are called Clodones, and Mimallones (as much as warlike, and fierce) and do many things like vnto the wome of EDONIA, & THRACIA, dwelling about the mountaine Æmus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Threskeuin (signifying in the Greeke toung, too superstitiously giuen to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For *Olympias* aboue other wome, louing to be inspired with such diuine madnes & fury: did celebrate their solemne sacrifices with a certaine horrible & barbarous manner. For in these dances to *Bacchus*, she carried a great number of tame snakes about her, the which gliding vpon the Iuie wherewith the women were dressed in those ceremonies, & winding themselues about the litle iauelings they had in their hands, & the garlands about their heads: thereby they made men the more afrayed of them. Whereupon *Philip* after this dreame, sent *Chæro* MEGALOPOLITAN vnto the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, to inquire what it signified. Answere was giuen him, that he should do sacrifice vnto *Iupiter Hammon*, & honor him aboue all gods: & that he had lost one of his eyes with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber doore, saw the god in forme of a snake lye by his wife. Furthermore, *Olympias* (as *Eratosthenes* writeth) bidding her son farewell when he went to conquer ASIA, after she had secretly told him alone, by whom he was begotten: she prayed him to be valiant, & to shew himselfe worthy his sonne, that begat him. Others tell also, that she was angry with this report, saying: will *Alexander* neuer leaue to make me suspected of *Iuno*? So it is, that *Alexander* was borne on the sixt day of the month of Hecatombeon (in English, Iune) which the MACEDONIANS call Lous. On the very same day, the temple of *Diana* in the city of EPHESVS was burnt, as *Hegesias* MAGNESIAN doth witnes, whose eyther exclamation was so terrible and cold, that it was enough to haue quenched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that *Diana* suffred her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, busie about *Alexanders* birth. But this is true, that all the Priests, Magitians & Soothsayers, which were at that time in EPHESVS, iudging that this did prognosticate some maruellous great misfortune to come, like men bestraught of their wits, they ran vp & down the city, smiting of their faces, & crying that some great plague & mischief was borne that day vnto ASIA. Shortly after that king Philip had won the city of POTIDÆA, three messengers came to him the same day that brought him great newes. The first, that *Parmenio* had wonne a notable battell of the ILLYRIANS: the second, that his horse onely wan the bell & price at the Olympian games: & the third, that his wife had brought him a sonne called *Alexãder*. *Philip* being maruellous glad to heare these newes, the soothsayers did make his ioy yet greater: assuring him that his sonne which was borne with three victories all together, should be inuincible. Now for his stature and personage, the statues and images made of him by *Lysippus* do best declare it, for that he would be drawen of no man but him only. Diuers of his successors & friends did afterwards counterfeit his image, but that excellent workeman *Lysippus* onely, of all other the chiefest, hath perfectly drawen and resembled *Alexanders* manner of holding his necke, somwhat hanging downwards the left side, & also the sweet looke & cast of his eyes. But when *Apelles* painted *Alexander*, holding lightning in his hand, he did not shew his fresh colour, but made him somewhat blacke & swarter, then his face indeed was: for naturally he had a very fayre white colour mingled also with red, which chiefly appeared in his face & in his brest. I remember I red also in the commẽtaries of *Aristoxenus*, that his skin had a maruellous good sauour, & that his breath was very sweet, in somuch that his body had so sweet a smell of it selfe, that all the apparell he wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a passing delightfull sauour, as if it had bene perfumed. And the cause hereof peraduenture might be, the very temperature and constitution of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For *Theophrastus* is of opinion, that the sweet sauour commeth by meanes of the heate that dryeth vp the moysture of the body. By which reason also

The birth of Alexander. The temple of Diana burnt at Ephesus.

Wonderfull things seene at the birth of Alexander.

Alexander stature and personage.

Alexanders body had a maruellous sweete sauour.

also it appeareth, that the dry & hot countryes parched with heate of the sunne, are those that deliuer vnto vs the best spices: because that the sunne drieth vp the moysture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This naturall heate that *Alexander* had, made him (as it appeareth) to be giuen to drinke, & to be hasty. Euen from his childhood they saw that he was giuen to be chast. For though otherwise he was very hot & hasty, yet was he hardly moued with lust or pleasure of the body, & would moderately vse it. But on the other side, the ambitiō & desire he had of honor, shewed a certaine greatnes of minde & noble courage, passing his yeares. For he was not (as his father *Philip*) desirous of all kinde of glory: who like a Rethoritian had a delight to vtter his eloquence, & staped in his coynes, the victories he had won at the Olympian games, by the swift running of his horse & coches. For when he was asked one day (because he was swift of foote) whether he would assay to run for victory at the Olympian games: I could be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speake generally, he misliked all such contentiō for games. For it seemeth that he vtterly misliked all wrestling & other exercise for prise, where men did vse all their strēgth: but otherwise he himself made certain festiuall dayes & games of prise, for common stage players, musitians, & singers, & for the very Poets also. He delighted also in hunting of diuers kinds of beasts, and playing at the staffe. Ambassadours being sent on a time from the king of PERSIA, whilest his father was in some iourney out of his realme: *Alexander* familiarly entertaining of them, so wan them with his curteous entertainment, (for that he vsed no childish questions vnto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what distance it was frō one place to an other, & which way they went into the high coūtrys of ASIA, & of the king of PERSIA himself, how he was towards his enemies, & what power he had) that he did rauish them with delight to heare him, in somuch that they made no more account of *Philips* eloquence & sharpe wit, in respect of his sonnes courage, & noble minde, to attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken some *Alexander couetted honour.* *The noble minde of Alexander.*
boosetie, or had won some great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would say to his playfellowes: sirs, my father will haue all, I shall haue nothing left me to conquer with you, that shalbe ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but onely in valiantnes & honour, thought, that the greater conquestes & realmes his father should leaue him, the lesse he should haue to do for himselfe. And therfore, seeing that his fathers dominions & Empire increased dayly more and more, perceiuing all occasion taken from him to do any great enterprise: he desired no riches nor pleasure, but warres & battels, & aspired to a signory where he might win honour. He had diuers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him vp as schoolemasters, gouernours, & groomes of his chamber to attend vpon him: & among those, *Leonidas* was the chiefest man that had the gouernement & charge of him, a man of a seuere disposition, & a kinseman also vnto the Queene *Olympias*. He misliked to be called a maister or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, wherupō the others called him *Alexanders* gouernour, because he was a noble mā, & allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his schoolemaster, was *Lysimachus*, an ACARNANIAN borne, who had no other maner of ciuility in him, sauing that he called himself *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, & *Philip Peleus*: & therfore he was well thought of, and was the second person next vnto *Leonidas*. At what time *Philonicus* THESSALIAN had brought *Bucephall* the horse to sell vnto king *Philip*, as king thirteen talents, they went into the field to ryde him. The horse was found so rough & churlish that the ryders said he would neuer do seruice, for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any of the gentlemens voyces about king *Philip*, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon, *Philip* being afrayed, commaunded them to cary him away as a wild beast, & altogether vnprofitable: but which they had done, had not *Alexander* that stood by sayd, O gods, what a horse do they cary away, for lacke of skill & hart to hādle him. *Philip* heard what he said, but held his peace. *Alexander* oft repeating his words, seeming to be sory that they should send backe the horse alone: why, said *Philip*, doest thou controll them that haue more experience than thou, & that know better then thou how to handle a horse? *Alexander* answered, & yet me thinkes I should handle him better thē all they haue done. But if thou canst not, no more thē they, replied *Philip*: what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth *Alexander*) to ieopard the price of the horse. Euery mā laughed to heare his answere: & the wager was layed betweene thē. Then ran *Leonidas the gouernour of Alexander.* *Bucephall Alexāder horse.*

Alexander to the horſe, and tooke him by the bridle: and turned him towardes the ſunne. It ſeemed that he had marked (as I ſuppoſe) how mad the horſe was to ſee his owne ſhadow, which was euer before him in his eye, as he ſturred to & fro. Then *Alexander* ſpeaking gently to the horſe, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his furie & ſnorting: ſoftly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any daunger, & holding the reines of the bridle hard, without ſtriking or ſturring the horſe, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he ſaw that the furie of the horſe was paſt, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full career, and layed on ſpurres and voyce a good. *Philip* at the firſt with feare beholding his ſonnes agilitie, leaſt he ſhould take ſome hurt, ſayd neuer a word: but when he ſaw him readily turne the horſe at the end of his career, in a brauery for that he had done, all the lookers on gaue a ſhout for ioy. The father on the other ſide (as they ſay) fell a weeping for ioy. And when *Alexander* was lighted from the horſe, he ſayd vnto him kiſſing his head: O ſonne, thou muſt needes haue a realme that is meete for thee, for MACEDON will not hold thee. Furthermore, conſidering that of nature he was not to be won by extremitie, & that by gentle meanes and perſwaſion he could make him do what he would: he euer ſought rather to perſwade thē cōmaund him in any thing he had to do. Now *Philip* putting no great affiance in his ſchoolemaiſters of muſicke & humanitie, for the inſtruction & education of his ſonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed mē of greater learning then their capacities would reach vnto: and that as *Sophocles* ſayth,

He needed many reynes, and many bits at once:

He ſent for *Ariſtotle* (the greateſt Philoſopher in his time, & beſt learned) to teach his ſonne, vnto whō he gaue honorable ſtipend. For *Philip* hauing won & takē before, the city of STAGYRA, where *Ariſtotle* was borne: for his ſake he built it again, & repleniſhed it with inhabitāts which fled away, or otherwiſe were in bondage. He appointed them for a ſchoole houſe and dwelling place, the pleaſant houſe that is by the city of MIEZA. In that place are yet ſeene ſeats of ſtone which *Ariſtotle* cauſed to be made, and cloſe walkes to walke in the ſhadow. It is thought alſo, that *Alexander* did not only learne of *Ariſtotle*, morall Philoſophy & humanity, but alſo he heard of him other more ſecret, hard, and graue doctrine, which *Ariſtotles* ſchollers do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things ſpeculatiue, which requireth the maiſters teaching to vnderſtand thē, or elſe are kept from cōmon knowledge: which ſciences, they did not cōmonly teach. *Alexander* being paſſed into ASIA, & hearing that *Ariſtotle* had put out certaine bookes of that matter: for the honors ſake of Philoſophy, he wrote a letter vnto him, ſomwhat too plaine, & of this effect. *Alexander*, vnto *Ariſtotle* greeting. Thou haſt not done well to put forth the Acroamaticall ſciences. For wherein ſhall we excell other, if thoſe things which thou haſt ſecretly taught vs, be made cōmon to all? I do thee to vnderſtand, that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge, then in greatneſſe of power. Farewell. Whereunto *Ariſtotle* to pacifie this his ambitious humour, wrote vnto him againe, that theſe bookes were publiſhed, and not publiſhed. For to ſay truly, in all his treatiſes which be called μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ: there is no plaine inſtructiō profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himſelf, nor yet to be taught by any other, then *Ariſtotle* himſelf, or his ſchollers. So that it is written as a memoriall for thē that haue bene entred & brought vp in the Peripateticke ſect & doctrine. It ſeemeth alſo, that it was *Ariſtotle* aboue all other, that made *Alexāder* take delight to ſtudy Phiſick. For *Alexāder* did not only like the knowledge of ſpeculatiō, but would exerciſe practiſe alſo, & helpe his friēds whē they were ſicke: & made beſides certain remedies, & rules to liue by: as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his own nature he was much ginē to his booke, and deſired to read much. He learned alſo the Iliades of *Homer*, of *Ariſtotles* correction, which they call ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος the corrected, as hauing paſſed vnder the rule: and layed it euery night vnder his beds head with his dagger, calling it (as *Oneſicrates* writeth) the inſtitution of martiall diſcipline. And whē he was in the high coūtrys of ASIA, where he could not readily come by other books, he wrote vnto *Harpalus* to ſend thē to him. *Harpalus* ſent him the hiſtories of *Philiſtus*, with diuers tragedies of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, & *AEſchylus*: & certaine hymnes of *Teleſtus* and *Philoxenus*. *Alexander* did reuerence *Ariſtotle* at the firſt, as his father, and ſo he termed him: becauſe from his naturall father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to liue.

The agilitie of Alexander in taming the wildneſſe of Bucephall the horſe.

Philip prophecieth of his ſon Alexander.

Ariſtotle, was Alexanders ſchoolemaiſter. Ariſtotle borne in the citie of Stagira.

An Epiſtle of Alexander vnto Ariſtotle.

Alexander the great practiſed Phiſicke. Some thinke that this place ſhould be mēt of the rich coffer, that was found among king Darius iewels, in the which Alexander would haue all Homers workes kept.

But

But afterwards he ſuſpected him ſomewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he ſo friendly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceiued that he did not beare him the good will he was wonte to do. This notwithſtanding, he left not that zeale and deſire he had to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which he had learned from his youth, and ſtill continued with him. For he ſhewed diuers teſtimonies thereof. As, the honor he did vnto *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher. The fiftie talents which he ſent vnto *Xenocrates*, *Dandamis*, and *Calanus*: of whom he made great account. When king *Philip* made warre with the BIZANTINES, *Alexander* being but fiftene yeare olde, was left his Lieutenant in MACEDON, with the cuſtodie and charge of his great ſeale: at what time he alſo ſubdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled againſt him, and hauing wonne their citie by aſſault, he draue out the barbarous people, & made a Colonie of it of ſundrie nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to ſay, the citie of *Alexander*. He was with his father at the battell of CHÆRONEA againſt the GRECIANS, where it was reported, that it was he that gaue charge firſt of all vpon the holy bande of the THEBANS. Furthermore, there was an old oke ſeene in my time, which the countrimen commonly call *Alexanders* oke, becauſe his tent or pauillion was faſtned to it: and not farre from thence is the chappell houſe, where thoſe MACEDONIANS were buried that were ſlaine at the battell. For theſe cauſes, his father *Philip* loued him very dearely, and was glad to heare the MACEDONIANS call *Alexander* king, & himſelfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reaſon of *Philips* new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and ſtrife amongſt the women: for the miſchiefe of diſſention and icalouſie of women, doth ſeparate the harts of kings one from another, whereof was chiefeſt cauſe, the ſharpeneſſe of *Olympias*, who being a icalous woman, fretting, and of a reuenging minde, did incenſe *Alexander* againſt his father. But the chiefeſt cauſe that prouoked *Alexander*, was *Attalus* at the mariage of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* maried a maiden, falling in fancie with her when himſelf was paſt mariage. This was the matter: *Attalus* being vncle vnto this *Cleopatra*, fell drunke at the mariage, and hauing in his cups, he perſuaded the MACEDONIANS that were at the feaſt, to pray to the goddes, that they might haue a lawfull heire of *Philip* and *Cleopatra*, to ſucceed him in the kingdome of MACEDON. *Alexander* being in a rage therewith threw a cup at his head, and ſaid vnto him: why, traytor, what am I: doſt thou take me for a baſtard? *Philip* ſeeing that, roſe from the bourd, and drew out his ſword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choller and wine, he fell downe on the ground. Then *Alexander* mocking him, loe, ſaid he, to the MACEDONIANS, here is the man that prepared to go out of EVROPE into ASIA, and ſtepping onely from one bed to an other, yee ſee him laide alongſt on the ground. After this great inſolencie, he tooke his mother *Olympias* away with him, & carying her into his country of EPIRVS, he left her there, & himſelfe afterwards went into ILLYRIA. In the meane time, *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN, a friend of king *Philips*, and very familiar with him, came to ſee him. *Philip* when he had courteouſly welcommed him, asked him how the GRECIANS did agree together. Truely, O king, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the GRECIANS, when your owne court is ſo full of quarrell & contention. Theſe words nipped *Philip* in ſuch ſort, & cauſed him to know his fault, that through *Demaratus* meanes, whom he ſent to perſuade *Alexander* to returne, *Alexander* was made to come backe againe. Now whē *Pexodorus*, a Prince of CARIA (deſiring for neceſſities ſake, to enter in league & friendſhip with *Philip*) offred his eldeſt daughter in mariage vnto *Aridæus* king *Philips* ſonne, & had ſent *Ariſtocritus* ambaſſador into MACEDON for that purpoſe: the friends of *Alexander* & his mother, began againe to inueigle him with new reports and ſuſpicions, how *Philip* by this great mariage would aduance *Aridæus* to his vtter vndoing, and leaue him his heire in the kingdom. *Alexander* being netled therwith, ſent one *Theſſalus* a plaier of tragedies into CARIA to *Pexodorus*: to perſuade him to leaue *Aridæus*, that was a baſtard & a foole, & rather to make alliance with *Alexander*. This offer pleaſed *Pexodorus* far better, to haue *Alexander* ſon in law, than *Aridæus*. *Philip* vnderſtanding this, went himſelfe into *Alexanders* chāber, taking *Philotas* with him (the ſon of *Parmenio*) one of his familiars, & bitterly tooke vp *Alexander*, telling him that he had a baſe minde, & was vnworthy to be left his heire after his death, that would caſt himſelfe away, marying the daughter of a CARIAN, that was a ſlaue & ſubiect

Alexanders firſt ſouldierſhare.

The city of Alexandropolis.

The quarrels of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.

Alexander mocketh Philip his father.

Aridæus king Philips baſtard, begotten of a common ſtrumpet, Philima.

of a barbarous king. Therupon he wrote letters vnto CORINTH, that they should send *Thessalus* bound vnto him. And furthermore, he banished out of MACEDON, *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius*, & *Ptolomy*, his sonnes companions: whom *Alexander* afterwards called home againe and placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, *Pausanias* susteining villany by the counsell and commandement of *Attalus* & *Cleopatra*, crauing iustice of *Philip*, and finding no amends: he conuerted all his anger against him, and for spight slue him himselfe. Of this murther, most men accused Queene *Olympias*, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, hauing iust cause of anger, to kill him. And *Alexander* also went not cleare from suspition of this murther. For some say, that *Pausanias* after this villanie was done him, complained vnto *Alexander*, and told him how he had bene abused: who recited these verses to him of *Euripides*, in the tragedie of *Medea*, where she said in anger, that she would be reuenged:

Philip king of Macedon, slaine by Pausanias.

Both of the bridegroome and the bride,
And of the father in lawe.

Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent searche to be made, and all them to be seuerely punished that were of the conspiracie: and was angrie also that his mother *Olympias* had cruelly slaine *Cleopatra*. So he came to be king of MACEDON at twenty yeares of age, and found his realme greatly enuied and hated of dangerous enemies, and euery way full of danger. For, the barbarous nations that were neere neighbors vnto MACEDON, could not abide the bondage of strangers, but desired to haue their naturall kings. Neither had *Philip* time enough to bridle and pacifie GREECE, which he had conquered by force of armes: but hauing a litle altered the gouernements, had through his insolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long bene acquainted to obey. Thereupon *Alexanders* counsell of MACEDON, being affraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that *Alexander* should vtterly forsake the affaires of GREECE, & not to follow them with extremitie, but that he should seeke to winne the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedy these new sturres. But he farre otherwise determined to stablish his safetie by courage and magnanimitie: persuading himselfe, that if they saw him stoope and yeelde at the beginning, how litle so euer it were, euery one would be vpon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them sodainly with his armie, by the riuer of DANVBY, where in a great battell he ouerthrew *Syrmus*, king of the TRIBALLIANS. Furthermore, hauing intelligence that the THEBANS were reuolted, & that the ATHENIANS also were confederate with them: to make thē know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towards the streight of *Thermopiles*, saying that he would make *Demosthenes* the Orator see (who in his orations, whilst he was in ILLYRIA, & in the country of the TRIBALLIANS, called him child) that he was growne a stripling passing through THESALY, & should finde him a man before the walles of ATHENS. When he came with his armie vnto the gates of THEBES, he was willing to giue them of the citie occasion to repent them, and therefore onely demanded *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet, pardon and safetie vnto all them that would yeeld vnto him. The THEBANS on the other side, demanded of him *Philotas*, & *Antipater*, two of his chiefest seruants, & made the crier proclaime in the city, that al such as would defēd the liberty of GREECE should ioyne with them. Then did *Alexander* leaue the MACEDONIANS at libertie to make warre with all crueltie. Then the THEBANS fought with greater courage and desire then they were able, considering that their enemies were many against one. And on the other side also when the garrison of the MACEDONIANS which were within the castell of CADMIA, made a salie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironned of all sides, were slaine in maner euery one of them, their citie taken, destroied, and rased euen to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of GREECE afraide by example of this great calamitie & miserie of the THEBANS, to the end none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rise against him. He would cloke this crueltie of his vnder the complaints of his confederates, the PHOCIANS and PLATEIANS: who complaining to him of the iniuries the THEBANS had offred, could not deny them iustice. Notwithstāding, except the priests, and the religious, & all such as were friends vnto any of the Lords of MACEDON

Alexander ouercame Syrmus king of the Triballians.

Thebes won and rased by Alexander.

all the friends and kinſmen of the poet *Pindarus*, and all thoſe that had diſſuaded them which were the rebels: he ſold all the reſt of the citie of THEBES for ſlaues, which amounted to the number of thirtie thouſand perſons, beſides them that were ſlaine at the battell, which were ſix thouſand moe. Now amongſt the other miſeries and calamities of the poore citie of THEBES, there were certaine THRACIAN ſouldiers, who hauing ſpoiled and defaced the houſe of *Timoclea*, a vertuous ladie and of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them: and their captaine hauing rauiſhed her by force, asked her, whether ſhe had any where hidden any golde or ſiluer. The ladie told him, ſhe had. Then leading him into her garden, ſhe brought him vnto a well: where ſhe ſaid ſhe had caſt all her iewels & precious things, when ſhe heard the citie was taken. The barbarous THRACIAN ſtouped to looke into the well: ſhe ſtanding behind him, thruſt him in, and then threw ſtones enough on him, and ſo killed him. The ſouldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and ſo caried her vnto *Alexander*. When *Alexander* ſaw her countenance, and marked her gate: he ſuppoſed her at the firſt to be ſome great lady, ſhe followed the ſoldiers with ſuch a maieſtie and boldneſſe. *Alexander* then asking her what ſhe was: She aunſwered, that ſhe was the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, who fought a battell with king *Philip* before the citie of CHÆRONEA, where being generall he was ſlaine, valiantly fighting for the defenſe of the libertie of GREECE. *Alexander* wondering at her noble aunſwer and courageous deed, commanded no man ſhould touche her nor her children, and ſo freely let her go whither ſhe would. He made league alſo with the ATHENIANS, though they were very ſory for their miſerable fortune. For the day of the ſolemne feaſt of their miſteries being come, they left it off, mourning for the THEBANS: courteouſly entertaining all thoſe, that flying from THEBES came to them for ſuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was paſt him, following therein the nature of lyons: or becauſe that after ſo great an example of crueltie, he would ſhew a ſingular clemencie again: he did not only pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed, but did alſo counſell them to looke wiſely to their doings, for their citie one daie ſhould command all GREECE, if he chaunſed to die. Men report, that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt ſo cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke vpon it was cauſe that he afterwards ſhewed himſelfe more mercifull vnto diuerſe others. Afterwards alſo he did blame the furie of *Bacchus*, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill *Clitus* at the table being druncke, and the MACEDONIANS alſo to refuſe him to go any further to conquer the INDIANS, which was an imperfection of his enterpriſe, and a miniſhing alſo of his honour. Beſides, there was neuer THEBAN afterwards, that had eſcaped the furie of his victorie, and did make any petition to him, but he had his ſute. Thus was the ſtate of THEBES as you haue heard. Then the GRECIANS hauing aſſembled a generall councell of all the ſtates of GREECE within the ſtraights of *Peloponneſus*: there it was determined that they would make warre with the PERSIANS. Whereupon they choſe *Alexander* generall for all GREECE. Then diuers men comming to viſite *Alexander*, aſwell philoſophers, as gouernours of ſtates, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that *Diogenes Sinopia* (who dwelt at CORINTH) would likewiſe come as the reſt had done: but when he ſaw he made no reckoning of him, & that he kept ſtill in the ſuburbes of CORINTHE, at a place called CRANIVM, he went himſelfe vnto him, and found him laide all a long in the ſunne. When *Diogenes* ſaw ſo many comming towards him, he ſate vp a litle, and looked full vpon *Alexander*. *Alexander* courteouſly ſpake vnto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thing. Yea ſaid he, that I do: that thou ſtand out of my ſunne a litle. *Alexander* was ſo well pleaſed with this aunſwere, and maruelled ſo much at the great boldneſſe of this man, to ſee how ſmall account he made of him: that when he wēt his way from him, *Alexanders* familiars laughing at *Diogenes*, & mocking him, he told them: maiſters ſay what you liſt, truly if I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. *Alexander* being deſirous to heare what the oracle of *Apollo* DELPHIAN would ſay vnto him touching the ſucceſſe of his iorney into ASIA: he went vnto the citie of DELPHES. It chanſed ſo, that he came thither in the dayes which they call vnfortunate, on which dayes no man vſed to aske *Apollo* any thing. This notwithſtanding, he ſent firſt vnto the Nunne which pronounced the oracles to pray her to come to him But ſhe refuſed to come, alledging the cuſtome which forbad her to go. Thereupon, *Alexander* went thither himſelfe in perſon, and brought her out by force

A noble acte of Timoclea, a noble woman of Thebes.

Alexander choſen generall of all Grece.

Alexanders talke with Diogenes.

into the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs haue his will: tolde him, My sonne, for that I see thou art inuincible. *Alexander* hearing that, said he desired no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was euen ready to go on with his voyage, he had diuers signes and tokens from the gods: and amongst other, an image of the Poet *Orpheus* made of cyprus, in the city of LEBETHRES, in those daies did sweate maruellously. Many men fearing that signe, *Aristander* the soothsaier bad *Alexander* be of good cheere, and hope well, for he should obtaine noble victories that should neuer be forgotten, the which should make the Poets and musicians sweate to write and sing them. Then, for his armie which he led with him, they that do set downe the least number, say that they were thirtie thousand footmen, and fiue thousand horsemen: and they that say more, do write, foure and thirtie thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen. *Aristobulus* writeth, that *Alexander* had no more but three score and tenne talents to pay his souldiers with: and *Duris* writeth, that he had no more prouision of victuals, then for thirtie dayes onely. And *Onesicritus* saith moreouer, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that he began this warre with so small ability to maintaine it, he would neuer take shippe before he vnderstood the state of his friends, to know what abilitie they had to go with him, and before he had giuen vnto some, lands, and vnto other, a towne, and to others againe, the custome of some hauen. Thus by his bountie, hauing in maner spent almost the reuenues of the crowne of MACEDON, *Perdiccas* asked him: my Lord, what will you keep for your selfe? hope, said he. Then, quoth *Perdiccas* againe, we will also haue some part, since we go with you: and so refused the reuenue which the king had giuen him for his pension. Many others did also the like. But such as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him any thing, he gaue them very franckly, and in such liberalitie spent all the reuenue he had. With this desire & determination, he went on to the straight of HELLESPONT, & going to the city of ILIVM he did sacrifice vnto *Diana*, and made funerall effusions vnto the demy gods (to wit, vnto the princes which died in the warre of TROIA, whose bodies were buried there) and specially vnto *Achilles*, whose graue he annointed with oyle, and ran naked round about it with his familiars, according to the auncient custome of funerals. Then he couered it with nosegays and flowers, saying, that *Achilles* was happy, who while he liued had a faithfull friend, & after his death an excellent herauld to sing his praise. When he had done, and went vp and downe the citie to see all the monuments and notable things there: one asked him, if he would see *Paris* harpe. He aunswered againe, he would very faine see *Achilles* harpe, who plaied and sung vpon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the meane time, *Darius* king of PERSIA, hauing leauied a great armie, sent his captaines and lieutenants to tary *Alexander* at the riuer of GRANICVS. There was *Alexander* to fight of necessitie, being the only barre to stop his entrie into ASIA. Moreouer, the captaines of his councell about him, were afraid of the depth of this riuer, and of the height of the banck on the other side, which was verie high and steep, & could not be wonne without fighting. And some said also, that he should haue speciall care of the auncient regard of the moneth: because the kings of MACEDON did neuer vse to put their armie into the field in the moneth of Dason, which is Iune. For that, said *Alexander*, we will remedy soone: let them call it the second moneth, Artemisium, which is Maye. Furthermore *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he should not medle the first day, because it was very late. *Alexander* made answer againe, that HELLESPONT would blush for shame, if he were now affraid to passe ouer the riuer, since he had already come ouer an arme of the sea. Thereupon he himselfe first entred the riuer with thirteene guidons of horsmen, and marched forwards against an infinite number of arrowes which the enemies shot at him, as he was comming vp the other banck, which was very high and steepe, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which staied to receiue him in battell raye, thrusting his men downe into the riuer, which was very deepe, and ranne so swifte, that it almost carried them downe the streame: insomuch that men thought him more rashe than wise, to lead his men with such danger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would needs ouer, and in the end with great a do recouered the other side, specially because the earth slidde away, by reason of the mud. So when he was ouer, he was driuen to fight pel mel on

Wonderfull signes appearing vnto Alexander before his iourney into Asia.

Alexanders armie into Asia.

The liberalitie of Alexander.

Alexanders saying of Achilles.

vpon an other, becauſe his enemies did ſet vpon the firſt that were paſſed ouer, before they could put themſelues into battell raie, with great cries, keeping their horſes very cloſe together, and fought firſt with their dartes, and afterwards came to the ſworde when their dartes were broken. Then many of them ſet vpon him alone, for he was eaſily to be knowne aboue the reſt by his ſhield & the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hung frō the one ſide to the other, a maruelous faire white plume. *Alexāder* had a blow with a dart on his thigh but it hurt him not. Thereupon *Roeſaces* & *Spithridates*, both two chiefe captains of the PERSIANS, ſetting vpon *Alexāder* at once, he left the one, and riding ſtraight to *Roeſaces*, who was excellently armed, he gaue him ſuch a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and ſtraight drew out his ſword. But ſo ſoone as they two had cloſed together, *Spithridates* coming at the one ſide of him, raiſed himſelfe vpon his ſtirrops and gaue *Alexander* with all his might ſuch a blow on his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creaſt off his helmet, & one of the ſides of his plume, and made ſuch a gaſhe, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very haire of his head. And as he was lifting vp his hand to ſtrike *Alexander* againe, great *Clitus* preuenting him, thruſt him through with a partiſan, and at the very ſame inſtant, *Roeſaces* alſo fell dead from his horſe with a wound which *Alexander* gaue him with his ſworde. Now whileſt the horſemen fought with ſuch furie, the ſquadron of the battell of footemen of the MACEDONIANS had paſſed the riuer, and both the battels began to marche one againſt the other. The PERSIANS ſtucke not manfully to it any long time, but ſtraight turned their backs and fled, ſauing the GRECIANS which tooke paie of king *Darius*: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of *Alexander*. But *Alexander* ſetting vpon them, more of will then diſcretion, had his horſe killed vnder him, being thruſt through the flanke with a ſword. This was not Bucephal, but an other horſe he had. All his men that were ſlaine or hurt at this battell, were hurte amongſt them valiantly fighting againſt deſperate men. It is reported that there were ſlaine at this firſt battell, twenty thouſand footmen of theſe barbarous people, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſemen. Of *Alexanders* ſide, *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that there were nine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footemen. *Alexander* to honor their valiantnes, cauſed euery one of their images to be made in braſſe by *Lyſippus*. And becauſe he would make the GRECIANS partakers of this victorie, he ſent vnto the ATHENIANS three hundred of their targettes, which he had wonne at the battell, and generally vpon all the other ſpoiles, he put this honorable inſcription. *Alexander the ſonne of Philip, and the Grecians, excepting the Lacedæmonians, haue wonne this ſpoile vpon the barbarous Aſians*. As for ſtore of gold or ſiluer, alſo purple ſilkes, or other ſuch precious ware which he gat among the PERSIANS: he ſent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This firſt victorie of *Alexander*, wrought ſuch a ſodaine change amongſt the barbarous people in *Alexanders* behalfe, that the citie ſelfe of SARDIS, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the leaſt through all the lowe countries and coaſts vpon the ſea, they yeelded ſtraight vnto him, ſauing the cities of HALICARNASSVS and MILETVM, which did ſtill reſiſt him: howbeit at length he tooke them by force. When he had alſo conquered all thereabouts, he ſtood in doubt afterwards what he were beſt to determine. Somtime he had a maruellous deſire, whotly to follow Darius wherſoeuer he were, and to venture all at a battell. An other time againe, he thought it better firſt to occupy himſelfe in conquering of theſe low countries, & to make himſelf ſtrong with the money and riches he ſhould finde among them, that he might afterwards be the better able to follow him. In the countrie of LYDIA neere vnto the citie XANTHVM, they ſay there is a ſpring that brake of it ſelfe, and ouerflowing the banckes about it, caſt out a litle table of copper from the bottome, vpon the which were graued certaine caracters in old letters, which ſaid: that the kingdome of the PERSIANS ſhould be deſtroied by the GRECIANS. This did further ſo encourage *Alexander*, that he made haſt to cleere all the ſea coaſt, euen as farre as CILICIA and PHOENICIA. But the wonderfull good ſucceſſe he had, running a long all the coaſt of PAMPHILIA, gaue diuerſe hiſtoriographers occaſion to ſet forth his doings with admiration, ſaying that it was one of the wonders of the worlde, that the furie of the ſea, which vnto all other was extreame roughe, and many times would ſwell ouer the toppes of the high rockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that *Me-*

Battell betwixt Alexander & Darius at the riuer of Granicus.

Clitus ſaued Alexander.

Alexanders victory of the Perſians at Granicus.

nander himselfe in a comedie of his dooth witnesse this wonderfull happinesse of *Alexander*, when merily he saieth:

O great Alexander, how great is thy state?
For thou with thy selfe maist thus iustly debate.
If any man liuing I list for to call,
He commeth and humbly before me doth fall.
And if through the sourges my iorney doe lye,
The waues giue me way, and the Sea becomes drie.

Yet *Alexander* himselfe simply writeth in his epistles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passed a place called the ladder, and that to passe there, he tooke shippe in the citie of PHASELIDES. There he remained many daies, & when he saw the image of *Theodectes* PHASELITAN, standing in the market place: he went in a daunce thither one euening after supper, and cast flowers and garlands vpon his image, honoring the memorie of the dead, though it seemed but in sport, for that he was his companion when he liued, by meanes of *Aristotle* and his philosophie. After that he ouercame also the PISIDIANS, who thought to haue resisted him, and conquered all PHRYGIA besides. There in the citie of GORDIVS, which is said to be the ancient seat of king *Midas*: he saw the charret that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the barcke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a troth, of the barbarous people, that they beleeued it as a prophecy: that whosoeuer could vndoe the bande of that barke, was certainly ordeined to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that *Alexander* prouing to vndoe that bande, and finding no ends to vndoe it by, they were so many folde wreathed one within the other: he drew out his sworde, and cut the knot in the middest. So that then many ends appeared. But *Aristobulus* writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret and so seuered them a sunder. Departing thence, he conquered the PAPHLAGONIANS & CAPPADOCIANS, and vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, that was *Darius* generall of his army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand *Alexander*: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination to leade his army into the high countries of ASIA. Then did king *Darius* himselfe come against *Alexander*, hauing leauied a great power at SVSA, of six hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dreame, the which his wisards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. *Darius* dreamed that he saw all the armie of the MACEDONIANS on a fire, and *Alexander* seruing of him in the selfe same attire that he himselfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predecessor: and that when he came into the temple of *Belus*, he sodainely vanished from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did signifie vnto him, that the MACEDONIANS should haue noble successe in their doings, and that *Alexander* should conquer all ASIA, euen as king *Darius* had done, when he was but Asgandes vnto the king: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bolde also, when he sawe that *Alexander* remained a good while in CILICIA, supposing it had bene for that he was afraide of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sickenesse he had, the which some say he got, by extreame paines and trauell, and others also, because he washed himselfe in the riuer of Cydnus, which was colde as Ise. Howsoeuer it came, there was none of the other phisitians that durst vndertake to cure him, thinking his disease vncurable, and no medicines to preuaile that they could giue him, and fearing also that the MACEDONIANS would laie it to their charge, if *Alexander* miscaried. But *Philip* ACARNANIAN, considering his maister was very ill, and bearing himselfe of his loue and good will towards him, thought he should not doe that became him, if he did not proue (seeing him in extremitie and danger of life) the vtmost remedies of phisicke, what danger so euer he put himselfe into: and therefore tooke vpon him to minister phisicke vnto *Alexander*, and persuaded him to drinke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the warres. In the meane time, *Parmenio* wrote him a letter from the campe, aduertising him, that he should beware of *Philip* his phisitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by *Darius*, with large promises of great riches, that he would giue him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his maister. *Alexander* when he had redde this letter, laide it vnder his beds head,

The memorie of Theodectes honored by Alexander.

The citie of Gordius in Phrygia where king Midas kept.

Darius armie and dreame.

Alexanders sickenesse in Cilicia. Cydnus fl.

head, and made none of his neareſt familiars acquainted therewith. When the hower came that he ſhould take his medicine, *Philip* came into his chamber with other of the kings familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he ſhould drinke. *Alexander* then gaue him the letter, and withall, chearefully tooke the cup of him, ſhewing no maner of feare or miſtruſt of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the ſight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one inſtant, they looked one vpon an other, howbeit not both with like chearefull countenaunce. For *Alexander* looked merily vpon him, plainly ſhewing the truſt he had in his phiſitian *Philip*, and how much he loued him: and the phiſitian alſo beheld *Alexander* like a man perplexed and amazed, to be ſo falſely accuſed, and ſtraight lift vp his handes to heauen, calling the goddes to witneſſe that he was innocent, and then came to *Alexanders* bed ſide, and prayed him to be of good cheare, and boldly to doe as he would aduiſe him. The medicine beginning to worke, ouercame the diſeaſe, and draue for the time, to the loweſt partes of his body, all his naturall ſtrength and powers: in ſomuch as his ſpeach failed him, and he fell into ſuch a weakenes, and almoſt ſooning, that his pulſe did ſcant beat, and his ſences were wel-neare taken from him. But that being paſt, *Philip* in few dayes recouered him againe. Now, when *Alexander* had gotten ſome ſtrength, he ſhewed him ſelfe openly vnto the MACEDONIANS: for they would not be pacified, nor perſwaded of his health vntill they had ſeene him. In king *Darius* campe, there was one *Amyntas* a MACEDONIAN: & baniſhed out of his country, who knew *Alexanders* diſpoſition very wel. He finding that *Darius* ment to meete with *Alexander* within the ſtraightes and vallies of the mountains: beſought him to tary rather where he was, being a plaine open countrey round about him, conſidering that he had a great hoaſt of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was moſt for his aduantage to meete with him in the open field. *Darius* aunſwered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. *Amyntas* replied, for that, O king, I pray you feare not: for I warrant you vpon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way comming towards you. Al theſe perſwaſions of *Amyntas* could not turn *Darius* from making his campe to march towardes CILICIA. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, *Alexander* went towardes SYRIA to meete with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them miſſed of the other, and when day was come, they both returned backe againe: *Alexander* being glad of this happe, and making haſt to meete with his enemy within the ſtraightes. *Darius* alſo ſeeking to win *Alexanders* lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of the ſtraights: began then to finde the fault and error committed, for that he had ſhut himſelfe vp in the ſtraights, (holden in on the one ſide with the mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the riuer of Pindarus that ran betweene both) and that he was driuen to diſperſe his army into diuers companies, in a ſtony and ill fauored country, ill for horſemen to trauell, being on the contrary ſide a great aduantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footemen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gaue *Alexander* the field as he would wiſhe it to fight for his aduantage: ſo could he tell excellently well how to ſet his men in battell ray to winne the victory. For albeit that *Alexander* had the leſſe number by many then his enemy, yet he had ſuch policy and caſt with him, that he foreſaw all, and would not be enuironned: For he did put out the right wing of his battell a great deale further, then he did his left wing, and fighting him ſelfe in the left wing in the formoſt rankes, he made all the barbarous people flie that ſtood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a ſword. *Chares* writeth, that *Darius* ſelfe did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithſtanding *Alexander* ſelfe writing of this battell vnto *Antipater* ſayeth, that in deede he was hurt on the thigh with a ſword, howbeit he did put him in no daunger: but he writeth not that *Darius* did hurt him. Thus hauing wonne a famous victory, and ſlaine about a hundred and tenne thouſand of his enemies, he could not yet take *Darius* becauſe he fled hauing ſtill foure or fiue furlongs vantage before him: howbeit it tooke his charriot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow alſo. Then he returned from the chaſe, and found the MACEDONIANS ſacking and ſpoiling all the reſt of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches (although they had left the moſt part of their cariage behinde them in the city of DAMAS, to come lighter to the battell) but yet reſerued for him ſelfe all king *Darius*

The wonderfull truſt of Alexander in his phiſitian.

Darius contemneth Amyntas profitable counſell.

Battell betwixt Darius and Alexander in Cilicia.

Alexanders victory of Darius in Cilicia.

tent, which was full of a great number of officers, of rich moueables, and of gold and siluer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting off his armour, he entred into the bathe and sayed: come on, lette vs goe and washe off the sweate of the battell in *Darius* owne bathe. Nay, replied one of his familiars againe, in *Alexanders* bath: for the goodes of the vanquished are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bathe, and saw the basons and yewers, the boxes, and violles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetly, that it was like a paradise: then going out of his bathe, and comming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bedde, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familiars and saied: this was a king in deede, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to goe to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongest other Ladies taken prisoners, king *Darius* mother and his wife, and two of his daughters vnmaried: who hauing seene his chariot and bow, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of them selues thinking *Darius* had bene slaine. *Alexander* paused a good while and gaue no aunswer, pitying more their misfortune, then reioysing at his owne good happe. Then he presently sent one *Leonatus* vnto them, to let them vnderstand, that *Darius* was a liue, and that they should not neede to be afraied of *Alexander*, for he did not fight with *Darius*, but for his kingdome onely: and as for them, that they should haue at his handes all that they had of *Darius* before, when he had his whole kingdome in his handes. As these wordes pleased the captiue Ladies, so the deedes that followed, made them finde his clemency to be no lesse. For first hee suffered them to bury as many of the PERSIAN Lords as they would, euen of them that had bene slain in the battell, and to take as much silkes of the spoiles, iewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honor their funerals with: and also did lessen no part of their honor, nor of the number of their officers and seruaunts, nor of any iotte of their estate which they had before, but did allow them also greater pensions, then they had before. But aboue all, the princelyest grace, and most noble fauor that *Alexander* shewed vnto these captiue princesses, which had alwaies liued in honorable fame and chastity, was this: That they neuer heard word, or so much as any suspition that should make them afrayed to be dishonored or deflowred: but were priuately among them selues vnuisited or repayred vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in some close monasterie: although *Darius* wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as *Darius* also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. *Alexander* thinking it more princely for a king, as I suppose to conquer him selfe, then to ouercome his enemies: did neither touch them nor any other, maide or wife, before he maried them, *Barsine* onely excepted, who being left *Memmons* widow (generall of king *Darius* by sea) was taken by the city of DAMAS. Shee being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good entertainement (being the daughter of *Artabazus*, who came of a kings daughter) *Alexander* was bolde with her by *Parmenioes* procurement, (as *Aristobulus* writeth) who intised him to embrace the company of so excellent a woman, and passing faire besides. Furthermore, beholding the other PERSIAN Ladies besides which were prisoners, what goodly faire women they were: hee spake it pleasantly, that the Ladies of PERSIA made mens eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beauty of his continency, before their sweete faire faces: hee passed by without any sparke of affection towardes them, more then if they had bene images of stone without life. To confirme this, *Philoxenus* whom he had left his lieutenaunt in the low countries vppon the sea coast, wrote vnto him on a time, that one *Theodorus* a marchaunt of TARENTVM, had to sell two goodly young boies, maruellous faire: and therefore that he sent vnto him to know his pleasure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O, my friendes, what villany hath euer *Philoxenus* seene in me, that he should deuise (hauing nothing to doe there) to purchase me such infamy? whereuppon he wrote vnto him from the campe, with reprochfull wordes, that he should send that vile TARENTINE marchant *Theodorus* and his marchandise to the Deuill. Hee sharpely punished also one *Agnon*, that wrote vnto him he would buy a young boy called *Crobylus* (who for beauty bare the onely

Darius mother wife, and two daughters, taken by Alexander.

The clemency of Alexander vnto the captiue Ladies.

The chastity of Alexander.

Alexanders pleasant speach of womens beauty.

name

name in CORINTHE,) and bring him to him. An other time also, when he heard that *Damon* and *Timotheus* MACEDONIANS, vnder *Parmenioes* charge, had deflowred two of the souldiers wiues that were strangers, and waged of him: he wrote vnto *Parmenio* to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them guilty of the rape, that then hee should put them both to death, as bruite beastes borne to destroy mankinde. And in that letter he wrote thus of him selfe. For my selfe, said he, I haue neither seene, nor desired to see *Darius* wife: neither haue I suffered any speach of her beauty before me. Moreouer he saied, that he did vnderstand that he was mortall by these two things: to wit, sleepe, and lust: for, from the weakenesse of our nature proceedeth sleepe and sensuality. He was also no greedy gutte, but temperate in eating, as he shewed by many proofes: but chiefely in that he said vnto the princesse *Ada*, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of CARIA. For when (for the loue shee bare him) shee daily sent him sundry delicate dishes of meate, tarts, and marchpaines, and besides the meate it selfe, the pastlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: he answered that he could not tell what to doe with them, for he had better cookes then those appointed him by his gouernour *Leonidas*, to witte: for his dinner, to rise before day, and to march by night: and for his supper, to eate litle at dinner. And my gouernour, sayed he, would oftentimes open the chestes where my bedding and apparell lay, to see if my mother had put any fine knackes or conceites among them. Furthermore, he was lesse giuen to wine, then men would haue iudged. For hee was thought to be a greater bibber then he was, because he sate long at the bourd, rather to talke then drinke. For euer when he dranke, he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leysure. For hauing matters to doe, there was neither feast, bancket, play, mariage, nor any pastime that could stay him: as they had done other captaines. The which appeareth plainely by the shortnesse of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deedes he did, in that litle time he liued. When he had leysure, after he was vp in the morning, first of all he would doe sacrifice to the goddes, and then would goe to dinner, passing away all the rest of the day, in hunting, writing some thing, taking vp some quarrell betweene souldiers, or else in studying. If he went any iourney of no hasty businesse, he would exercise him selfe by the way as he went, shooting in his bow, or learning to get vp or out of his charret sodainely as it ranne. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunt the foxe, or catch birdes, as appeareth in his booke of remembrances for euery day. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and noint him selfe: and would aske his pantelers and caruers if his supper were ready. He would euer suppe late, and was very curious to see, that euery man at his bourde were a like serued, and would sit long at the table, because he euer loued to talke, as we haue told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a prince and gracious to waite vppon, and as pleasant, as any king that euer was. For he lacked no grace nor comelinesse to adorne a prince, sauing that hee would be some thing ouer busie in glorying in his owne deedes, much like vnto a bragging souldier: neither was he contented him selfe to please his own humor that way, but would also suffer his familiars to sooth him euen to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durst say selfe of the praises which they gaue him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in daunger. After supper, he would washe him selfe againe, and sleepe vntill noone the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For him selfe, he was nothing curious of dainty dishes: for when any did send him rare fruites, or fish, from the countries neare the sea side, he would send them abroad vnto his friendes, and seldome keepe any thing for him selfe. His table notwithstanding was alwayes very honourably serued, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquestes: till it came to the summe of tenne thousand drachmas a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceede that summe, and moreouer commaunded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend aboue that summe. After this battell of ISSVS, he sent vnto the city of DAMAS, to take all the gold and siluer, the cariage, and all the women and children of the PERSIANS which were left there, where the men of armes of the THESSALIANS spedde them full well. For therefore

Alexander temperate in eating.

How Leonidas brought vp Alexander.

Alexanders life when he was at leysure.

Alexander a pleasant prince as any could be

did he ſend them thither, becauſe he ſaw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the battell: and ſo were the reſt of his army alſo well ſtored with money. There the MACEDONIANS hauing taſted firſt of the gold, ſiluer, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by ſent doe follow the tracke of beaſtes, euen ſo were they greedy to follow after the goodes of the PERSIANS. Firſt *Alexander* thought it beſt to winne all the ſea coaſt. Thither came the kings of CYPRVS, and PHOENICIA, and deliuered vp to him the whole Iland and al PHOENICIA, ſauing onely the city of TYRE. That city he beſieged ſeauen monethes together by land, with great bulwarkes and diuerſe engines of battery, and by ſea, with two hundred gallies. During this ſiege, *Alexander* dreamed one night, that *Hercules* held out his hand vnto him ouer the walles of the city, and called him by his name: and there were diuerſe TYRIANS alſo that dreamed in likewiſe, that *Apollo* told them that he would goe vnto *Alexander*, becauſe he was not pleaſed with their doings in the city. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderfull bigneſſe) with great chaines, and nailed him downe faſt to the baſe, as if he had bene a traitour that would haue yeelded him ſelfe vnto their enemies, and called him *Alexandrine*, as much as fauoring *Alexander*. *Alexander* had there alſo another dreame. For he dreamed that he ſaw a *Satyre* a far off ſporting with him, and when he thought to haue comme neare to haue taken him, hee ſtill eſcaped from him: vntill at the length, after he had runne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his hands. The ſoothſayers being asked what this dreame ſhould ſignifie, aunſwered probably, by deuiding *Satyre* into two, and then it is Σὰ τύρος: which ſignifieth the city of TYRE ſhall be thine. And they doe yet ſhew vnto this day, the fountaine where *Alexander* thought he ſaw the *Satyre*. Continuing this ſiege, he went to make warre with the ARABIANS, that dwell vpon the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great daunger of being caſt away, onely becauſe he heard his tutor *Lyſimachus* that followed him, ſay boaſtingly, that he was not inferior, nor older then the Phœnix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horſes, and went vp a foote: and *Alexander* was of ſo curteous a nature, that he would not leaue his tutor *Lyſimachus* behinde him (who was ſo weary that he could goe no further) but becauſe it was darke night, and for that the enemies were not farre from them, hee came behinde to encorage his tutor, and in manner to carie him. By this meanes, vnwares, he was farre from his army with very few men about him, and benighted beſides: moreouer, it was very cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiuing diuerſe fires which the enemies had made, ſome in one place, and ſome in an other, truſting to his valiantnes, hauing alwaies prouided remedy in extremity, when the MACEDONIANS were diſtreſſed, him ſelf euer putting to his owne hand: he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that lay by the fire ſide, he ſnatched away a fire brand, and ranne with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were ſo affraied, that they ranne their way as faſt as they could. Other alſo thinking to come and ſet vppon him, hee ſlue them euery man, and ſo lay there that night, him ſelfe and his men without daunger. Thus *Chares* reporteth this matter. Now for the ſiege of TYRE, that fell out thus. *Alexander* cauſed the moſt part of his army to take reſt, being ouerharried and wearied with ſo many battels as they had fought: and ſent a few of his men onely to giue aſſault vnto the city, to keepe the TYRIANS occupied, that they ſhould take no reſt. One day the Soothſayer *Ariſtander* ſacrificing vnto the goddes, hauing conſidered of the ſignes of the intralles of the beaſtes: did aſſure them that were preſent, that the city ſhoulde be taken by the later end of the moneth. Euery body laughed to heare him: for that day was the very laſt day of the moneth. *Alexander* ſeeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to ſay to it, ſeeking euer to bring thoſe tokens to effect, which the Soothſayers did prognoſticate: commanded them that they ſhould not reckon that day the thirty day, but the ſeauen and twenty, and immediatly vppon it made the trumpet ſound the allarme, and giue a hotter aſſault to the walle, then he had thought to haue done before. They fought valiantly on both ſides, in ſo much as they that were left in the camp, could not keepe in, but muſt needs run to the aſſault to helpe their companions. The TYRIANS ſeeing the aſſault ſo hot on euery ſide, their hearts began to faile them, and by this meanes was the citie taken the ſelfe ſame day.

Alexander beſiegeth the city of Tyre.

Alexanders dreame at the city of Tyre.

Alexanders ſecond dreame againe at Tyre

Alexanders iorney againſt the Arabians.

Antiliban mons.

The corage and agility of Alexander.

The city of Tyre beſieged, and taken by Alexander.

An

Another time alſo, when *Alexander* was before GAZA, the chiefe city of SYRIA, there fell a clodde of earth vppon his ſhoulder, out of the which there flew a bird into the aire. The birde lighting vppon one of the engines of his battry, was caught with the nettes made of ſinewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines. *Ariſtander* did prognoſticate, that it ſignified he ſhould bee hurt in his ſhoulder, notwithſtanding, that he ſhould yet take the towne. And in deede ſo it came to paſſe. When he ſent great preſentes of ſpoiles which hee wanne at the ſacke of this city, vnto his mother *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and diuerſe others of his friends: among other things, he ſent vnto *Leonidas* his gouernour, fiue hundred talentes waight of frankenſence, and a hundred talents waight of myrre: remembring the hope he put him vnto when he was a childe. For, as *Alexander* was vppon a day ſacrificing vnto the goddes, he tooke both his handes full of frankenſence to caſt into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his gouernour *Leonidas* ſaw him, he ſaied thus vnto him: When thou haſt conquered the countrey where theſe ſweete things grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now, ſpare that litle thou haſt at this preſent. *Alexander* calling to minde at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this ſort: we doe ſend thee plenty of frankenſence and myrre, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt no more be a niggard vnto the goddes. There was brought vnto him alſo a litle coffer alſo, which was thought to be the precioueſt thing and the richeſt, that was gotten of all the ſpoiles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of *Darius*. When he ſaw it, hee asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fitteſt, and the beſt thing to be put into it. Some ſaid one thing, ſome ſaied an other thing: but he ſaied, he would put the Iliades of *Homer* into it, as the worthieſt thing. This is confirmed by the beſt hiſtoriographers. Now if that which the ALEXANDRIANS report vpon *Heraclides* wordes, be true: then it appeareth that he did profite him ſelfe much by *Homer* in this iourney. For it is reported that when he had conquered EGYPT, hee determined to builde a great city, and to repleniſh it with a great number of GRECIANS, and to call it after his name. But as hee was about to incloſe a certaine ground, which hee had choſen by the aduiſe of his engineers, and workemaiſters: the night before he had a maruellous dreame, that he ſaw an old man ſtanding before him, full of white haires, with an honourable preſence, and comming towardes him ſaied theſe verſes.

Alexander tooke the city of Gaza.

The building of the city of Alexandria.

Alexanders dreame in Egypt.

Within the foming ſea there lies a certaine Iland, right
Againſt the ſhore of Egypt, which of auncient Pharos hight.

As ſoone as he roſe the next morning, he went to ſee this Ile of PHAROS, the which at that time was a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Nylus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now ioyned vnto firme land, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meeteſt place that could be, to build the city which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broad enough, that ſeparateth a great lake on the one ſide, and the ſea on the other, the which doeth ioyne hard to a great hauen. Then he ſaied that *Homer* was wonderfull in all his things, but that amongeſt others, he was an excellent Architecture: and commaunded, that ſtraight they ſhould caſt the platforme of the city, according to the ſituation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to marke withall, wherefore they were driuen to take meale, and with that did marke out vpon the earth being black, the compaſſe of the towne that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equall partes, either of them reſembled the skirts and faſhion of the MACEDONIAN cloke. *Alexander* liked this draught paſſingly well. But there roſe vpon the ſodaine out of the riuer or lake, ſuch an infinite multitude of great fowle of all ſortes, that they couered the element as it had bene a cloud, and lighting within this circuite, did eate vp all the meale, and left not a crum. *Alexander* liked not theſe ſignes. Notwithſtanding, his Soothſayers bad him not be diſcouraged, for they told him it was a ſigne that hee ſhould build a city there, ſo plentifull of all things, that he ſhould maintaine all ſortes of people. Then he commaunded them, vnto whom hee had giuen the charge of the building, that they ſhould goe forward with their worke, and he him ſelfe in the meane time, tooke his iourney to goe viſite the temple of *Iupiter Hammon*. The iourney was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two dangers aboue all the reſt moſt ſpeciall. The firſt, lacke of water, becauſe they had to trauell many

The Ile of Pharos.

A wonder.

Alexanders iourney vnto the oracle of Hammon.

dayes iourney through a great deſert. The ſecond was, the daunger of the riſing of the ſouth winde by the way, to blow the ſand abroad, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there roſe ſuch a tempeſt in that deſert, that blew vp whole hilles of ſand, which ſlue fifty thouſand men of *Cambyſes* army. Euery man in *Alexanders* traine did know theſe daungers very well: howbeit it was hard to diſſwade *Alexander* from any thing which he had a deſire vnto. For, fortune fauouring him in all his attemptes, made him conſtant and reſolute in his determinations: and his noble corage beſides, made him inuincible in all things he tooke in hand, in ſomuch as he did not only compell his enemies, but he had power alſo of time and place. In that voyage, in ſtead of theſe former daungers ſpoken of, he had many helps, the which are ſuppoſed were ſent him from the goddes, by the oracles that followed afterwardes. For in a certaine ſort, they haue beleeued the oracles that were written of him. Firſt of all, the wonderfull water and great ſhowers that fell from the element did keepe him from feare of the firſt danger, and did quench their thirſt, and moyſted the drineſſe of the ſand in ſuch ſort, that there came a ſweete freſh aire from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to ſhew them the way, and that they wandred vp and downe, they could not tell where: there came crowes vnto them that did guide them flying before them: flying faſt when they ſaw them follow them, and ſtayed for them when they were behinde. But *Calliſthenes* writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noiſe of the crowes, they brought them againe into the right way which had loſt their way. Thus *Alexander* in the end, hauing paſſed through this wilderneſſe, he came vnto the temple he ſought for: where, the prophet or chiefe prieſt ſaluted him from the god *Hammon*, as from his father. Then *Alexander* asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The prieſt aunſwered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaſpheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then *Alexander* againe rehearſing that he had ſpoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conſpired the death of *Philip* his father were all puniſhed. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to be king ouer all the world. The god aunſwered him by the mouth of his prophet, he ſhould: and that the death of *Philip* was fully reuenged. Then did *Alexander* offer great preſents vnto the god, and gaue money large to the prieſts, and miniſters of the temple. This is that the moſt part of writers doe declare, touching *Alexanders* demand, and the oracles giuen him. Yet did *Alexander* him ſelfe write vnto his mother, that he had ſecret oracles from the god, which hee would onely impart vnto her, at his returne into MACEDON. Others ſay alſo, that the prophet meaning to ſalute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would haue ſaid vnto him, *O Paidion*, as much as deare ſonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, becauſe the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the later end, ſaying, *O Pai dios*, to wit, O ſonne of *Iupiter*: and that *Alexander* was glad of that miſtaking. Whereupon there ran a rumor ſtraight among his men, that *Iupiter* had called him his ſonne. It is ſaied alſo, that he heard *Pſammon* the philoſopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, when he ſaied that god was king of all mortall men. For (ſay he) he that commandeth all things, muſt needes be god. But *Alexander* ſelfe ſpake better, and like a philoſopher, when he ſaid: That god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the beſt ſort for him ſelfe. To conclude, he ſhewed him ſelfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainely beleeued that he had bene begotten of ſome god: but vnto the GRECIANS he ſpake more modeſtly of diuine generation. For in a letter hee wrote vnto the ATHENIANS touching the city of SAMOS, he ſaid: I gaue ye not that noble free city but it was giuen you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord and father: meaning *Philip*. Afterwardes alſo being ſtriken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My frends ſaid he, This bloud which is ſpilt, is mans bloud, and not as *Homer* ſaied,

No ſuch as from the immortall gods doth flow.

And one day alſo in a maruellous great thunder, when euery man was afraied, *Anaxarchus* the Rethoritian being preſent, ſaid vnto him: O thou ſonne of *Iupiter*, wilt thou doe as much? no ſaid he, laughing on him, I will not be ſo fearefull to my friends, as thou wouldeſt haue me diſdaining the ſeruice of fiſh to my bord, becauſe thou ſeeſt not princes heades ſerued in.

And

Cambyſes army ſlaine by ſand-hilles.

Crowes guided Alexander in his iourney.

The ſaying of Pſammon the philoſopher of the prouidence of God.

Alexander aſcribeth godhead to himſelfe.

And the report goeth also, that *Alexander* vpon a time sending a litle fish vnto *Hephæstion*, *Anaxarchus* should saye as it were in mockery, that they which aboue others seeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either small pleasure in the worlde, or else as litle as others haue. By these proofes and reasons alleadged, we may thinke that *Alexander* had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of himselfe, to thinke that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to keepe other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceiued of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA into EGYPT, he made many sacrifices, feastes, and processions in honor of the goddes, sundry dances, Tragedies and such like passetimes goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which striued euery one to exceede the other. For the kings of the CYPRIANS were the setters of thē forth, as at ATHENS they draw by lotte a citizen of euery tribe of the people, to defraie the charges of these past ſmes. These kings were very earnest who should doe best, but specially *Nicocreon*, king of SALAMINA, in CYPRVS: and *Pasicrates*, Lord of the citie of SOLES. For it fell to their lot to furnish two of the excellentest players, *Pasicrates* furnished *Athenodorus*, and *Nicocreon Thessalus*: whom *Alexander* loued singularly well, though he made no shew of it, vntill that *Athenodorus* was declared victor, by the iudges deputed to giue sentence. For when he went from the plaies, he told them he did like the iudges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would haue bene contented to haue giuen the one halfe of his realme, not to haue seene *Thessalus* ouercome. *Athenodorus* being condemned vpon a time by the ATHENIANS, because he was not in ATHENS at the feastes of *Bacchus*, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaied, and a fine set on his head for his absence: he besought *Alexander* to write vnto them in his behalf, that they would release his penalty. *Alexander* would not so doe, but sent thither his money whereof he was condemned, and paide it for him of his owne purse. Also when *Lycon* SCARPHIAN, an excellent stage plaier had pleased *Alexander* well, and did foiste in a verse in his comedie, conteyning a petition of tenne talents: *Alexander* laughing at it, gaue it him. *Darius* at that time wrote vnto *Alexander*, and vnto certaine of his friends also, to pray him to take tenne thousand talentes for the ransome of all those prisoners he had in his handes, and for all the countries, landes and signiories on this side the riuer of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in mariage, that from thenceforce he might be his kinsman and friend. *Alexander* imparted this to his councell. Amongst them *Parmenio* said vnto him: if I were *Alexander*, ꝙ he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, ꝙ *Alexander* againe, if I were *Parmenio*. In fine, he wrote againe vnto *Darius*, that if he would submit himselfe, he would vse him courteously: if not, that then he would presently march towardes him. But he repented him afterwardes, when king *Darius* wife was dead with childe: for without dissimulation it greeued him much, that he had lost so noble an occasion to shew his courtesie and clemencie. This notwithstanding, he gaue her body honourable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongest the Eunuches of the queenes chamber, there was one *Tireus* taken prisoner, among the women: who stealing out of *Alexanders* campe, taking his horse backe, rode vnto *Darius* to bring him news of the death of his wife. Then *Darius* beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: Oh gods? what wretched hap haue the PERSIANS? that haue not onely had the wife and sister of their king taken prisoners euen in his life time, but now that shee is dead also in trauell of child, shee hath bene depriued of princely buriall? Then spake the Eunuch to him, and saied: For her buriall, most gracious king, & for all due honor that might be wished her, PERSIA hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene *Statira* your wife whilst shee liued prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any part or iotte of their honour they were wont to haue before, sauing onely to see the light of your honour, the which, god *Oromasdes* graunt to restore againe (if it be his will) vnto your maiesty: neither was there any honour wanting at her death (to set forth her stately funeralles) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your enemies. For *Alexander* is as mercifull in victory, as he is valiaunt in battell. *Darius* hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in minde for very griefe: tooke the Eunuche aside into the secretest place of his tent, and saied vnto him. If thou be not, with the misfortune of the PERSIANS, become a MACEDONIAN, but doest in thy

Alexander made feastes and plaies.

Darius sent Ambassadors vnto Alexander.

Statira, king Darius wife, died in trauell of child.

Tireus report to Darius of Statiraes buriall.

Darius talke with Tireus the Eunuch.

hart acknowledge *Darius*, for thy ſoueraine Lord and maiſter: I pray thee, and do alſo coniure thee, by the reuerence thou beareſt vnto this bright light of the ſunne, and to the right hand of the king, that thou doe tell me truely. Are theſe the leaſt euilles which I lament in *Statira*, her impriſonment and death? And did ſhe not in her life make vs more miſerable by her diſhonor, then if we had diſhonorably fallen into the hands of a cruell enemie? For, what honeſt communication I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince haue with his enemies wife a priſoner: hauing done her ſo much honor as he hath done? *Darius* going on with theſe ſpeeches, *Tireus* the eunuch fell downe on his knees, and beſought him not to ſay ſo, neither to bleamiſh the vertue of *Alexander* in that ſorte, nor yet ſo to diſhonor his ſiſter and wife deceaſed, and thereby alſo to depriue himſelfe of the greateſt comfort he could wiſh to haue in this calamitie, which was, to be ouercome by an enemie that had greater vertues than a man could poſſibly haue: but rather that he ſhould wonder at *Alexanders* vertue, who had ſhewed himſelfe chaſter to the Ladies, than valiant againſt the PERSIANS. And therewithall, the eunuch confirmed the great honeſtie, chaſtitie, and noble minde of *Alexander*, by many great and deepe othes. Then *Darius* comming out among his friendes againe, holding vp his hands vnto the heauens, made this prayer vnto the gods. O heauenly gods, creators of men, and protectors of kings and realmes: firſt, I beſech you grant me, that reſtoring the PERSIANS againe to their former good ſtate, I may leaue the realme vnto my ſucceſſors, with that glorie and fame I receiued it of my predeceſſors: that obtaining victory, I may vſe *Alexander* with that great honor and curteſie, which he hath in my miſery ſhewed vnto thoſe I loued beſt in the world. Or otherwiſe if the time appointed be come, that the kingdome of PERSIA muſt needs haue end, either through diuine reuenge, or by naturall change of earthly things: Then, good godds yet graunt, that none but *Alexander* after me, may ſit in *Cyrus* throne. Diuers writers do agree, that theſe things came euen thus to paſſe. Now *Alexander* hauing conquered all ASIA on this ſide of the riuer of Euphrates, he went to meete with *Darius*, that came downe with ten hundred thouſand fighting men. It was told him by ſome of his friendes to make him laugh, that the ſlaues of his armie had deuided themſelues in two partes, and had choſen them a Generall of either part, naming the one *Alexander*, and the other *Darius*: and that at the firſt, they beganne to skirmiſh only with cloddes of earth, and afterwardes with fiſtes, but at the laſt, they grew ſo hot, that they came to plaine ſtones and ſtaues, ſo that they could not be parted. *Alexander* hearing that, would needes haue the two Generals fight hande to hande one with the other: and *Alexander* ſelfe did arme him that was called *Alexander*, & *Philotas* the other which was called *Darius*. All the army thereupon was gathered together to ſee this combat betwene thē, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to come. The fight was ſharp betwene them, but in the end, he that was called *Alexander* ouercame the other: & *Alexander* to reward him, gaue him twelue villages, with priuiledge to goe after the PERSIAN maner. Thus it is written by *Eratoſthenes*. The great battel that *Alexander* fought with *Darius*, was not (as many write report) at Arbeles, but at Gauſameles, which ſignifieth in the PERSIAN tongue, the houſe of the cammell. For ſome one of the ancient kings of PERSIA that had eſcaped from the handes of his enemies, flying vpon a drumbledary cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the reuenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipſe of the moone, in the moneth called Bœdromion (now Auguſt) about the time that the feaſt of the miſteries was celebrated at ATHENS. The eleuenth night after that, both their armies being in ſight of the other, *Darius* kept his men in battell ray, and went himſelfe by torch light viewing his bands and companies. *Alexander* on the other ſide whileſt his MACEDONIAN ſouldiers ſlept, was before his tent with *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, and made certaine ſecret ceremonies and ſacrifices vnto *Apollo*. The auncient Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, ſpecially *Parmenio*, ſeeing all the valley betwixt the riuer of Miphates, and the mountaines of the GORDIEIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noiſe as of a confuſed multitude of people that filled their campe with the ſound thereof: they were amazed, and conſulted, that in one day it was in maner vnpoſſible to fight a battell with ſuch an incredible multitude of people. Thereuppon they went vnto *Alexander* after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counſell him to giue battell by night, because

The commendation of Alexanders chaſtitie.

Darius prayer vnto the gods.

Darius army of tenne hundred thouſand fighting men againſt Alexander, at the riuer of Euphrates.

because the darkenes thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable answer: I will not steale victorie quoth he. This answer seemed very fonde and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasant, being neere so great danger. Howbeit others thinke that it was a present noble courage, and a deepe consideration of him, to thinke what shoulde happen: thereby to giue *Darius* no manner of occasion (if he were ouercome) to take hart againe, and to proue an other battell, accusing the darkenes of the night as cause of his ouerthrowe: as he had done at the first conflict, imputing his ouerthrowe to the mountaines, the straights, and the sea. For, sayed he, *Darius* will neuer leaue to make warres with vs for lacke of men, nor munition, hauing so large a realme as he hath, & such a world of people besides: but then he will no more hazard battell, when his hart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army twoone daies ouerthrowen by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layed him downe to sleepe, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to doe before: insomuch as the Lordes and Princes of his campe comming to waite vpon him at his vprising, maruelled when they found him so sounde asleepe, and therefore of themselues they cõmaunded the souldiers to eate. Afterwardes, perceiuing that time came fast vpon them, *Parmenio* went into *Alexanders* chamber, and comming to his bedde side, called him twise or thrise by name, till at the last he awaked him, and asked him how it chanced that he slept so long, like one that had alreadie ouercome, and that did not thinke he should fight as great and daungerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, said *Alexander*, laughing on him: doest thou not thinke we haue already ouercome, being troubled no more with running after *Darius* vp and downe a country vtterly destroyed, as we should otherwise haue bene compelled to haue done, if he would not haue come to battell, and destroyed the country before vs? Now *Alexander* did not only shew himselfe before the battell, but euen at the very instant of battell, a noble man of courage, and of great iudgement. For *Parmenio* leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the BACTRIANS gaue such a fierce onset vpon the MACEDONIANS, that they made them giue backe: and *Mazeus* also, king *Darius* lieutenant, sent certaine troupes of horsemen out of their battell, to giue charge vpon them that were left in the campe to garde the cariage. *Parmenio* being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediatly to aduertise *Alexander*, that all their campe and cariage would be lost, if he did not send presently to aide the rereward. When these newes came to *Alexander* from *Parmenio*, he had already giuen the signall of battell vnto his men for to giue charge. Whereupon he answered the messenger that brought him these newes, that he should tell *Parmenio* he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wanne the battell they should not onely saue their owne cariage, but also winne the cariage of their enemies: and if it were their chance to lose it, then that they should not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their slaues, but only to thinke to die honorably, valiantly fighting for his life. Hauing sent this message vnto *Parmenio*, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armor for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a SICILIAN cassocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many foldes of canuas with oylet holes, which was gotten among the spoiles at the battell of ISSVS. His head peece was as bright as siluer, made by *Theophilus* the armorer: his collar lyke to the same, all set full of precious stones, and he had a sworde by his side marueilous light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the CITIEIANS had giuen him, vsing commonly to fight with his sword at any set battel. His coat armor was maruellous rich, and of sumptuous workemanshippe, far aboue all the rest he wore. It was of the workemanshippe of *Hellicon*, the which the RHODIANS gaue him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did set his men in battell ray, or made any oration vnto them, or did ride alongest the bands to take view of them: he alwayes vsed to ride vpon an other horse to spare *Bucephal*, because he was then somewhat old: notwithstanding, when he ment in deede to fight, then *Bucephal* was brought vnto him, and as soone as he was gotten vp on his backe, the trumpet sounded, & he gaue charge. Then, after he had made long exhortations to encorage the men of armes of the THESSALIANS, and the other GRECIANS also, and when they had all promised him they would sticke to him like men, and prayed him

The magnanimitie of Alexander.

Alexanders third battell with Darius.

The armor of Alexander.

to lead them, and giue charge vppon the enemies: he tooke his launce in his left hande, and holding vp his right hande vnto heauen: besought the goddes (as *Callisthenes* writeth) that if it were true, he was begotten of *Iupiter*, that it would please them that daye to helpe him, and to encorage the GRECIANS. The Soothsayer *Aristander* was then a horsebacke hard by *Alexander*, apparelled all in white, & a crown of gold on his head, who shewed *Alexander* when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This maruellously encoraged all the armie that saw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of *Alexanders* side, encoraging one another, did set spurres to their horse to charge vppon the enemies. The battell of the footemen of the PERSIANS, beganne a litle to giue way, and before the foremost could come to giue them charge, the barbarous people turned their backes, and fled. The chase was great, *Alexander* driuing them that fled vppon the middest of their owne battell, where *Darius* selfe was in person. He espied him a farre off ouer the foremost rankes in the middest of his battell, being a goodly tall prince, standing in a chariot of warre, compassed in round with great troupes of horsemen, all sette in goodly ordinance to receiue the enemy. But when they saw *Alexander* at hand with so grimme a looke, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their rancks: there fell such a feare among them, that the most part dispersed themselues. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiantest men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one vpon another, they did lette them that the enemies could not so well follow *Darius*. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and horses by the legges to hinder them. *Darius* then seeing nothing but terror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bandes which he had set before him for safegard, came backe vpon him, so as he could not deuise how to turne his charriot forward nor backward, the wheeles were so hindered and stayed with the heapes of dead bodies, and that the horse also being set vpon and hidde in manner in this conflict fell to leaping and plunging for feare, so that the charrettiers could no longer guide nor driue them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had fole, and so saued himselfe flying vpon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not *Parmenio* once againe sent vnto *Alexander* to pray him to come and aide him: because there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenance to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused *Parmenio* that day to haue delt but slackely and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him, or else for that he enuied *Alexanders* greatnes & prosperitie, who against his will became ouergreat as *Callisthenes* said. In fine, *Alexander* was angry with the second message, and yet told not his men truely the cause why, but fayning that he would haue them leaue killing, and because also night came on: he caused the trumpet sound retreate, and so went towards his army, whom he thought to be in distresse. Notwithstanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had giuen the enemies the ouerthrowe, and that they fled euery way for life. The battell hauing this successe, euery man thought that the kingdome of the PERSIANS was vtterly ouerthrowen, and that *Alexander* likewise was becom only king of all ASIA: whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices vnto the goddes, and gaue great riches, houses, landes and possessions vnto his friendes and familiars. Furthermore, to shew his liberality also vnto the GRECIANS, he wrote vnto them, that he would haue all tyrannies suppressed through out all GREECE, and that all the GRECIANS should liue at liberty vnder their owne lawes. Particularly also he wrote vnto the PLATÆIANS, that hee would reedifie their city againe, because their predecessors in time past, had giuen their countrey vnto the GRECIANS, to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the common liberty of all GREECE. He sent also into ITALY vnto the GROTONIANS, part of the spoile, to honor the memory of the valiantnes and good will of *Phaullus* their citizen, who in the time of the wars with the MEDES, (when all the GRECIANS that dwelt in ITALY had forsaken their naturall country men of GREECE it selfe, because they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a ship of his vnto SALAMINA, which hee armed and set forth at his owne charges, because he would beat the battell and partake also of the common daunger with the GRECIANS: such honor did *Alexander* bear vnto prowes, that he loued to reward and remember the worthy deeds of men. Then *Alexander* marching with his army into the country of BABYLON, they al yeelded straight vnto him.

An Eagle flew ouer Alexanders head whē he went to fight with Darius.

The flying of Darius.

Alexanders third victory of Darius, and liberality to all men.

him. When he came into the country of the ECBATANIANS, he maruelled when he ſaw an opening of the earth, out of the which there came continuall ſparkes of fire as out of a well: and that hard by alſo the earth ſpued out continually a kind of * maund or chalkie clay ſomewhat lyquid, of ſuch abundance, as it ſeemed like a lake. This maund or chalke is like vnto a kind of lyme or clay, but it is ſo eaſie to be ſet a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnes only of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is ſet a fire, and doth alſo ſet the aire a fire which is betwene both. The barbarous people of that country, being deſirous to ſhewe *Alexander* the nature of that Naptha, ſcattered the ſtreete that led to his lodging, with ſome of it. Then the day being ſhut in, they fired it at one of the endes, and the firſt droppes taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the reſt from one end of the ſtreete to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. *Alexander* being in bath at that time, and waited vpon by a page called *Steuen*: (a hard fauoured boy, but yet that had an excellent ſweete voice to ſing) one *Athenophanes* an ATHENIAN, that alwaies noynted and bathed the king, and much delighted him with his pleaſant conceits, aſked him if he would ſee the triall of this Naptha vpon *Steuen*: for if the fire tooke and went not out, then he would ſay it had a wonderfull force, and was vnquenchable. The page was contented to haue it proued vpon him. But ſo ſoone as they had laide it on him, and did but touch it onely, it tooke ſtraight of ſuch a flame, and ſo fired his bodie, that *Alexander* himſelfe was in a marueilous perplexitie withall. And ſure had it not bene by good hap, that there were many by ready with veſſels full of water to put into the bath, it had bene vnpoſſible to haue ſaued the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet ſo he eſcaped narrowly, and beſides was ſicke long after. Now ſome apply this Naptha vnto the fable of *Medea*, ſaying that therwith ſhe rubbed the crowne and lawne ſhe gaue vnto the daughter of *Creon* at her mariage, ſo much ſpoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could caſt fire of themſelues, neither did the fire light by chaunce. But by oyling them with this Naptha ſhe wrought a certaine wayes to receiue more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride ſate. For the beames which the fire caſteth out, haue ouer ſome bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them. But ſuch as haue an oyly drie humor, and thereby a ſimpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire: it eaſily enflameth and ſetteth a fire, by the forcible impreſſion of his beames. Howbeit they make a great queſtion of the cauſe of this inuerall force of Naptha, * or whether this liquid ſubſtance and moiſt humor that taketh fire ſo eaſily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceiue fire. For this country of BABYLON is very hot, inſomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it vp againe, as if the earth by vehement inflammation had a ſtrong blaſt to caſt it out: and men in the extreameſt heate of the ſummer, do ſleepe there, vppon great leather budgets filled full of freſh water. *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* left there his lieutenant & gouernor of that countrie, deſiring to ſet forth and beautifie the gardens of the kings pallace and walks of the ſame, with all manner of plants of GREECE: he brought all the reſt to good paſſe, ſauing Iuy only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer died, becauſe the heate and temper of the earth killed it: and the Iuy of it ſelfe liketh freſh aire and a could ground. This digreſſion is ſomwhat from the matter, but peraduenture the reader will not thinke it troubleſome, how hard ſoeuer he finde it, ſo it be not ouer tedious. *Alexander* hauing wonne the city of SVSA, he found within the caſtell foure thouſand talents in ready coine, gold and ſiluer, beſides other infinite treaſure and ineſtimable, amongeſt the which (it is ſayed) he found to the value of fiue thouſand talents weight of * purple HERMIONA ſilke which they had ſafe locked vp and kept the ſpace of two hundred yeares ſaue ten, and yet the colour kept as freſh as if it had bene newly made. Some ſay that the cauſe why it was ſo well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it, with honey, in ſilkes which before had bene died redde, and with white oile in white ſilkes. For, there are ſilkes ſeene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. *Dino* writeth furthermore, that the kings of PERSIA made water to bee brought from the riuers of Nylus and Iſter (otherwiſe called Danuby) which they did locke vp with their other treaſure for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, and to ſhew that they were Lordes of the world. The wayes to enter into PERSIA being very hard of paſſage, and in maner vnpaſſable,

* *The ſtrength and power of Naptha, in the country of Ecbatania.*

What Medeas enchantment was.

* *In this place there lacke certaine lines in the Greeke originall.*

No Iuy in the countrey of Babylon.

Treaſure found by Alexander at the city of Suſa.

* *It ſeemeth that he meaneth of ſilke died in purple, whereof the beſt that was in Europe was made in the city of Hermiona, in Laconia.*

(both for the ilneſſe of the waies, as alſo for the gard that kept them, which were the choiſest men of PERSIA) *Darius* alſo being fled thither: there was one that ſpake the Greeke and PERSIAN toong (whoſe father was borne in the coũtry of LYCIA, & his mother a PERSIAN) that guided *Alexander* into PERSIA, by ſome compaſſe fetched about not very long, according to the Oracles anſwere of *Alexander* giuen by the mouth of Nunne *Pythias*, when hee was a child: that a LYCIAN ſhould guide and lead him againſt the PERSIANS. There was then great ſlaughter made in PERSIA of the priſoners that were taken. For *Alexander* himſelfe wrooth, that he commanded the men ſhould be put to the ſword, thinking that the beſt way to ſerue his turne. It is ſaid alſo, that there he found a maruellous treaſure of gold and ſiluer in readie money, as he had done before in the citie of SVSA: the which he caried away with all the reſt of the kings rich wardroppe, and with it laded tenne thouſand moyles, and fiue thouſande camels. *Alexander*, entring into the caſtle of the chiefe citie of PERSIA, ſawe by chance a great image of *Xerxes* lye on the ground, the which vnwares was throwen down by the multitude of the ſouldiers that came in, thronging one vpon an other. Thereupon he ſtayed, and ſpake vnto it as if it had bene aliue, ſaying: I can not tell whether I ſhould paſſe by thee, and let thee lye, for the warre thou madeſt ſometime againſt the GRECIANS: or whether I ſhould lift thee vp, reſpecting the noble mind & vertues thou haddeſt. In the end, when he had ſtood mute a long time, conſidering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refreſh his weary army, becauſe it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure monethes together. The reporte goeth that the firſt time that *Alexander* ſate vnder the cloth of ſtate of king *Darius*, all of riche golde: *Demarathus* CORINTHIAN (who firſt beganne to loue him euen in his father *Philips* time) burſt out in teares for ioy, good olde man ſaying, that the GRECIANS long time dead before, were depriued of this bleſſed happe to ſee *Alexander* ſet in king *Xerxes* princely chayr. After that, preparing againe to goe againſt *Darius*, he would needes make mery one day, and refreſh himſelfe with ſome banquet. It chanced ſo, that he with his companions was bidden to a priuate feaſt priuately, where was aſſembled ſome fine curtiſans of his familiars, who with their friends taried at the banquet. Amongſt them was that famous *Thais*, borne in the coũtry of ATTICA, & then concubine to *Ptolomy*, king of EGYPT after *Alexanders* death. She finely praiſing *Alexander*, and partly in ſporting wiſe, began to vtter matter in affection of her coũtrie, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: ſaying, that that daye ſhe ſound her ſelfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines ſhe had taken, trauelling through all the countries of ASIA, following of his armie, now that ſhe had this fauor & good happe to be mery and pleaſant, in the proude and ſtately pallace of the great kings of PERSIA. But yet it would doe her more good, for a recreation to burne *Xerxes* houſe with the fire of ioy, who had burnt the citie of ATHENS: and herſelfe to giue the fire to it, before ſo noble a Prince as *Alexander*. Becauſe euer after it might be ſaid, that the women following his campe had taken more noble reuenge of the PERSIANS, for the wrongs and iniuries they had done vnto GREECE: then all the Captaines of GREECE that euer were had done, either by land or ſea. When ſhe had ſayd, *Alexanders* familiars about him, clapped their hands and made great noiſe for ioy, ſaying: that it were as good a deede as could be poſſible, and perſwaded *Alexander* vnto it. *Alexander* yeelding to their perſwaſions, roſe vp, and putting a garland of flowers vpon his head, went formoſt him ſelfe: and all his familiars followed after him, crying and dauncing all about the caſtel. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it alſo, came thither immediatly with torches light and great ioy, hoping that this was a good ſigne that *Alexander* ment to returne again into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the country of the barbarous people, ſith he did burne and deſtroy the kings caſtell. Thus, and in this ſort it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwiſe: that it was not burnt with ſuch ſport, but by determination of the councell. But howſoeuer it was, all they graunt, that *Alexander* did preſently repent him, and commaunded the fire to be quenched ſtraight. For his liberality, that good will and readineſſe to giue, increaſed with his conqueſtes: and when he did beſtow gifres of any, he would beſides his gift, euer giue them good countenance, on whom he beſtowed his grace and fauor. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. *Ariſto* being Collonell of the PEONIANS, hauing ſlaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and ſayd: ſuch a preſent,

Alexanders iorney into Perſia.

Alexander found a maruelous treaſure in Perſia.

The inſolent boldnes of Thais the harlot.

Perſepolis ſet a fire by Alexander.

O

O king, by vs, is euer rewarded with a cup of gold. Yea quoth *Alexander*, smiling vpon him with an emptie cuppe. But I drinke to thee this cuppe full of good wine, and doe giue thee cup and all. An other time, he met with a poore MACEDONIAN that led a moyle loden with gold of the kings: and when the poore moyle was so wearie that she could no longer carie her burden, the moyletter put it vpon his owne backe, and loded himselfe withall, carying it so a good prety way: howbeit in the end being ouerloden, was about to throwe it downe on the ground. *Alexander* perceiuing it, asked him what burthen he caried. When it was told him: well, q he to the moyletter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I giue it thee. To be short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with those that would ask him somwhat. He wrote also vnto *Phocion*, that he would take him no more for his friend, if he would refuse his giftes. It seemed that he had giuen nothing vnto a young boy called *Serapion* (who euer did serue them the ball that playd at tenis) because he asked him nothing. Wherfore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that played with him, and not to himselfe. The king maruelling at it, at the length sayed vnto him: why, my boy, doest thou not giue me the ball? Because your maiestie doth not aske it me, q he. *Alexander* then vnderstanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, & did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one *Proteas*, a pleasant conceited man, and that could flent finely. It chanced vpon some occasion that *Alexander* fell out with him: whereuppon some of his friends were intercessors to the king for him, & besought him to pardon him: and *Proteas* himselfe also being present, craued pardon with teares in his eyes. *Alexander* thereupon forgaue him. Then pleasantly replied *Proteas*, I desire it may please your grace, that I may receiue some testimonie to assure me I am in your fauor. Thereuppon the king straight commaunded one to geue him fiue talentes. The goods and riches he gaue vnto his familiars and gard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother *Olympias* wrote vnto him, to this effect: I know thou spareſt not to geue thy frends large giftes, and that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them kings fellowes, they get many friends, and leaue the poste alone without any. His mother did many times write such like matters vnto him, the which *Alexander* kept very secret, sauing one day when he opened one of them, *Hephestion* being present drew nere, and read the letter with him, as he was wont to do. *Alexander* did let him alone, but when he had read it, he pluckt the seale of armes from his finger, wherewith he did vse to seale his letters, and put it to *Hephestions* mouth. He gaue also vnto the sonne of *Mazeus*, (that was the chiefest man about *Darius*) a second gouernment, besides that which he had before, and greater than the first. This young noble man refused it, saying: why, and it please your grace, before there was but one *Darius*, but you now make many *Alexanders*. He gaue vnto *Parmenio* also, *Bagoas* house, where (as it is reported) he found a thousand talents worth, of the spoyles and goods of the SVSIANS. He wrote also vnto *Antipater*, that he should keepe a gard about his person, for he had many enemies that laye in wait for him. He did send also many goodly presents vnto his mother, but withall he wrote vnto her, that she would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vpon her the office of a Captaine. She storming at it, he patiently did brooke her anger. *Antipater* another time, writing a long letter vnto him against his mother *Olympias*, when he had red it ouer: loe, said he, *Antipater* knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye will wipe out tenne thousande such letters. Furthermore, *Alexander* perceiuing on a time, that his friendes became very dissolute & licentious in dyet and life, and that *Agnon* TEIAN had his corked shooes nailed with siluer nailes, that *Leonatus* also caused diuers cammelles to be loden amongst his cariage with powder of EGYPT, to put vpon him when he wrestled or vsed any other exercise of body & that also they caried after *Philotus*, toyles for chase and hunting, of a hundreth furlong long, and that there were also that vsed pretious perfumes & sweete sauors when they bathed themselues, more then there were that rubbed themselues with plaine oyle, and that they had fine chamberlaines to rubbe them in the bath, and to make their beddes soft and delicate: he wisely and courteously rebuked them and said. I maruell, sayd he, that you which haue fought in so often and great battelles, doe not remember that they which trauell, doe sleepe more sweete and soundly, than they that take their ease and doe nothing: and that you doe not marke, that

Alexanders prodigalitie reproued by his mother Olympias.

Alexander reprouth the fineſſe and curioſitie of his friendes.

comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the PERSIANS, to liue at pleasure is a vile thing, and to trauell is Princelie. And howe I pray you, can a man take paine to dresse his owne horse, or to make cleane his launce or helmet, that for slothfull curiosities sake, disdaineth to rubbe his owne bodie with his fine fingers? Are you ignorant that the type of honor in all our victorie consisteth, in scorning to doe that which we see them doe, whom we haue vanquished and ouercome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themselues with hardnes: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard himselfe more dangerously, then euer he had done before. Whereupon an Ambassador of LACEDÆMON being present to see him fight with a Lyon, and to kill him, sayed vnto him: truly your grace hath fought well with this Lyon, and tried which of you two should be king. *Craterus* after that, caused this hunting to be set vp in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES: where are the images of the Lyon, of the dogs, and of the king fighting with the Lyon, and of himselfe also that came to helpe him, all those images being of copper, some made by *Lysippus*, the rest by *Leochares*. Thus *Alexander* did put himself vnto all ieopardies, as well to exercise his strength & courage, as also to allure his men to doe the like. This notwithstanding his friends and familiars hauing wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needes liue delicately and at ease, and would take no more paines, misliking vtterly to goe vp and downe the countries to make warre here and there, and thereupon beganne a litle to finde fault with *Alexander*, and to speake euill of him. Which at the first *Alexander* tooke quietly saying, that it was honor for a king to suffer himselfe to be slaundered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turnes he did vnto his friendes, did shewe his hartie loue and honor he bare them, as shall appeare vnto you by some examples that followe. *Peucestas* being bitten by a beare, did let his friendes vnderstand by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus. Send me worde at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellowes did forsake thee at the hunting, to the end they may be punished. *Hephæstion* being absent about certaine businesse he had, *Alexander* wrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a beast called Ichnewmon, *Craterus* vnfortunately crossing *Perdiccas* darte, was stricken through both his thighes. *Peucestas* being cured of a great disease, *Alexander* wrote vnto *Alexippus* his Phisitian that had cured him, and gaue him thankes. *Craterus* also being sicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine sacrifices for the recouery of his health, and sent vnto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phisitian *Pausanias* ment to giue him a drinke of Elleborum, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what danger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he receiued that medicine. He did also put *Ephialtes* and *Cissus* in prison, who brought him the first newes of *Harpalus* flying, because they did wrongfully accuse & slander him. When he had cõmanded there should be a bill made of all the olde mens names, and diseased persons that were in his camp, to send them home againe into their countrie: there was one *Eurylochus* ÆGINETA that made his name be billed among the sicke persons, & it was found afterwards that he was not sicke, and confessed that he did it onely to follow a young woman called *Telesippa*, with whom he was in loue, who was returning homewards towards the sea side. *Alexander* asked him, whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a curtisan free borne. Then sayed *Aexander* vnto *Eurylochus*, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I cannot force her to tarrie: but seeke to winne her by giftes and fayer wordes to be contented to tarie, sithence she is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to see what paines he would take, to winne for his friendes, euen in such trifles as he did. As when he wrote into CILICIA for a seruant of *Seleucus* that was fled from his maister, sending straight commandement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by another letter he commendeth *Peucestas*, for that he had stayed and taken one *Nicon*, a slaue of *Craterus*. And by one other letter also vnto *Megabizus*, touching another bondman that had taken sanctuarie in a temple, he commaunded him also to seeke to intise him out of the sanctuarie, to laye hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case. It is sayed also, that at the first when he vsed to sit in iugdement to heare criminall causes, whilest the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation: he alwayes vsed to laye his hand vppon one of his eares to keepe that cleane from the matter of accusation,

Alexander enemie vnto idlenesse.

Alexanders care of his friends and wonderfull courtesie towards them.

Alexander kept one eare for the condẽned person.

accuſation, thereby reſeruing it to heare the purgation and iuſtification of the perſon condemned. But afterwardes, the number of accuſations that were brought before him, did ſo prouoke and alter him, that he did beleeue the falſe accuſations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothing put him more in rage, then when he vnderſtoode they had ſpoken ill of him: and then he was ſo fierce, as no pardon would be graunted, for that he loued his honor, more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went againſt *Darius*, thinking that he ment to fight againe: but vnderſtanding that *Beſſus* had taken him, then he gaue the THESSALIANS leaue to departe home into their countrie, and gaue them two thouſand talentes, ouer and aboue their ordinarie paye. *Alexander* had then a marueilous long, hard, and painefull iorney in following of *Darius*: for in eleuen dayes, he rode three thouſand and three hundreth furlong, inſomuch as the moſt part of his men were euen wearie, and done, for lacke of water. It chaunced him one daye to meete with certen MACEDONIANS that caried (vppon moyles) goate skinnes full of water, which they had fetched from a riuer. They ſeeing *Alexander* in manner dead for thirſt, being about noone, ranne quickly to him, and in a head peece brought him water. *Alexander* asked them, to whom they caried this water. They anſwered him againe, that they caried it to their children, but yet would haue your grace to liue: for though we loſe them, we may gette more children. When they had ſayd ſo, *Alexander* tooke the helmet with water, and perceiuing that the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thruſt out their neckes to looke vpon this water, he gaue the water backe againe vnto them that had giuen it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it. For ſayd he, if I drinke alone, all theſe men heere will faint. Then they ſeeing the noble courage and curteſie of *Alexander*: cried out that he ſhould leade them: and therewithall beganne to ſpurre their horſes, ſaying, that they were not weary nor thirſt, nor did thinke themſelues mortall, ſo long as they had ſuch a king. Euery man was alike willing to follow *Alexander*, yet had he but threeſcore onely that entred with him into the enemies campe. There, paſſing ouer much golde and ſiluer which was ſcattered abroade in the market place, and going alſo by many chariottes full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture: they ranne vpon the ſpurre vntill they had ouertaken the foremoſt that fledde, thinking to haue founde *Darius* amongſt them. But at the length, with much a doe, they found him layed along in a coche, hauing many woundes vpon his bodie, ſome of darts and ſome of ſpeares. So he being almoſt at the laſt caſt, called for ſome drinke, and dranke colde water, which *Polyſtratus* gaue him. To whom when he had dronke, he ſayed: this is my laſt miſhappe my friend, that hauing receiued this pleaſure, I cannot requite thee: howbeit *Alexander* will recompence thee, and the goddes *Alexander*, for the liberality and curteſy which he hath ſhewed vnto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my ſake. At theſe laſt wordes, he tooke *Polyſtratus* by the hande, and ſo gaue vp the goaſt. *Alexander* came immediatly after, and plainely ſhewed that he was ſorie for his death and miſſortune: and vndoing his owne cloke, he caſt it vpon the body of *Darius*. After that, hauing by good happe gotten *Beſſus* into his hands, he tare him in peces with two high ſtraight trees which he bowed downewards, and tyed his legs to each of them: ſo that when the trees were let goe, they gaue a ſodaine cruell ierke vp and caried either tree, a peece of his bodie with it. Then *Alexander* hauing giuen *Darius* corſe princely buriall, and embalmed him: he ſent it vnto his mother, and receiued his brother *Exathres* for one of his friends. From thence he went into the country of HYRCANIA with all the flower of his armie, where he ſawe the gulfe of the ſea Caſpium, which he thought of no leſſe greatneſſe, then the ſea of PONTVS, howbeit calmer then the other ſeaes be. He could not then certainly find out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhoode he thought it was ſome breaking out of the lake or marriſh of Meotin. Yet ſome ancient naturall Philoſophers ſeemed to knowe truely what it was. For many yeares before *Alexanders* voyage and conqueſt, they wrote, that of the foure chiefeſt gulfes of the ſea, that commeth from the Ocean, and doe enter within maine land, that which is more northerly, is the ſea Caſpium, which they call alſo Hyrcanium. As *Alexander* went through the countrie, certen barbarous people ſodainely ſette vpon them that led *Bucephal* his horſe, and tooke him: but with that he was in ſuch a rage,

Alexander would not pardon ill words ſpoken of him.

Alexanders painfull iorney in following of Darius.

The loue of Alexander to his ſouldiers & abſtinence.

Alexander regarded not the ſpoile of gold and ſiluer, in reſpect of purſuing his flying enemie.

The death of Darius.

The puniſhment and execution of Beſſus.

The ſea Hyrcanium or Caſpium.

that he sent a Herauld into their countrie to proclaime open warres vppon them, and that he would put man, woman and childe to the sword, if they brought him not his horse againe. Whereuppon, when his horse was returned home, and that they yeelded vp their cities and fortes into his hands: he did vse them all very courteously, and moreouer did giue them money for the ransome of his horse, which they restored. Departing thence, he entred into the countrie of PARTHIA. There hauing leasure enough, he beganne to apparell himselfe after the fashion of the barbarous people, because he thought thereby the better to winne the harts of the countriemen, framing himselfe vnto their owne fashions: or else to trye the harts of the MACEDONIANS, to see how they would like the manner of the PERSIANS (which he meant to bring them vnto) in reuerencing of him as they did their king, by litle and litle acquainting them to alow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at the first take vp the apparell of the MEDES, which was very strange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without breeches, nor did weare a long gown trayling on the ground, nor a high coptanct hat, but tooke a meane apparell, betwixt the MEDES & the PERSIANS, more modest then theirs: and more costly then the last: and yet at the first he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or else priuately amongst his friends and familiars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he shewed himselfe openly to the people in that apparell, whē he gaue them audience. This sight grieued the MACEDONIANS much: but they had his vertues in such admiration, that they thought it meete in some things he should take his owne pleasure, sithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his legge broken with an arrow, and another time, had such a blow with a stone full in his necke, that it made him spurre-blinde a great while after, and yet neuertheless he neuer eschewed any bodily daunger. For he passed ouer the riuer of Oraxartes, which he tooke to be Tanais, and hauing in battell ouerthrowen the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chase aboue a hundreth furlong, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a loosenesse of body. Thither came vnto him (as it is reported) the queene of the AMAZONES, as many writers doe testifie: among the which are these, *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Onesicritus*, *Antigenes* and *Hiero*. But *Chares*, *Ptolomy*, *Anticlides*, & *Philō* THEBAN, *Philip* the historiographer, *Hecateus* ERETRIAN, *Philip* CHALCIDIAN, and *Duris* SAMIAN, all these doe write that it was not true: and it seemeth also that *Alexander* selfe doth confirme it. For, writing all things particularly vnto *Antipater* as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the king of SCYTHIA offred him his daughter in mariage: but there he maketh no mention at all of any AMAZON. It is also sayed, that *Onesicritus* long time after that did reade vnto king *Lysimachus*, the fourth booke of his historie, where he did speake of the AMAZON. *Lysimachus* smiling, sayd vnto him: why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, *Alexanders* estimation thereby is neither impaired nor aduanced. Furthermore, *Alexander* fearing that the MACEDONIANS, being wearie with this long warre, would goe no further: he left all the rest of his armie behinde, and tooke onely twentie thousand footemen, and three thousand horsemen of the choicest men of his armie, and with them inuaded the countrie of HYRCANIA. There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of ASIA had but seene them as it were in a dreame, and if they should now returne backe into MACEDON, hauing but onely sturred them, and not altogether subdued ASIA: the people offended with them, would set vpon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Neuertheless, he gaue any man leaue to returne that would, protesting therewith against them that would goe, how they did forsake him, his frends, and those who had so good harts towards him, as to follow him in so noble a iorney, to conquer the whole earth vnto the MACEDONIANS. This selfe matter is reported thus in a letter which *Alexander* wrote vnto *Antipater*: and there he writeth furthermore, that hauing made this oration vnto them, they all cryed out, and bad him leade them into what part of the world he would. When they had granted their goodwilles, it was no hard matter afterwardes, to winne the rest of the common sorte who followed the example of the chiefest. Thereuppon he did frame himselfe the more to liue after the fashion of the countrie there, and enterchangeably also to bring the men of that countrie vnto the manner of the MACEDONIANS: being perswaded that by this mixture and

Alexander goeth after the manner of the Persiant.

Some faults are to be borne with, in a man of great vertu.

Orexartes fl.

Alexander with one word of his mouth brought the Macedonians to obedience.

and enterchange of manners one with another, he ſhould by friendſhippe more then force, make them agree louingly together, when that he ſhould be ſo far from the countrie of PERSIA. For this purpoſe therefore, he choſe thirty thouſand of their children of that countrie, & ſet them to learne the Greek tongue, and to be brought vp in the diſcipline of warres, after the MACEDONIANS maner: and gaue them ſchoolemaſters and Captains to traine them in each facultie. And for the marying of *Roxane*, he fancied her, ſeing her at a feaſt where he was: which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better aduiſe and counſell loued her. For the barbarous people were very proude of this match when as they ſawe him make alliance with them in this ſorte, inſomuch as they loued him better then they did before, becauſe they ſaw in thoſe things he was alwaies ſo chaſt and continent, that notwithſtanding he was maruellouſly in loue with her, yet he would not diſhonorably touch this young Ladie, before he was maried vnto her. Furthermore, *Alexander* conſidering that of the two men which he loued beſt, *Hephæſtion* liked well of his match, and went apparelled as himſelfe did, and that *Craterus*, contrarily did ſtill vſe the MACEDONIAN maner: he delt in all affaires with the barbarous people, by *Hephæſtion*, & with the GRECIANS and MACEDONIANS, by *Craterus*. To be ſhort, he loued the one, and honored the other: ſaying that *Hephæſtion* loued *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loued the king. Hereuppon theſe two perſons bare one another grudge in their hartes, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: inſomuch as on a time being in INDIA, they drewe their ſwords and fought together, and diuers of their friendes ranne to take part with either ſide. Thither came *Alexander* ſelfe alſo, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke vp *Hephæſtion*, and called him foole and bedlem, ſaying, doſt thou not know, that whatſoeuer he be that ſhould take *Alexander* from me, he ſhould neuer liue? Priuatly alſo, he ſharply rebuked *Craterus*, and calling them both before him, he made them friendes together, ſwearing by *Iupiter Hammon*, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men liuing, neuertheles if euer he founde that they fell out together againe, they ſhould both dye for it, or him at the leaſt that firſt beganne to quarrell. So euer after that, they ſay there was neuer foule word nor deede betwene them, not ſo much as in ſport only. There was alſo one *Philotas*, the ſonne of *Parmenio*, a man of great authority among the MACEDONIANS, who next vnto *Alexander* was the moſt valiant man, the patienteſt to abide paine, the liberalleſt, and one that loued his men and frends better then any noble man in the campe whatſoeuer. Of him it is reported, that a friend of his came to him on a time to borow money: and he commanded ſtraight one of his men to let him haue it. His purſebearer anſwered him, that he had none. Why, ſayed his maſter, doeſt thou tell me ſo? Haſt thou not plate, and apparell to ſell or gage to helpe him to ſome? Howbeit otherwiſe, he had ſuch a pride and glorie to ſhew his riches, to apparel himſelf ſo ſumptuouſly, and to be more fine and princked then became a priuate man, that this made him to be hated: becauſe he tooke vpon him to be a great man, and to looke big on the matter, which became him ill fauoredly, and therfore euery man through his owne folly, fell in miſliking with him. Inſomuch as his owne father ſayd one day vnto him: ſon I pray thee be more humble & lowly. This *Philotas* had long before bene cõplained vpon vnto *Alexander* becauſe that when the cariage of king *Darius* armie (which was in the citie of DAMAS) was taken after the battell of CILICIA, among many priſoners that were taken and brought vnto *Alexanders* campe, there was one *Antigona*, a paſſing faier young curtiſan, born in the citie of PIDNA. *Philotas* founde meanes to get her, and like a young man that was in loue with her, making merie with her at the table, fondely lette fall braue wordes and boaſtes of a ſouldier ſaying that what notable things were done, they were done by himſelfe and his father: and called *Alexander* at euerie word, young man, and ſayed that by their meanes he helde his name and kingdome. This curtiſan tolde one of his friendes what he ſayed, and that friend tolde an other friende, and ſo went from man to man (as commonly it doeth) till at the length it came to *Craterus* eares. He tooke the curtiſan, and brought her vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom ſhe told as much as ſhe had ſayd before. *Alexander* bad her ſtill make much of *Philotas*, and to tell him euery word what he ſayd of him. *Philotas* knowing nothing that he was thus circũuented, did euer frequent her companie, and would be bold commonly to ſpeake many fooliſh and vndiſcreet words againſt the king, ſomtime in anger, and ſomtime again in a brauery

Alexander maried Roxane a Perſian.

Quarrell betwixt Hephaſtion & Craterus.

Why Philotas was ſuſpected and enuied of Alexander.

Alexander this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proofe and cause to accuse *Philotas*, yet he dissembled it for that time, and would not be knowen of it: either for that he knew *Parmenio* loued him, or else for that he was affrayed of their great power and authoritie. About that time there was one *Limnus Chalæstrian* a MACEDONIAN, that layd great and secret wait to kill *Alexander*: and being in loue with a young man called *Nicomachus*, entised him to help him to doe this deed. The young man wisely denied it, & told the same to his brother called *Balinus*. He went vnto *Philotas*, and prayed him to bring them both before *Alexãder*, for they had a matter of great importance to impart vnto him. *Philotas* would not let him speake with the king (but why no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hand, and was not at leasure. Then they went vnto another, and he brought them vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom first they opened the treason of *Limnus* conspired against him: and by the waye they tolde also, how they had bene twise before with *Philotas*, who would not let them come in, nor speake with them. That angred *Alexander* greatly, and he was the more offended also when *Limnus* was slaine by him, whom he sent to apprehend him, resisting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had lost a great meanes to come to the light of this treason and conspiracie. Then *Alexander* frowning vppon *Philotas*, brought all his enemies vpon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they beganne to speake boldly, that it was time for the king to looke about him, for it was not to be supposed that this *Limnus Chalæstrian* of himselfe durst haue entred into that treason, but rather that he was a minister, and a chiefe instrument, set on by a greater personage then he: and therefore that it stood *Alexander* vpon to examine them straightly, which had cause to keepe this treason secret. After *Alexander* once gaue eare vnto such wordes and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought a thousand accusations against *Philotas*. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of diuers Lordes and familiars of the king put to the torture, *Alexander* selfe being behinde a hanging, to heare what he would say. It is reported, that when he heard howe faintly and pittifully he besought *Hephæstion* to take pittie on him, he sayed vnto himselfe: alas, poore *Philotas*, thou that hast so faint a hart, howe durst thou take vppon thee so great matters? In fine, *Philotas* was put to death, and immediatly after he was executed, *Alexander* sent also with speed vnto the realme of MEDIA to kill *Parmenio*, who was his Lieutenaunt there, and one that had serued king *Philippe* his father, in his greatest affaires, and he onely of all other the olde seruantes of his father had procured *Alexander* to take in hande the conquest of ASIA: and who also of three sonnes which he brought out with him, had seene two of them dye before him, and after wardes was slaine himselfe with the third. This crueltie of *Alexander* made his friends affraied of him and specially *Antipater*: who secretly sent Ambassadors vnto the ÆTOLIANS, to make league with them, because they themselues also were affrayed of *Alexander*, for that they had put the *Oeniades* to death. *Alexander* hearing that, sayed, that he himselfe, and not the sonnes of the *Oeniades*, would be reuenged on the ÆTOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murther of *Clitus*, the which to heare it simplie tolde, would seeme much more cruell than the death of *Philotas*. But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chaunced: it will be found that it was not of sette purpose, but by chaunce and vnfortunately, that *Alexander* being ouercome with wine, did vnluckely wreake his anger vpon *Clitus*. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certaine men of the low countries from the sea side, that brought apples of GRECE vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander*, wondering to see them so greene and fayer, sent for *Clitus* to shew him them, and to giue him some of them. *Clitus* by chaunce did sacrifice at that time vnto the goddes, and left his sacrifice to goe vnto *Alexander*: howbeit, there were three weathers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprincklings had bene done alreadie to haue sacrificed them. *Alexander* vnderstanding that, tolde it to his Soothsayers, *Aristander*, and *Cleomantis* LACONIAN, both did aunswere him, that it was an ill signe. *Alexander* thereuppon gaue order straight, that they shoulde doe sacrifice for the health of *Clitus*, and specially for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he saw *Clitus* in a mourning gowne, sitting amongest the sonnes of *Parmenio*, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, *Clitus* did not make an ende of his sacrifice, but came

Limnus traiterously seeketh to kill Alexander.

Philotas and his father Parmenio put to death.

Antipater was affrayed of Alexander.

Why Alexander slue Clitus.

Alexanders dreame of Clitus.

came straight to supper to the king, who had that day sacrificed vnto *Castor* and *Pollux*. At this feast there was old drinking, and all the supper time there were certaine verses song and made by a Poet, called *Pranichus*, (or as others say, of one *Pierion*) against certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before bene ouercome by the barbarous people, and onely to shame them, and to make the companie laugh. With these verses, auncient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grew angrie with the Poet that made them, and the minstrell that song them. *Alexander* on the other side, and his familiars liked them verie well, and commaunded the minstrell to sing still. *Clitus* there withall being ouertaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proude and arrogant, fell into greater choller, and sayd: that it was neither well nor honestlie done in that sort to speake ill of those poore MACEDONIAN Captaines (and specially amongst the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they, that laughed them to scorne, although their fortune much worse then theirs. *Alexander* then replied, and sayd, that saying so, he pleaded for himselfe, calling cowardlinesse, misfortune. Then *Clitus* standing vp, sayd againe: but yet this my cowardlinesse saued thy life, that callest thy selfe the sonne of the goddes, when thou turnedst thy backe from *Spithridates* sword: & the bloud which these poore MACEDONIANS did shed for thee, and the woundes which they receiued of their bodies fighting for thee, haue made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to haue king *Philip* for thy father, and wilt needes make thy selfe the sonne of *Iupiter Hammon*. *Alexander* being moued with these wordes, straight replied: O, villen, thinkest thou to scape vnpunished for these proude wordes of thine, which thou vsest continually against me, making the MACEDONIANS rebell against *Alexander*? *Clitus* aunswered againe, too much are we punished, *Alexander*, for our paines and seruice to receiue such reward: nay, most happy thinke we them that long since are dead and gone, not now to see the MACEDONIANS scourged with rods of the MEDES, and compelled to curry fauour with the PERSIANS, to haue accesse vnto their king. Thus *Clitus* boldly speaking against *Alexander*, and *Alexander* againe aunswering and reuiling him: the graueſt men sought to pacifie this sturre and tumult. *Alexander* then turning himselfe vnto *Xenodochus* CARDIAN, and *Artemius* COLOPHONIAN: do you not thinke (sayd he) that the GRECIANS are amongst the MACEDONIANS, as demy goddes that walke among brute beastes? *Clitus* for all this would not giue ouer his impudencie and malaperteneſſe, but cried out, and bad *Alexander* speake openly what he had to say, or else not to bidde free men come to suppe with him that were wont to speake franckely: if not, to keepe with the barbarous slaues that honoured his PERSIAN girdle, and long white garment. Then could *Alexander* no longer hold his choller, but tooke an apple that was vpon his table, and threw it at *Clitus*, and looked for his sword, the which *Aristophanes*, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when euery man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly rose from the borde, and called his gard vnto him in the MACEDONIAN toung, (which was a signe of great trouble to follow after it) and commaunded the trumpeter to sound the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not sound: whereupon *Alexander* strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trumpetter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he onely kept the campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet *Clitus*, whereupon his friendes with much a do thrust him out of the hall: but he came in againe at another doore, and arrogantly and vnreuerently rehearsed this verse of the Poet *Euripides*, out of *Andromaches* tragedie:

Alas for sorrow, euill wayes
Are into Græce crept now a dayes.

The malaperteneſſe of Clitus against Alexander.

Then *Alexander* taking a partisan from one of his gard, as *Clitus* was comming towardes him, and had lift vp the hanging before the doore, he ranne him through the body, so that *Clitus* fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, dyed presently. *Alexanders* choller had left him straight, and he became maruellous sorowfull: and when he saw his friends round about him neuer a word, he pluckt the partisan out of his body, & would haue thrust it into his owne throte. Howbeit his gard about him caught him by the hands, & caried him perforce into his chamber: & there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, & the next day following,

Alexander slue Clitus, and grieuously repented him.

vntill such time as he was able to crie no more, but lying on the ground, onely lay sighing. His friendes hearing his voyce no more, were afrayed, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But *Alexander* would heare none of them, sauing *Aristander* the Soothsayer, who remembred him of his dreame he had of *Clitus* before, which was, a prognostication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his destenie before he was borne. This seemed to comfort *Alexander*. Afterwards they brought in *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, a kinsman of *Aristotles*, and *Anaxarchus* borne in ABDERA. Of these two, *Callisthenes* sought by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offensiue to comfort *Alexanders* sorow. But *Anaxarchus* that from the beginning had taken a way by himselfe in the studie of Philosophie, being accounted a braine sicke man, and one that despised his companions: he comming into *Alexanders* chamber also with him, cryed out at the doore as he came in: See, yonder is *Alexander* the great whom all the world lookes vpon, and is afrayed of. See where he lyes, weeping like a slaue on the ground, that is afrayed of the law, and of the reproche of men: as if he himselfe should not giue them law, and stablish the boundes of iustice or iniustice, sithence he hath ouercome to be Lord and maister, and not to be subiect and slaue to a vaine opinion. Knowest thou not that the Poets say, that *Iupiter* hath Themis, to wit, right and iustice placed of either hand on him? what signifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholy right, and iust? These wordes of *Anaxarchus* did comfort the sorowfull hart of king *Alexander* at that time, but therewithall, they made *Alexanders* manners afterwardes more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did maruellously grow in fauour with the king, euen so did he make the company of *Callisthenes*, (who of himselfe was not very pleasaunt: because of his grauitie and sowrenesse) much more hatefull and misliked then before. It is written also that there was certaine talke one night at king *Alexanders* borde touching the seasons of the yeare, & temperatnesse of the ayre, and that *Callisthenes* was of their opinion which mainteined, that the country they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper then in GRECE. *Anaxarchus* held the contrary opinion, and stifly mainteined it, in somuch as *Callisthenes* sayd vnto him: and yet must thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there all the winter time thou couldest go with a single cloke on thy backe onely, and here thou must haue three or foure garments vpon thee when thou art at thy borde. This galled *Anaxarchus* to the quicke, and made him more angry then before: and for the other rethoritians and flatterers, they did also hate him, becausethey saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloued also of old men for his honest life, the which was very graue, modest, and contented with his owne, desiring no mans else. Whereby men found, that the reason he alledged for following of *Alexander* in this voyage, was true: for he sayd that he came to be an humble suter to the king to restore his banished citizens into their country againe, and to replenish their citie with inhabitants. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be enuyed, yet did he himselfe giue his enemies occasion to accuse him. For oftentimes being inuited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and say nothing, shewing by his grauitie and silence, that nothing pleased him that was either sayd or done. Whereupon *Alexander* selfe sayd on a time vnto him:

Callisthenes & Anaxarchus, do comfort Alexander.

The cause why Callisthenes was enuyed.

I can not thinke that person wise,
That in his owne case hath no eyes.

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, diuers requesting him to make an Oration on the sodaine in commendation of the MACEDONIANS: he made such an eloquent Oration vpon that matter, that all they that heard him, rose from the borde, and clapping their handes for ioy, cast nosegayes and flowers vpon him. But yet *Alexander* at that time sayd vnto him that, which the Poet *Euripides* sayd:

It is no maistrie to be eloquent,
In handling of a plenteous argument.

Nay, but vtter then thy eloquence in reprouing of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their faultes, they may learne to amend. Then *Callisthenes* chaunging copie, spake boldly many things against the MACEDONIANS. Declaring, that the dissention amongst the GRECIANS did increase king *Philips* power, alledging these verses:

Where

VVhere discord reignes in Realme or towne,
Euen wicked folke do win renowne.

But by this occasion, he purchased himselfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: in so much, as *Alexander* selfe said at that time, that he had not so much shewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare vnto the MACEDONIANS. *Hermippus* the historiographer writeth that one *Strebus* a clearke of *Callisthenes* did afterwards tell it vnto *Aristotle* in this sort: and that *Callisthenes* seeing king *Alexander* offended with him, did recite these verses of *Homer* three or foure times as he went.

Patroclus who farre passed thee,
VVas slaine as thou art like to be.

And therefore very wisely said *Aristotle*, that *Callisthenes* was eloquent, but not wise. For like a philosopher, he stoutly stood against kneeling to the king, and said that openly, which the noblest & ancientest men amõg the MACEDONIANS durst but whisper one in an others eare, though they did all vtterly mislike it: whereby hee did yet deliuer GRECE from open shame, & *Alexander* from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he vndid himselfe because he would seeme rather by presumption to bring him to it, then by reason to perswade him. *Chares* MITYLENIAN hath writen, that *Alexander* hauing drunke at a certaine feast where he hapned to be, reached his cuppe vnto one of his friendes, who after he had taken it of him, rose vp first on his feete, and dranke also, turning him towards the goddes, and first making solemne reuerence, hee went and kissed *Alexander*, and then sate him downe againe. All the rest that were at the feast, did the like one after an other, and *Callisthenes* also, who tooke the cuppe when it came to his turne (the king not looking on him, but talking with *Hephæstion*) after he had drunke, came to the king to kisse him as others had done. Howbeit one *Demetrius* called *Phidon*, said vnto the king: kisse him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reuerence. *Alexander* turned his head a side, and would not kisse him. Then cryed *Callisthenes* out aloud: well, quoth he, then I will go my way, with lesse then others, by a kisse. And thus beganne *Alexanders* grudge first against *Callisthenes*, by meanes whereof *Hephæstion* was credited the better, when he said that *Callisthenes* had promised him to reuerence *Alexander*, although that he had broken promise. After him also *Lysimachus*, *Agnon*, and diuers others beganne to play their partes against him, saying, that this Sophister went bragging vp and downe, as if he had destroyed a whole tyrannie, and that all the young men followed him to honor him, as if among so many thousand souldiers, neuer a man of them had so noble a heart as he. And therefore, when the treason of *Hermolaus* against *Alexanders* person was discouered, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detracters had informed against *Callisthenes*: who had answered *Hermolaus* that asked him, how he could come to be famous aboue all men, thus: in killing the famousest person. And to animate him to goe forward with this treason, he had told him further, that he should not be affraide of a golden bedde, but remember that he had to doe with a man, which was sometime sicke & hurt as other men were. This notwithstanding, there was neuer a one of *Hermolaus* confederates, that would once name *Callisthenes*, what tormentes soeuer they abidde, to bewray who were their companions. And *Alexander* selfe also writing of this treason immediatly after, vnto *Craterus*, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas* said, that their seruantes which had bene racked and put to the torter, did constantly affirme that they onely had conspired his death, and no man els was priuie vnto it. But afterwardes, he sent an other letter vnto *Antipater*, wherein he directly accused *Callisthenes*, and saide, that his seruantes had already bene stoned to death by the MACEDONIANS, howbeit that he himselfe would afterwardes also punish the master, and those that had sent vnto him, and that had receiued the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainely shewed the ill will he bare vnto *Aristotle*, for that *Callisthenes* had bene brought vp with him, being his kinsman, and the sonne of *Hero*, *Aristotles* neece. Some say, that *Alexander* trussed *Callisthenes* vp. Others againe report, that he died of sickenesse in prison. Neuertheles *Chares* writeth, that *Callisthenes* was kept prisoner seuen moneths together, because he should haue had his iudgement in open councell euen in the presence of *Aristotle* himselfe: howbeit, being very fatte,

Aristotle thought Callisthenes eloquent, but not wise.

Callisthenes suspected of treason against Alexander.

Alexander offended with Aristotle.

The death of Callisthenes the rethoritian.

he was eaten in the end by lyce, and so dyed, about the time that *Alexander* was hurt, fighting against the MALLIANS OXYDRACIANS, in the cõqueſt of INDIA, but theſe things chanced a good while after. *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN being very old, had a great deſire to go ſee *Alexander*: and when he had ſeene him, he ſayd that the GRECIANS which were dead long before, were depriued of that bliſſe and happineſſe, that they could not ſee *Alexander* ſit in the royall ſeate of king *Darius*. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the kings good will vnto him, for he died of a ſickneſs ſoone after he came vnto his campe, & *Alexander* did honour his funerals: for all the army in their armour did caſt vp a mount of earth faſhioned like a tombe, which was a great compaſſe about, and foure ſcore cubits high. His aſhes afterwardes were brought with an honourable conuoy, vnto the ſea ſide, in a charriot with foure horſes richly ſet out.

The iourney of Demaratus Corinthiã vnto Alexander, and his death.

Alexanders iourney into India.

Alexander being ready to take his iourney to go conquer INDIA, perceiuing that his armie was very heauy & vnwildſom to remoue, for the wonderfull cariage & ſpoiles they had with them: the cartes one morning being loden, he firſt burnt his owne cariage, & next his friends, & then commaunded that they ſhould alſo ſet the cariage of the MACEDONIANS a fire, which counſell ſeemed more daungerous to be reſolued of, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficulte. For there are very few of them that were angry therewith, & the moſt part of them (as if they had bene ſecretly moued by ſome god) with loude cryes of ioy, one of them gaue vnto an other ſuch neceſſary things as they had neede of, and afterwardes of themſelues did burne and ſpoyle all the reſt. This made *Alexander* much more rigorous then he was before, beſides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or pardon, did ſharpely puniſh euery man that offended. For hauing commaunded *Menander* one of his friends, to keepe him a ſtrong hold: he put him to death, becauſe he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he himſelfe ſlue *Orſodates* (a Captaine of the barbarous people) with a dart, for that he rebelled againſt him. About that time, there was an eawe that had eaned a lambe, which had vpon her head, the forme and purple colour of the kings hat, after the PERSIAN manner called Tiara, hauing two ſtones hanging on ech ſide of it. *Alexander* abhorred this monſtrous ſigne, in ſomuch as he purged himſelfe by certaine BABILONIAN Prieſts, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpoſe, and ſayd vnto his friends: that this monſter did not ſo much moue him for reſpect of himſelfe, as it did for them, fearing that the goddes after his death had predeſtined the force and power of his kingdome to fall into the hands of ſome baſe cowardly perſon. This notwithſtanding, an other ſigne and token which chaunced in the necke of that, did take away this feare and diſcouragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called *Proxenus*, that had charge of the kings cariage, as he digged in a certaine place by the riuer of Oxus, to ſet vp the kings tent and his lodging, he found a certaine fat and oylie vaine, which after they had drawen out the firſt, there came out alſo an other clearer, which differed nothing, neither in ſmell, taſt, nor ſauour: from naturall oyle, hauing the gloſſe and fatneſſe ſo like, as there could be diſcerned no difference between them: the which was ſo much more to be wõdred at, becauſe that in all that coũtry there were no olyues. They ſay alſo, that the water of the riuer ſelfe of Oxus is very ſoft, and maketh their skinnes fat, which waſh or bath themſelues therein. And yet it appeareth by that which *Alexander* ſelfe wrote vnto *Antipater*, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongſt the greateſt ſignes which the goddes had ſent vnto him. The Soothſayers did interprete this wonder, that it was a ſigne, that he ſhould haue a noble, but yet a painfull voyage: for the goddes, ſayd they, haue giuen oyle vnto men to refreſh their wearineſſe. And truly ſo did he ſuſteine many daungers in thoſe warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greateſt loſſe he had of his men, was for lacke of victuals, and by the infection of the ayre. For he, ſtriuing to ouercome fortune by valiantneſſe, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impoſsible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withſtand a noble hart. It is reported, that when he went to beſiege a ſtrong hold which *Siſimethres* kept, being thought vnſaltable, and that his ſouldiers were in diſpaire of it: he asked one *Oxyarthes*, what hart *Siſimethres* had. *Oxyarthes* anſwered him, that he was the verieſt coward in the world. O, that is well, quoth *Alexander*: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou ſayeſt ſithence the Captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it of a ſodaine, by putting *Siſimethres* in a great feare. After that alſo, he did beſiege an other peece of as great ſtrength, and difficultie

Alexander burnt his cariages.

The crueltie of Alexander towards his men.

A monſtrous lambe appeared vnto Alexander.

A ſpring of oyle found, by the riuer of Oxus.

Oyle refreſheth wearineſſe.

difficultie to assault as the other, and making the yong souldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go to the assault, he called one of them vnto him, whose name also was *Alexander*, vnto whom he said thus. *Alexander*, this day thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The yong man did not forget his words, for he fought so valiantly, that he was slaine, for whom *Alexander* was very sory. Another time whē his men were affraid, & durst not come neere vnto the city of NISA to assault it, because there ranne a very deepe riuer hard by the walles: he came to the riuers side, and said: oh, what a coward am I, that neuer learned to swimme? and so prepared himselfe to swimme ouer vpon his shield. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came ambassadors vnto him from the cities besieged, to craue pardon of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pompe or other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaire was brought him to sit downe on, that he commaunded the oldest man amongst them called *Acuphis*, to take it to him, and sit him downe. *Acuphis* maruelling at *Alexanders* great courtesie, asked him: what they should do for him, thenceforth to be his good friends. I will, said *Alexander*, that they from whom thou comest as ambassador vnto vs, do make thee their King: and withall that they do send me a hundred of their best men for hostages. *Acuphis* smiling, answered him again: but I shall rule them better, O king, if I send you the worst, and not the best. There was a king called *Taxiles* a very wise man, who had a great country in INDIA, no lesse in bignesse and circuit then all ÆGYPT, and as full of good pasture and fruites as any country in the worlde could be: who came on a time to salute *Alexander*, and said vnto him. What should we neede, *Alexander*, to fight, and make warres one with an other, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our necessary commoditie to liue by: for which things, men of iudgement must needes fight? As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am readie to giue thee of mine: and if I haue lesse, I will not thinke scorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt giue me some of thine. *Alexander* being pleased to heare him speake thus wisely, imbraced him, and said vnto him. Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly faire wordes? no, no, thou hast wonne nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honestie and courtesie, because thou shalt not exceede me in bountie and liberalitie. So *Alexander* taking diuers giftes of him, but giuing more vnto *Taxiles*: he dranke to him one night at supper, and said, I drinke to thee a thousand talents in gold. This gift misliked *Alexanders* friends: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hearts of many of those barbarous Lordes and Princes of that countrie. There was a certaine number of souldiers of the INDIANS, the warlikest men of all that countrie: who being mercenary souldiers, were euer entertained in seruice of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto *Alexander* in diuers places. *Alexander* hauing made peace with them in a citie where they were kept in: when they came abroad vpon suertie of this peace which they had made, hee met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sword. There was but this only fault, to blemish the honor of his noble deedes in all his warres: for in all things else, he shewed mercie and equitie. Furthermore, the graue Philosophers and wise men of INDIA did greatly trouble him also. For they reproued the kings and princes of the INDIANS for that they yeelded vnto *Alexander*, and procured the free cities to take armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke diuers of their cities. For king *Porus*, *Alexander* selfe writeth in his Epistles, all his actes at large which he did against him. For he saith, that both their campes lying on either side of the riuer of Hydaspes, king *Porus* set his Elephants vpon the banke of the riuer with their heades towardes their enemies, to keepe them from passing ouer: and that he himselfe did continually make a noise and tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be affraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, & the choice of his horsemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle Ilande. When he was come into the Ilande, there fell a wonderfull shower of raine, great windes, lightnings and thunders vppon his campe, insomuch as he sawe many of his men burnt by lightning in this litle Ilande. This notwithstanding, he did not leaue to get ouer to the other side of the riuer. The riuer being swollen with the great flud of raine that fell the night before, ouerflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: so that *Alexander* when he

The citie of Nysa.

Acuphis wise answere vnto Alexander.

King Taxiles talke with Alexander.

Alexanders answere to Taxiles.

Alexander dishonorably brake the peace he had made.

Alexanders actes against king Porus. Hydaspes fl.

had passed ouer the riuer, and was come to the other side, found himselfe ill very in case, for that he could hardly keepe his feete, because the earth was very slippery vnder him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on euery side. It is written of him that then he said vnto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could ye thinke that I could take such paines, and put my selfe into so many dangers, onely to be praised of you? Thus *Onesicritus* reporteth it. But *Alexander* selfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of tymber pinned together whereuppon they had passed ouer the streame of the mayne riuer: and that they waded thorow the other arme or gut of the water which had broken the earth, vppe to their breasts with their harnesse on their backes. Furthermore, when he had passed ouer both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlongs before the battell of his footemen: thinking that if his enemies came to giue him charge with their men of armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also aduance their footemen forwarde, that his footemen also should come time enough. One of the twaine fell out as he had gessed. For, a thousande horsemen and three score charrets armed with his enemies, gaue him charge before their great company, whom he ouerthrew, and tooke all their charrets, & slew foure hundred of the men of armes in the field. King *Porus* then knowing by those signes that *Alexander* was there in person, and had passed ouer the riuer: he marched towardes him with all his armie in battell ray, sauing a few which he left behind to resist the MACEDONIANS, if they shewed force to passe ouer the riuer. *Alexander* being affraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terror of the *Elephants*, did not giue charge vpon the middest of the battell, but being himselfe in the left wing, gaue charge vpon the corner of the enemies left wing, and also commaunded them that were in the right wing to doe the like. So, both the endes of the enemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne vnto the Elephants, & gathered themselues together about them. Thus the battell being begun, the conflict continued long, insomuch as the enemies were scantly all ouerthrowen by three of the clocke in the afternoond.

The stature of king Porus. The quicke wit and care of the Elephant to saue the king his maister.

Many writers doe agree, that *Porus* was foure cubites and a shaft length hier and bigger then the Elephant, although the Elephant was very great, and as bigge as a horse: and besides that the Elephant did shew great wit and care, to saue the king his master. For whilest he perceiued his Maister was strong enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assaile him: but when he found that he began to faint, hauing many woundes vpon his body, and arrowes sticking in it: then being affraid lest his Maister should fall downe from his backe, he softly fell on his knees, and gently taking his dartes and arrowes with his truncke, which he had in his bodie, he pluckt them all from him one after an other. *Porus* being taken, *Alexander* asked him, how he should handle him, princely, answered *Porus*. *Alexander* asked him againe, if he would say any thing else. I comprehend all, said he, in this word princely. Thereupon *Alexander* did not onely leaue him his prouinces and Realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Lieutenant: but gaue him many other countryes also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteene seuerall nations, fiue thousande of no small cities, besides an infinite number of villages, and thrise as many other countries: he made *Philip* one of his friendes, his Lieutenant of all those countries. His horse Bucephall died at this battell, not in the field, but afterwardes whilest he was in cure for the woundes he had on his bodie: but as *Onesicritus* saieth, he dyed euen worne for very age. *Alexander* was as sorie for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friends: and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the place where his horse was buryed, vppon the riuer of Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, *Bucephalia*. It is reported also, that hauing lost a dogge of his called Peritas, which he had brought vppe of a whelpe, and loued very dearely: he built also a citie, and called it after his name. *Sotion* writeth, that he heard it reported thus of *Potamon* LESBIAN. This last battell against king *Porus*, killed the MACEDONIANS hearts, and made them that they had no desire to goe any further to conquere INDIA. For, finding that they had such a doe to ouercome them, though they were but twentie thousande footemen, and two thousand horse, they spake ill of *Alexander* when he went about to compell them to passe ouer the riuer of Ganges, vnderstanding by the country men that it was two and thirtie furlong ouer, and a hundred fadam deepe: and howe that the banke of the riuer was full

Alexanders conquests in the Indiaes.

The death of Bucephal Alexanders horse.

Bucephalia, a great citie built by Alexander vpon the riuer of Hydaspes: & why so named. Peritas, Alexanders dogge.

Ganges fl.

full of souldiers, horsemen, & Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the GANGARIDES, & the PRÆSIANS were on the other side with foure score thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footemen, eight thousand charrets or carts of warre well armed, and six thousand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor friuolous tale. For, a king called *Androcottus* (who raigned not long after,) gaue vnto *Seleucus*, fiue hundred Elephants at one time, & conquered all INDIA with six hundred thousand fighting men. *Alexander* then offended with his mens refusall, kept close in his tent for certaine dayes, and lay vpon the ground, saying, that he did not thanke them, for all that they had done thitherunto, vnlesse they passed ouer the riuer of Ganges also, and that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confesse that he had bene ouercome. At the length, when he saw and considered that there was great reason in his friends perswasions which laboured to comfort him, and that his souldiers came to the doore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beseeching him to lead them backe againe: in the end he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to returne. This notwithstanding, before he departed from those parties, he put forth many vaine and false deuises to make his name immortall among that people. He made armours of greater proportion then his owne; and rangers for horses, higher then the common sort: moreouer, he made byts also farre beauier then the common sort, and made them to be throwen and scattered abroad in euery place. He built great aultars also in honor of the gods, the which the kings of the PRÆSIANS haue in great veneration at this day: and passing ouer the riuer, do make sacrifices there, after the manner of the GRECIANS. *Androcotus* at that time was a very young man, and saw *Alexander* himselfe, and sayd afterwards, that *Alexander* had well neare taken & wonne all the country, the king which then raigned, was so hated of all his subiectes, for his wicked life, and base parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to see the great sea Oceanum, and made diuers bores with ores, in the which he easily went downe the riuers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentimes, and did assaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in assailing the citie of the MALLIANS, (which they say are the warlikest mē of all the INDIANS) he was almost slaine there. For, hauing with darts repulsed the enemies from the wall, he himselfe was the first man that set foote on a ladder to get vp, the which brake assoone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper. Then the barbarous people comming together against the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted vpon him. *Alexander* hauing few of his men about him, made no more a do, but leaped downe from the wall in the middest of his enemies, and by good hap lighted on his feete. His harnesse making a great noyse with the fall, the barbarous people were afrayed, thinking they had seene some light or spirite go before him: so that at the first they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne scatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came againe to themselues, and saw that he had but two gentlemen onely about him, they came and set vpon him of all handes, and fought with him at the sword or push of the pyke, and so hurt him very sore through his armour: but one among the rest, being somewhat farther off, gaue him such a terrible blow with an arrow, that he strake him through his curats, and shot him in at the side vnder his brest. The blow entred so into his body, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had striken him with his arrow, ran sodainly to him with a cimiter drawen in his hand. Howbeit as *Peucest* and *Limnæus* stepped before him, and were both hurt: *Limnæus* was slaine presently, and *Peucestas* fought it out, till at the length, *Alexander* selfe slue the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many greeuous woundes vpon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke that so astonied him, that he leaned against the wall looking vpon his enemies. In the meane time, the MACEDONIANS compassing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a sound, and was past knowledge: Whereupon, there ranne a rumour straight in the campe, that *Alexander* was dead. They had much a do to cut the arrow asunder that was of wood: so his curats being plucked off with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow head out of his body, which stucke in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was foure fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he sounded so oft, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he ouercame the daunger, and escaped. Being very

Gangaridæ, and Præsii, people of India.

Alexanders returne out of India.

Alexanders vaine deuises to make him selfe immortall.

King Androcottus.

Alexander in daunger at the citie of the Mallians.

weake, he kept diet a long time to recouer himselfe, and neuer came out of his tent: vntill he heard the MACEDONIANS cry, & made great noyse about his tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night gowne, and came out amongst them all: and after he had done sacrifice vnto the goddes for recouery of his health, he went on his iourney againe, and in the same did conquer many great countryes, and tooke diuers goodly cities. He did also take ten of the wise men of the country, which men do all go naked, and therfore are called GYMNOSOPHISTAE (to wit, Philosophers of INDIA) who had procured *Sabbas* to rebell against him, & had done great hurt vnto the MACEDONIANS. And because they were taken to be the sharpest & readiest of answer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death, that aunswered him worst, and so the rest in order: and made the eldest among them Iudge of their answers. The question he asked the first man, was this:

The wise men of India.

Alexanders questions propounded to the ten Philosophers of India.

1 Whether the dead or the liuing, were the greater number. He aunswered, the liuing. For the dead sayd he, are no more men.

2 The second man he asked: whether the earth, or the sea brought forth most creatures. He aunswered, the earth. For the sea sayd he, is but a part of the earth.

3 To the third man: which of all beastes was the subtileſt. That (sayd he) which man hitherto neuer knew.

4 To the fourth: why he did make *Sabbas* rebell? becauſe sayd he, he should liue honourably or dye vilely.

5 To the fift, which he thought was first, the day, or the night? He answered, the day, by a day. The king finding his aunswer straunge, added to this speach: straunge questions, must needes haue straunge aunswers.

6 Comming to the sixt man, he asked him: how a man should come to be beloued: If he be a good man sayd he, not terrible.

7 To the seuenth, how a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

8 To the eight, which was the strōger: life or death? life, said he, that suffreth so many troubles.

9 And vnto the ninth and last man: how long a man should liue? vntill sayd he, he thinke it better to dye, then to liue.

When *Alexander* had heard these answers, he turned vnto the Iudge, & bad him giue his iudgemēt vpon thē. The Iudge said, they had all answered one worse then another. Then shalt thou dye first, said *Alexander*, becauſe thou hast giuē such sentence: not so, O king, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a lyer: becauſe thou saidst, that thou wouldest kill him first, that had answered worst. In fine, *Alexander* did let them go with rewards. He sent *Oneſicritus* also vnto the other wise mē of the INDIANS, which were of greateſt fame amōg thē, & that led a solitary & quiet life: to pray thē to come vnto him. This *Oneſicritus* the Philosopher, was *Diogenes* the Cinikes scholler. It is reported, that *Calanus* one of these wise mē, very sharply & proudly bad him put off his cloths, to heare his words naked: or otherwise that he would not speake to him, though he came from *Iupiter* himselfe. Yet *Dandamis* answered him more gently. For he hauing learned what manner of men *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, & *Diogenes* were, said: that they seemed to haue bene wise men, & well borne, notwithstanding that they had reuerenced the law too much in their life time. Others write notwithstāding, that *Dandamis* said nothing els, but asked why *Alexāder* had takē so painful a iourney in hād, as to come into INDIA. For *Calanus*, (whose right name otherwise was *Sphines*) king *Taxiles* perswaded him to go vnto *Alexāder*: who becaus he saluted those he met, in the INDIAN toung, saying *Cale*, as God saue you: the GRECIANS named him *Calanus*. It is reported, that this *Calanus* did shew *Alexāder* a figure & similitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry seare peece of leather, & then put his foote vpō one of the ends of it. The leather being trodē down on that side, rose vp in all parts else, & going vp & down with all still treading vpō the sides of the leather he made *Alexāder* see, that the leather being trodē down on the one side, did rise vp of all sides else, vntill such time as he put his foote in the middest of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plaine alike. His meaning thereby, was to let *Alexāder* vnderstand, that the most part of his time he should keepe in the middest of his country, & not to go farre from it. *Alexander* continued seuen months trauelling vpon the riuers, to go see the great sea Oceanum. Then he

Alexander rewarded the ten wise men, and did let thē go.

Oneſicritus a Philoſopher.

Calanus, otherwise called Sphines.

Dandamis.

Calanus, a wise man of India.

The similitude of a kingdome, shewed by a peece of leather.

took

tooke ſhip,& ſailed into a litle Iland called SCYLLVSTIS,howbeit others call it PSITVLCIS. There he landed, made ſacrifices vnto the gods, & viewed the greatnes & nature of the ſea Oceanum,and all the ſituation of the coaſt vpon that ſea,as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers vnto the gods,that no cõquerour liuing after him ſhould go beyond the bounds of his iourney & conqueſt,& ſo returned homward. He cõmaunded his ſhips ſhould fetch a cõpaſſe about,& leaue INDIA on the right hand:& made *Nearchus* Admirall of all his fleete, & *Oneſicritus* chiefe Pilote. He himſelf in the meane time went by land through the country of the ORITES,& there he found great ſcarſitie of victuals,& loſt many of his mẽ: ſo that he caried not out of INDIA the fourth part of his mẽ of war which he brought thither,which were in all, ſix ſcore thouſand footemẽ,& fifteen thouſand horſemen. Some of thẽ died of greeuous diſeaſes, others, by ill diet,others, by extreme heat & drought,and the moſt of them by hunger,trauailing through this barren country,where the poore men liued hardly,& had only a few ſheepe which they fed with ſea fiſh,that made their fleſh ſauor very ill fauoredly. At the lẽgth,when in three ſcore dayes iourney he had painfully trauelled through this countrey, he thẽ entred into the coũtry called GEDROSIA,where he foũd great plẽty of all kind of victuals,which the gouernours,kings,& princes,neighbours vnto the ſame,did ſend vnto him. After he had refreſhed his army there a litle, he went through the coũtry of CARMANIA, where he continued ſeuen dayes together banketing,going ſtill through the coũtry. For night & day,he was feaſting cõtinually with his friends vpon a ſcaffold lõger then broad, riſing vp of height, & drawen with eight goodly horſe. After that ſcaffold followed diuers other charrets couered ouer,ſome with goodly rich arras,& purple ſilke, others with trim freſh boughes which they renued at euery fields end:& in thoſe were *Alexanders* other friends & Captaines with garlands of flowers vpon their heades,which dranke & made mery together. In all this army, there was neither helmet,pike,dart,nor target ſeene:but gold & ſiluer bowles,cups, & flagons in the ſouldiers hãds, all the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes and veſſels which they caried with them,one drinking to another,ſome marching in the fields going forward,& others alſo ſet at the table. About thẽ were the minſtrels playing & piping on their flutes & ſhalmes, & women ſinging & daunſing,& fooling by the way as they wẽt. In all this diſſolute marching through the coũtry,& in the middeſt of their drunkẽnes,they mingled with it ſport:that euery man did ſtriue to coũterfeit all the inſolẽcies of *Bacchus*,as if god *Bacchus* himſelf had bene there in perſon,& had led the mommery. When he came vnto the kings caſtle of GEDROSIA,he ſtayed there alſo certaine dayes to refreſh his army with feaſting & banqueting. It is ſayd, that one day when he had drunke hard,he went to ſee the games for daunſing & amongſt them, the games which a young man called *Bagoas* had ſet forth,(with whom *Alexander* fell in liking,and bare the bell. This *Bagoas* being in his daunſing garments, came through the Theater,and ſat him downe by *Alexander*. The MACEDONIANS were ſo glad of it, that they ſhouted and clapped their hands for ioy,crying out aloud,to kiſſe him:So that in fine he tooke him in his armes, & kiſſed him,before them all. Thither came *Nearchus* his Admirall vnto him: who made report what he had ſeene and done in his nauigatiõ. *Alexander* was ſo glad of that,as he was deſirous to ſayle by ſea himſelfe:and ſo,entring into the ſea Oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates,with a great fleete of ſhips,to cõpaſſe in all the coaſts of ARABIA & AFRICKE,& thence into Mare Mediterraneũ,by the ſtraights of the pillers of *Hercules*. To this intent he built a great nũber of ſhips in the citie of THAPSACVS,& ſent for mariners,ſhipmaſters,& Pilotes, out of all parts. But now, the difficultie of the iourney which he tooke vpon him for the conqueſt of INDIA, the danger he was in whẽ he fought with the MALLIANS,& the nũber of his men which he loſt beſides which was very great,all theſe things cõſidered together,making mẽ beleeue that he ſhould neuer returne with ſafetie:they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to riſe againſt him,& gaue his gouernours & Lieutenãts of prouinces occaſion to cõmit great inſolẽcies,robberies,& exactiõs of people. To be ſhort,it put all his kingdome in broile & ſedition. In ſomuch as *Olympias* & *Cleopatra* riſing againſt *Antipater*, they deuided his gouernemẽt betweene thẽ: *Olympias* choſing for her,the kingdome of EPIRVS: & *Cleopatra*,the kingdome of MACEDON. Which when *Alexander* had heard,he ſaid his mother was the wiſeſt: for the realme of MACEDON would neuer haue ſuffred a womã to raigne ouer thẽ. Therupõ he ſent

Pſitulſis an Iland.

Alexanders naue in the ſea Oceanum.

Alexanders armie going into India.

Sheepe fed with fiſh.

The country of Gedroſia.

The country of Carmania.

The riot of Alexanders ſouldiers.

The citie of Thapſacus.

The prouinces conquered by Alexander rebelled againſt him.

Nearchus backe again to the sea, determining to fill all the sea coasts with war. As he trauelled through the countrys far frō the sea, he put his Captaines & gouernors to death, which had reuolted against him: & of those he slue *Oxyarthes*, one of *Abulites* sons, by his own hād, running him through with a pike. And whē *Abulites* self also had brought *Alexāder* iij. thousand talents only, without any other prouision made for victuals for his army: he made him put the money before his horse, which would not once touch it. Then sayd he vnto him: I pray thee to what purpose serueth this prouisiō? & therewithall immediatly cōmitted him to prison. As he came through the country of PERSIA, he first renued the old custome there, which was: that as often times as the kings did returne home frō any far iourney, they gaue vnto euery womā a crown a peece. It is sayd therefore that for this cause, some of their naturall kings many times did not returne againe into their coūtry: & that *Ochus* amōgst others did not so much as once returne backe againe, willingly banishing himself out of his coūtry, of niggardlines, because he would not be at this charge. After that, *Cyrus* tombe (king of PERSIA) being foūd & brokē vp, he put him to death that did it, although he were a MACEDONIAN of the citie of PELLA, (and none of the meanest) called *Polymachus*. Whē he had read the inscription writtē vpon it in the Persian toung, he would needes also haue it written in the Greeke toung: and this it was. *O man, what so thou art, and whence soeuer thou cōmest, for I know thou shalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia, I pray thee enuie me not for this litle earth that couereth my body.* These wordes pearced *Alexanders* hart, when he considered the vncertaintie of worldly things. There also, *Calanus* the INDIAN Philosopher, hauing had a flixe a litle while, praied that they would make him a stacke of wood, such as they vse to burne dead bodies on, & then rode thither a horse backe: & after he had made his prayer vnto the goddes, he cast those sprinklings vpō him, which were vsed to be sprinckled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting off a lock of his haire before he went vp on the woodstacke, he bad all the MACEDONIANS that were there farewell, and shooke them by the hands, praying thē that day to be merry, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would see shortly after in the citie of BABYLON. Whē he had spoken these wordes, he layd him down vpon the woodstacke, couered his face, & neuer stirred hand nor foote, nor quenched when the fire tooke him, but did sacrifice himselfe in this sort, as the maner of his country was, that the wise mē should so sacrifice themselues. An other INDIAN also, who followed *Iulius Cæsar*, did the like many yeares after in the citie of ATHENS: & there is his tombe yet to be seene, cōmonly called the INDIANS tombe. When *Alexander* came frō seeing this sacrifice of *Calanus*, he did bid diuers of his friends & Captaines to supper to him, & there did bring forth a crown for a reward vnto him that dranke best. He that dranke most of all other, was one *Promachus*, that dranke foure gallons of wine, & wan the crowne worth a talent: but he liued not aboue three dayes after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drink most, there died of thē (as *Chares* writeth) one & forty persons: of an extreme cold that tooke them in their drunkennesse & wine. When they were in the citie of SVSA, he married certaine of his friends, & himselfe also married *Statira*, one of king *Darius* daughters, disposing also of the other PERSIAN Ladies (according to their estate and birth) vnto his best friends. He made also a solēne feast of cōmon mariages amongst the MACEDONIANS, of them that had bene maried before. At which feast, it is writtē, that nine thousād persons sitting at the bords, he gaue vnto euery one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honor of the gods. And there also amongst other wōderfull gifts, he did pay all the debts the MACEDONIANS ought vnto their creditors, the which amounted vnto the summe of ten thousand talēts sauing a hundred & thirtie lesse. Wherupō *Antigenes* with one eye, falsly putting in his name amongst the nūber of the debters, & bringing in one that said he had lent him money: *Alexāder* caused him to be payd. But afterwardes, when it was proued to his face, that there was no such matter: *Alexander* then was so offended with him, that he banished him his court, & depriued him of his Captainship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed himselfe a valiant man in the warres. For whē he was but a yong mā, he was shot into the eye, before the citie of PERINTHE, which king *Philip* did besiege, and at that present time they would haue pluckt the arrow out of his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would suffer them to pull it out, before he had first driuē his enemies within the wals of their city. He tooke this infamy very inwardly, & he was so ty-

The death of Polymachus Pellean, Cyrus Epitaph ouer his tombe.

Calanus the Indian did sacrifice himselfe aliue.

Alexander made men drinke to win a game and price.

The Macedonians maried vnto the Persians.

The wonderfull gifts of Alexander.

Alexander payed the souldiers debts.

Antigenes with one eye, a valiant Captaine, banished the court for making a lye.

ry for it, that euery mã might see he was like to die for sorow. Thẽ *Alexander* fearing he should die, did pardõ him, & bad him besides keep the money which was giuẽ him. Now the 30000. young boyes which *Alexander* had left to the gouernement of Captaines, to traine & exercise them in the discipline of warre: they being growen strong men, and lusty youthes, excellently well trained & ready in armes: *Alexander* reioyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discourage the MACEDONIANS, & made thẽ greatly afrayd, because they thought that from thenceforth the king would make lesse account of thẽ. For when *Alexander* would haue sent the sicke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low countrey, to the sea side: they aunswered him, that so doing he should do them great wrong, to send these poore men from him in that sort, (after they had done him all the seruice they could) home to their country & friends, in worse case thẽ he tooke them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men vnseruiceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly yoũg daunsers about him, with whom he might go cõquer the world. *Alexãder* was maruellously offended with their proud words, in somuch that in his anger he reuiled them all, put away his ordinary gard, & tooke other PERSIANS in their place, making some the gard about his owne person, others, his vshers, heraulds, and ministers to execute his will and commaundement. The poore MACEDONIANS seeing *Alexander* thus waited on, & themselues so shamefully reiected: they let fall their stoutnesse, and after they had commoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare themselues for spite & malice. In fine when they had layd their heads together; they consẽted to go vnto his tent and without weapons, naked in their shirts to yeeld thẽselues vnto him weeping and howling, beseeching him to do with thẽ what pleased him, & to vse them like wretched vnthankfull creatures. But *Alexander*, though his anger was now somwhat pacified, did not receiue thẽ the first time, neither did they also go their wayes, but remained there two dayes & nights together, in this pitifull state, before the doore of his tent, lamenting vnto him, & calling him their soueraigne and king, vntill that he came himselfe out of his tent the third day, and seeing the poore wretches in this greeuous and pitifull state, he himselfe fell a weeping a long time. So, after he had a litle rebuked thẽ, he called thẽ curteously, & gaue the impotẽt & sick persons leaue to depart home, rewarding thẽ very honorably. Furthermore, he wrote vnto *Antipater* his Lieutenant, that he should alwayes giue them the highest place in all cõmon sports and assemblies, and that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreouer, he commaunded that the orphans whose parents were slaine in the wars, should receiue the pay of their fathers. After *Alexander* was come vnto the city of ECBATANA, in the kingdome of MEDEA, & that he had dispatched his waightiest causes: he gaue himselfe againe vnto publike sports, feasts, and pastimes, for that there were newly come vnto him out of GREECE, three thousand excellent maisters & deuisers of such sports. About that time it chaunced, that *Hephæstion* fell sicke of an agew. But he being a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should haue done, but hauing spyed opportunitie that his Phisitian *Glaucus* was gone vnto the Theater, to see the sports & pastimes: He went to dinner, & eate a roasted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereupon his feuer tooke him so sorely, that he liued not long after. *Alexander* vnwisely tooke the chaunce of his death, & commaunded all the haires of his horse and mules to be presently shorne in token of mourning, and that all the battlemẽts of the wals of cities should also be ouerthrowen, and hung vp poore *Glaucus* his Phisitian vpon a crosse, and commaunded that no minstrell should be heard play of any kinde of instrument within his campe: vntill that there was brought him an oracle from *Iupiter Hammon*, commaunding that *Hephæstion* should be worshipped and sacrificed vnto, as a demy god. In the end, to passe ouer his mourning and sorow, he went vnto the warres, as vnto a hunting of men, & there subdued the people of the COSSÆIANS, whom he pluckt vp by the rootes, and slue man, woman, and child. And this was called the sacrifice of *Hephæstions* funerals. *Alexander* furthermore being desirous to bestow ten thousand talents cost vpon his obsequies and fenerals, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenesse and excellencie of workemanship: amongest all other excellent workemaisters, he desired one *Stasicrates*, for he had euer passing inuention, and his worke was alwayes stately and sumptuous in any new

Thirty thousand boyes of the Persians, taught the discipline of warre by Alexanders commaundement.

The clemencie and liberalitie of Alexander vnto his souldiers.

The death of Hephæstion. Alexanders sorow for the death of Hephæstion.

Stasicrates an excellēt image maker.

things he tooke in hand. For he talking one day with *Alexander*, told him, that of all the mountaines he knew in the world, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man, then was mount Atho in THRACIA: and that if it were his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image, that should be in the world, which in his left hand should hold a city to conteine ten thousand persons, and out of his right hand, there should runne a great riuer into the sea. Yet *Alexander* would not harkē to him, but then was talking with other workemen of more straunge inuentions, & far greater cost Now as he was ready to take his iourney to go vnto BABYLON: *Nearchus* his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great sea Oceanum, by the riuer of Euphrates, and told him, how certaine CHALDEAN Soothsayers came vnto him, who did warne him that he should not go into BABYLON. Howbeit *Alexander* made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the wals of BABYLON, he saw a great number of crowes fighting & killing one of an other, & some of them fell down dead hard by him. Afterwardes being told him that *Apollodorus* the gouernour of the citie of BABYLON, hauing sacrificed vnto the goddes, to know what should happē to him he sent for the soothsayer *Pythagoras*, to know of him if it were true. The soothsayer denied it not. Then *Alexander* asked him, what signes he had in the sacrifice. He answered, that the liuer of the beast had no head. O gods, sayd *Alexander* then, this is an ill signe: notwithstanding he did *Pythagoras* no hurt, but yet he repēted him that he did not beleeue *Nearchus* wordes. For this respect therfore *Alexander* lay much abroad in the country from BABYLON, and did take his pleasure rowing vp and downe the riuer of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill signes and tokens one vpon an other, that made him afrayed. For there was a tame asse that killed one of the greatest & goodliest Lions in all BABYLON, with one of his feete. An other time when *Alexander* had put off his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: When he should put on his apparell again, the young gētlemen that played with him, found a manket in his chaire of estate, hauing the kings diademe on his head, & his gowne on his back, & sayd neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them answer, but at the lēgth comming to himself, he said his name was *Dionysius*, borne in MESSINA: & being accused for certaine crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had bene a long time prisoner, & also that the god *Serapis* had appeared vnto him, & vndone his irons, & that he commaunded him to take the kings gowne, & his diademe, and to sit him down in his chaire of estate, & say neuer a word. When *Alexander* heard it, he put him to death according to the counsell of his Soothsayers: but then his minde was troubled, & feared that the gods had forsakē him, & also grew to suspect his friends. But first of all, *Alexāder* feared *Antipater* & his sonnes, aboue all other. For one of them called *Iolas*, was his first cupbearer: & his brother called *Cassander*, was newly come out of GREECE vnto him. The first time that *Cassāder* saw some of the barbarous people reuerēcing *Alexander*, he hauing bene brought vp with the liberties of GREECE, & had neuer seene the like before: fell into a loude laughing very vnreuerētly. Therwith king *Alexāder* was so offended, that he tooke him by the haire of his head with both his hands, & knocked his head & the wall together. An other time also whē *Cassander* did answer some that accused his father *Antipater*: king *Alexander* tooke him vp sharply, & said vnto him. What saiest thou, said he? Doest thou thinke that these mē would haue gone so lōg a iourney as this, falsly to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrōg? *Cassander* againe replyed vnto *Alexāder*, & said, that that was a manifest proofe of their false accusatiō, for that they did now accuse him being so farre off, because they thought they could not sodainly be disproued. *Alexander* thereat fell a laughing a good, and sayd, lo, these are *Aristotles* quiddities to argue *pro & cōtra*: but this will not saue you frō punishment, if I find that you haue done these men wrong. In fine, they report that *Cassander* tooke such an inward feare & conceit vpon it, that lōg time after when he was king of MACEDON, and had all GREECE at his commaundement: going vp & down the citie of DELPHES, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of *Alexander*, which put him into such a sodaine feare, that the haires of his head stood vpright, and his body quaked in such sort, that it was a great time before he could come to himselfe againe. Now after that *Alexander* had left his trust and confidence in the goddes, his minde was so troubled and afrayed, that no straunge thing happened vnto him,

Diuers signes before Alexāders death.

Alexāder feared Antipater.

(how

how litle ſo euer it was) but he tooke it ſtraight for a ſigne and prediction from the goddes: ſo that his tent was alwayes full of Prieſtes and Soothſayers that did nothing but ſacrifice and purifie, and tend vnto diuinements. So horrible a thing is the miſtruſt and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men, and ſuperſtition alſo ſo dreadfull, that it filleth the guilty conſciences and fearefull harts like water diſtilling from aboue: as at that time it filled *Alexander* with all folly, after that feare had once poſſeſſed him. This notwithſtanding, after that he had receiued ſome anſwers touching *Hephæſtion* from the oracle of *Iupiter Hammon* beleft his ſorrow, and returned againe to his bankets and feaſting. For he did ſumptuoſly feaſt *Nearchus*, and one day when he came out of his bathe according to his manner, being ready to goe to bed, *Medius* one of his Captaines beſought him to come to a banket to him to his lodging. *Alexander* went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, ſo that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as ſome write) by drinking vppe *Hercules* cuppe all at a draught: neither for the ſodaine paine he felt betweene his ſhoulders, as if hee had bene thruſt into the backe with a ſpeare. For all theſe were thought to be written by ſome, for lies and fables, becauſe they would haue made the end of this great tragedy lamentable and pitifull. But *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that he had ſuch an extream feuer and thirſt withall, that he drank wine, and after that fell a rauing, and at the length died the thirty day of the moneth of Iune. In his houſhold booke of things paſſed daily, it is written, that his feuer being vpon him, he ſlept at his hotte-houſe on the eighteenth day of Iune. The next morning after he was come out of his hotte-houſe, he went into his chamber, and paſſed away all that day with *Medius*, playing at dice: and at night very late, after he had bathed him ſelfe and ſacrificed vnto the goddes, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that night. And the twentieth day alſo, bathing him ſelfe againe, and making his ordinary ſacrifice to the goddes, he did ſitte downe to eate within his ſtooue, harkening vnto *Nearchus* that told him ſtrange things he had ſeene in the great ſea Oceanum. The one and twenty day alſo hauing done the like as before, hee was much more inflamed then he had bene, and felt him ſelfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feuer: and on that day he made his bed to be remoued, and to be ſet vp by the fiſhe pondes, where he commoned with his captaines touching certaine roomes that were vacant in his army, and commaunded them not to place any men that were not of good expectance. The three & twentieth day hauing an extream feuer vpon him, he was caried vnto the ſacrifices, and commanded that his chiefeſt Captaines onely ſhould remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner ſort, as centiniers or Lieutenaunts of bandes, that they ſhould watch and ward without. The foure and twentieth day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings, which is on the other ſide of the lake, wher he ſlept a litle, but the feuer neuer left him: & when his Captaines and noble men came to doe him humble reuerence, and to ſee him, he lay ſpeachles. So did he the fiue & twentieth day alſo: inſomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the pallace gate, and cried out vnto his friendes and familiars, and threatned them, ſo that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, and they comming in their gowns went vnto his bed ſide to ſee him. That ſelf day *Python* and *Seleucus* were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god *Serapis*, to know if they ſhould bring king *Alexander* thither. The god anſwered them, that they ſhould not remoue him from thence. The eight and twentieth day at night *Alexander* died. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the houſhold booke of remembrance. At that preſent time, there was no ſuſpition that he was poiſoned. Yet they ſay, that ſix yeares after, there appeared ſome proofe that he was poyſoned. Wherupon his mother *Olympias* put many men to death, and caſt the aſhes of *Iolas* into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was ſaid he gaue him poyſon in his drinke. They that thinke it was *Ariſtotle* that counſelled *Antipater* to doe it, by whoſe meane the poiſon was brought: they ſay that *Agnothemis* reported it, hauing heard it of king *Antigonus* own mouth. The poyſon (as ſome ſay) was cold water, & falleth from a rock in the territory of the city of NONACRIS, & it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the horne of the foote of an aſſe, for there is no other kinde of thing that will keepe it, it is ſo extreame cold and peareing. Others defend it, and ſay, that the report of his poyſoning is vntrue: and for proofe thereof they alledge this reaſon, which is of no ſmall

Alexander fell ſicke of an ague.

Ariſtobulus report of the ſicknes and death of Alexander.

The death of Alexander the great.

Ariſtotle ſuſpected for the poyſoning of Alexander.

importance,that is: That the chiefeſt Captaines fell at great variance after his death,ſo that the corps of *Alexander* remained many daies naked without buriall,in a whot dry country,and yet there neuer appeared any ſigne or token vpon his bodie,that he was poiſoned,but was ſtill a cleane and faire corps as could be. *Alexander* left *Roxane* great with child, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honor: but ſhe did malice *Statira* extremely, & did finely deceiue her by a counterfaite letter ſhe ſent,as if it had come from *Alexander*,willing her to come vnto him.But when ſhe was come,*Roxane* killed her & her ſiſter,and then threw their bodies into a well,and filled it vp with earth,by *Perdiccas* helpe & conſent.*Perdiccas* came to be king immediatly after *Alexanders* death, by meanes of *Aridæus*, whom he kept about him for his gard and ſafety.This *Aridæus*,being borne of a ſtrumpet & common woman, called *Philina*, was halfe lunaticke,not by nature nor by chance: but as it is reported,put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes which *Olympias* cauſed to be giuen him,and thereby continued franticke.

Statira ſlaine by Roxane.

Aridæus, Alexanders baſtard brother.

The end of Alexanders life.

THE LIFE OF *Iulius Caſar.*

Caſar ioyned with Cinna and Marius.

AT what time *Sylla* was made lord of all,he would haue had *Caſar* put away his wife *Cornelia*,the daughter of *Cinna* Dictator: but when he ſaw, he could neither with any promiſe nor threate bring him to it, he tooke her iointer away from him. The cauſe of *Caſars* ill will vnto *Sylla*,was by meanes of mariage: for *Marius* the elder, maried his brothers own ſiſter,by whom he had *Marius* the younger,whereby *Caſar* and he were coſin germaines. *Sylla* being troubled in waighty matters,putting to death ſo many of his enemies,when he came to be conqueror,he made no reckoning of *Caſar*: but he was not cõtented to be hidden in ſafetie, but came & made ſute vnto the people for the Prieſthoodſhip that was voide, when he had ſcant any haire on his face. Howbeit he was repulſed by *Sylla*s meanes, that ſecretly was againſt him. Who,when he was determined to haue killed him,ſome of his friends told him, that it was to no purpoſe to put ſo young a boy as he to death. But *Sylla* told them againe,that they did not conſider that there were many *Marians* in that young boy. *Caſar* vnderſtanding that, ſtale out of ROME, and hid himſelfe a long time in the countrey of the SABINES,

Sabines, wandring ſtil from place to place. But one day being caried from houſe to houſe, he fell into the handes of *Syllaes* ſouldiers, who ſearched all thoſe places, and tooke them whom they found hidden. *Ceſar* bribed the Captaine, whoſe name was *Cornelius*, with two talents which he gaue him. After he had eſcaped them thus, he went vnto the ſea ſide and tooke ſhip, and ſailed into Bithynia to go vnto king *Nicomedes*. When he had bin with him a while, he tooke ſea againe, & was taken by pyrats about the Ile of Pharmacvsa: for thoſe pyrates kept all vpon that ſea coaſt, with a great fleete of ſhips and botes. They asking him at the firſt twenty talents for his ranſome, *Ceſar* laughed them to ſcorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of himſelfe promiſed them fiftie talents. Then he ſent his men vp and downe to get him this money, ſo that he was left in manner alone among theſe theeues of the Cilicians, (which are the cruelleſt butchers in the world) with one of his friends, & two of his ſlaues only: & yet he made ſo litle reckoning of them, that when he was deſirous to ſleepe, he ſent vnto them to command them to make no noiſe. Thus was he eight & thirtie daies among them, not kept as priſoner, but rather waited vpon by them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exerciſe himſelf in any ſport or paſtime they would go to. And other while alſo he would write verſes, and make orations, & call them together to ſay them before them: and if any of them ſeemed as though they had not vnderſtood him, or paſſed not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beaſts, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and tooke all in good part, thinking that this his bold ſpeech came, through the ſimplicity of his youth. So when his ranſome was come from the citie of Miletvm, they being paid their money, and he againe ſet at libertie: he then preſently armed, and manned out certaine ſhips out of the hauen of Miletvm, to follow thoſe theeues, whom he found yet riding at ancker in the ſame Iland. So he tooke the moſt of them, and had the ſpoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought the into the city of Pergamvm, & there committed them to priſon, whileſt he himſelfe went to ſpeake with *Iunius*, who had the gouernement of Asia, as vnto whom the execution of theſe pirats did belong, for that he was Prætor of that coutry. But this Prætor hauing a great fancy to be fingering of the money, becauſe there was good ſtore of it: anſwered, that he would conſider of theſe priſoners at better leaſure. *Ceſar* leauing *Iunius* there, returned againe vnto Pergamvm, and there hung vp all theſe theeues openly vpon a croſſe, as he had oftentimes promiſed the in the Ile he would do, when they thought he did but ieaſt. Afterwardes when *Syllaes* power began to decay, *Ceſars* friends wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home again. But he ſailed firſt vnto Rhodes, to ſtudie there a time vnder *Apollonius* the ſonne of *Molon*, whoſe ſcholler alſo *Cicero* was, for he was a very honeſt man, and an excellent good Rethoritian. It is reported that *Ceſar* had an excellent natural gift to ſpeake well before the people, & beſides that rare gift, he was excellently well ſtudied, ſo that doubtleſſe he was counted the ſecond man for eloquence in his time, & gaue place to the firſt, becauſe he would be the firſt and chiefeſt man of warre and authoritie, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to ſpeake well, which his nature could haue performed in him, becauſe he was giuen rather to follow wars and to mannage great matters, which in the end brought him to be Lord of all Rome. And therefore in a booke he wrote againſt that which *Cicero* made in the praiſe of *Cato*, he praieth the readers not to compare the life of a ſouldier, with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the moſt part of his life. When he was returned againe vnto Rome, he accuſed *Dolabella* for his ill behauior in the gouernment of his prouince, and he had diuers cities of Grece that gaue in euidence againſt him. Notwithſtanding, *Dolabella* at the length was diſmiſſed. *Ceſar*, to requite the good will of the Grecians, which they had ſhewed him in his accuſation of *Dolabella*, tooke their cauſe in hand, when they did accuſe *Publius Antonius* before *Marcus Lucullus*, Prætor of Macedon: and followed it ſo hard againſt him in their behalfe, that *Antonius* was driuen to appeale before the Tribunes at Rome, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he could haue no iuſtice in Grece againſt the Grecians. Now *Ceſar* immediatly wan many mens good wils at Rome, through his eloquence, in pleading of their cauſes: and the people loued him maruellouſly alſo, becauſe of the courteous maner he had to ſpeake to euery man, and to vſe them gentlely, being more ceremonious therin then was looked for in one of his yeares.

Ceſar tooke ſea and went vnto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.

Ceſar taken of pyrates.

Iunius Prætor of Aſia.

Ceſars eloquence.

Cæsar loued hospitalitie. Cæsar a follower of the people.

Furthermore, he euer kept a good boord, and fared well at his table, and was very liberall beſides: the which indeede did aduance him forward, and brought him in eſtimation with the people. His enemies iudging that this fauour of the cõmon people would ſoone quaile, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence: ſuffered him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growen to be of great ſtrength and power. But in fine, when they had thus giuen him the bridle to grow to this greatneſſe, and that they could not then pull him backe, though indeede in ſight it would turne one day to the deſtruction of the whole ſtate and common wealth of ROME: too late they found, that there is not ſo litle a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will ſoone make it ſtrong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatneſſe. Thereupon, *Cicero* like a wiſe ſhipmaſter that feareth the calmeneſſe of the ſea, was the firſt man that miſtruſting his maner of dealing in the common wealth, found out his craft & malice, which he cunningly cloked vnder the habit of outward curtezie and familiaritie. And yet, ſaide he, when I conſider how finely he combeth his faire buſhie haire, & how ſmooth it lieth, & that I ſee him ſcratch his head with one finger only: my mind giues me then, that ſuch a kind of man ſhould not haue ſo wicked a thought in his head, as to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth. But this was long time after that. The firſt ſhew and proofe of the loue and good will which the people did beare vnto *Cæſar*, was: when he ſued to be Tribune of the ſouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thouſand footemen) ſtanding againſt *Caius Pompilius*, at what time he was preferred and choſen before him. But the ſecond & more manifeſt proofe then the firſt, was at the death of his Aunt *Iulia*, the wife of *Marius* the elder. For being her nephew, he made a ſolemne oration in the market place in commendation of her, and at her buriall did boldly venture to ſhew forth the images of *Marius*: the which was the firſt time that they were ſeene after *Syllaes* victorie, becauſe that *Marius* and all his confederates had bin proclaimed traitors & enemies to the common wealth. For when there were ſome that cried out vpon *Cæſar* for doing of it: the people on the other ſide kept a ſturre, and reioyced at it, clapping of their hands and thanked him for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of *Marius* honor againe into ROME, which had ſo long time been obſcured & buried. And where it had bin an ancient cuſtome of long time that the ROMANES vſed to make funerall orations in praiſe of old Ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: *Cæſar* was the firſt that praiſed his owne wife with funerall oration when ſhe was dead, the which alſo did increaſe the peoples good wils the more, ſeeing him of ſo kinde and gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Treaſurer vnder *Antiſtius* the Prætor, whom he honored euer after: ſo that when himſelfe came to be Prætor, he made him ſonne to be choſen Treaſurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife *Pompeia*, hauing a daughter by his firſt wife *Cornelia*, which was married vnto *Pompey* the great. Now for that he was very liberall in expences, buying (as ſome thought) but a vaine and ſhort glory of the fauor of the people: (where indeede he bought good cheape the greateſt things that could be.) Some ſay, that before he bare any office in the common wealth he was growen in debt, to the ſumme of thirteene hundred talents. Furthermore, becauſe he was made ouerſeer of the worke, for the high way going vnto *Appius*, he diſburſed a great ſumme of his owne money towardes the charges of the ſame. And on the other ſide, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did ſhew the people the paſtime of three hundred & twentie couple of ſword plaiers, and did beſides exceede all other in ſumptuouſnes in the ſports & cõmon feaſts which he made to delight them withall: (& did as it were drowne all the ſtately ſhewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he ſo pleaſed the people, and wanne their loues therwith, that they deuiſed daily to giue him new offices for to require him. At that time there were two factiõs in ROME, to wit, the faction of *Sylla*, which was very ſtrõg & of great power, and the other of *Marius*, which then was vnder foote and durſt not ſhew it ſelfe. But *Cæſar* becauſe he would renue it again, euen at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feaſts & cõmon ſports were in their greateſt ruffe: he ſecretly cauſed images of *Marius* to be made, & of victories that caried triumphs, & thoſe he ſet vp one night within the Capitoll. The next morning when euery man ſaw the gliſtering of theſe golden images excellently well wrought, ſhewing by the inſcriptions, that they were the victories which *Marius* had won vpon the CIMBRES

Ciceroes iudgement of Cæſar.

The loue of the people in Rome vnto Cæſar.

Cæſar choſen Tribunus militum.

Cæſar made the funerall oration, at the death of his aunt Iulia.

Cæſar the firſt that praiſed his wife in funerall oration.

Cæſar made Quæſtor.

Pompeia, Cæſars third wife

Cæſars prodigalitie.

euery one maruelled much at the boldneſſe of him that durſt ſet them vp there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran ſtraight through all the citie, & euery man came thither to ſee them. Then ſome cried out vpon *Cæſar*, & ſaid it was a tyrannie which he ment to ſet vp, by renuing of ſuch honors as before had bene troden vnder foote, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a baite to gage the peoples good wils, which he had ſet out in the ſtately ſhewes of his common plaies, to ſee if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide ſuch parts to be plaid, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of *Marius* faction on the other ſide, incoraging one an other, ſhewed themſelues ſtraight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitoll ring againe with their cries and clapping of handes: inſomuch as the teares ranne downe many of their cheekes for very ioy, when they ſaw the images of *Marius*, & they extolled *Cæſar* to the skies, iudging him the worthieſt man of all the kinred of *Marius*. The Senate being aſſembled thereupon, *Catulus Luctatius* one of the greateſt authoritie at that time in Rome, roſe, & vehemently inueighed againſt *Cæſar*, and ſpake that then which euer ſince hath bene noted much: that *Cæſar* did not now courtly go to worke, but by plaine force ſought to alter the ſtate of the commonwealth. Neuertheleſſe, *Cæſar* at that time anſwered him ſo that the Senate was ſatisfied. Thereupon they that had him in eſtimation did grow in better hope than before, and perſwaded him, that hardily he ſhould giue place to no man, & that through the good will of the people, he ſhould be better than all they, and come to be the chiefeſt man of the citie. At that time, the chiefe Biſhoppe *Metellus* died, and two of the notableſt men of the citie, and of greateſt authoritie (*Iſauricus* and *Catulus*) contended for his roome. *Cæſar* notwithſtanding their contention, would giue neither of them both place, but preſented himſelfe to the people, and made ſute for it as they did. The ſute being equall betwixt either of them, *Catulus*, becauſe he was a man of greater calling and dignitie than the other, doubting the vncertaintie of the election: offered vnto *Cæſar* a good ſumme of money, to make him leaue off his ſuite. But *Cæſar* ſent him word againe, that he would lend a greater ſumme then that, to maintaine the ſute againſt him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the dore of his houſe, *Cæſar* weeping, kiſſed her, and ſaide: Mother, this day thou ſhalt ſee thy ſonne chiefe Biſhoppe of Rome, or baniſhed from Rome. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered together, and the ſtrife well debated: *Cæſar* wanne the victorie, and made the Senate and noble men all affraide of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then *Catulus* and *Piſo* fell flatly out with *Cicero*, and condemned him for that he did not bewray *Cæſar*, when he knew that he was of conſpiracie with *Catiline*, and had opportunitie to haue done it. For when *Catiline* was bent and determined, not onely to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth, but vtterly to deſtroy the Empire of Rome, he ſcaped out of the handes of iuſtice for lacke of ſufficient proofe, before his full treaſon and deteſtation was knowen. Notwithſtanding he left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the citie, companions of his conſpiracie: vnto whom, whether *Cæſar* did giue any ſecret helpe or comfort, it was not well knowen. Yet this is manifeſt, that when they were conuinced in open Senate, *Cicero* being at that time Conſul, asking euery mans opinion in the Senate, what puniſhment they ſhould haue, and euery one of them till it came to *Cæſar*, gaue ſentence they ſhould die: *Cæſar* ſtanding vp to ſpeake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and ſaide, that it was neither lawfull, nor yet their cuſtome did beare it, to put men of ſuch nobilitie to death (but in an extremitie) without lawfull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that they were put in priſon in ſome citie of Italy, where *Cicero* thought beſt, vntill that *Catiline* were ouerthrowen: the Senate then might at their pleaſure quietly take ſuch order therein as might beſt appeare vnto their wiſedomes. This opinion was thought more gentle, and the ſpeach was vttered with ſuch a paſſing good grace and eloquence, that not onely they which came to ſpeake after him did approue it: but ſuch alſo as had ſpoken to the contrarie before, changed their opinion and ſtuck to his, vntill it came to *Cato* & *Catulus* to ſpeake. They both ſpake ſharply inueigh againſt him, but *Cato* chiefly: who in his oration made *Cæſar* ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracie, and ſtoutly ſpake againſt him, inſomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. *Cæſar* comming out of the Senate, a company

Cæſar accuſed to make a rebellion in the ſtate.

The death of Metellus chiefe Biſhop of Rome

Cæſar made chiefe Biſhop of Rome.

Cæſar ſuſpected to be confederate with Catiline in his conſpiracie.

Cæſar went about to deliuer the conſpirators.

Catoes oration againſt Cæſar.

of young men which guarded *Cicero* for the safetie of his person, did set vppon him with their swordes drawen. But some say, that *Curio* couered *Cæsar* with his gowne, and tooke him out of their handes. And *Cicero* selfe, when the young men looked vpon him, beckened with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shamefull and wicked a part. But if that were true, I maruell why *Cicero* did not put it into his booke he wrote of his Consulshippe. But certainly they blamed him afterwardes, for that he tooke not the oportunitie offered him against *Cæsar*, onely for ouermuch feare of the people, that loued him very dearely. For shortly after, when *Cæsar* went into the Senate, to cleere himselfe of certaine presumptions and false accusations obiected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the councell house, and called out aloude for him, bidding them let him out. *Cato* then fearing the insurrection of the poore needie persons, which were they that put all their hope in *Cæsar*, and did also moue the people to sturre: did perswade the Senate to make a franke distribution of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This distribution did put the common wealth to a new charge of fiue hundred and fifty Myriades. This counsell quenched a present great feare, and did in happie time scatter and disperse abroade the best part of *Cæsars* force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he neuer sought any alteration in the common wealth, but contrarily he himselfe had a great misfortune fell in his owne house, which was this. There was a yong noble mā of the order of the PATRICIANS, called *Publius Clodius*, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person, as any was else in ROME. He became in loue with *Pompeia Cæsars* wife, who misliked not withall: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and that *Aurelia* (*Cæsars* mother) an honest gentlewoman had such an eye of her, that these two louers could not meete as they would, without great perill & difficultie. The ROMAINES do vse to honor a goddesse which they call the good goddesse, as the GRECIANS haue her whom they call *Gynæcia*, to wit, the goddesse of women. Her, the PHRYGIANS do claime to be peculiar vnto them, saying that she is king *Midas* mother. Howbeit the ROMAINES hold opinion, that it is a nimph of wood maried vnto god *Faunus*. The GRECIANS, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god *Bacchus*, whom they dare not name. And for proofe hereof, on her feast day, the women make certaine tabernacles of vine twigges, and leaues of vine branches, and also they make as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddesse, and doe set it by her: besides, it is not lawfull for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it selfe where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices doe many things amongst themselues, much like vnto the ceremonies of *Orpheus*. Now when the time of this feast time, the husband, (whether he were Prætor or Consull) and all his men and the boyes in the house, doe come out of it, and leaue it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, & there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they doe besides passe the night away in songes and musicke. *Pompeia Cæsars* wife, being that yeare to celebrate this feast, *Clodius* who had yet no haire on his face, & therby thought he should not be bewrayed disguised himselfe in a singing wenches apparell, because his face was very like vnto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chamber maide that was made priuie vnto it: she left him, and ranne to *Pompeia* her mistresse, to tell her that he was come. The chamber maide taried long before shee came againe, insomuch as *Clodius* being wearie waiting for her where she left him, he tooke his pleasure, and went from one place to an other in the house, which had very large roomes in it, still shunning the light, and was by chance met withall by one of *Aureliaes* maides, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. *Clodius* refusing to play, the maide pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: *Clodius* then answered her, that he taried for *Abra* one of *Pompeiaes* women. So, *Aureliaes* maide knowing him by his voyce, ranne straight where the lightes and Ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in womans apparell. The women therewith were so amazed, that *Aurelia* caused them presently to leaue off the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their secret things, and hauing seene the gates fast locked, went immediatly vp and downe the

The loue of P. Clodius vnto Pompeia, Cæsars wife.

The good goddesse what she was, and her sacrifices.

the house with torch light to seeke out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of *Pompeias* maide, with whom he hid him selfe. Thus *Clodius* being found out, and knowen of the women: they thrust him out of the dores by the shoulders. The same night the women tolde their husbandes of this chaunce as soone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumor through the city, how *Clodius* had attempted a great villany, and that he deserued, not onely to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the common wealth and the goddes. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indite him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobility and Senato, that came to depose against him, and burdened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his owne sister, which was maried vnto *Lucullus*. Notwithstanding, the people stoutly defended *Clodius* against their accusations: and this did helpe him much against the Iudges, which were amazed, and afraid to offend the people. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by *Clodius* accuser to be a witnes against him, he answered, hee knew nothing of that they obiected against *Clodius*. This aunswere being cleane contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked *Cæsar*, why then he had put away his wife: because I will (quoth he) that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that *Cæsar* spake truely as he thought. But others thinke, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to saue *Clodius*. So *Clodius* was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the Iudges gaue a confused iudgement, for the feare they stoode one way of the daunger of the common people if they condemned him: and for the ill opinion of the other side of the nobility, if they did quit him. The gouernment of the prouince of SPAINE being fallen vnto *Cæsar* for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out vpon him, and were importune of him to be payed. *Cæsar* being vnable to satisfie them, was compelled to goe vnto *Crassus*, who was the richest man of all ROME, and that stoode in needs of *Cæsars* boldnes and courage to withstand *Pompeys* greatnes in the common wealth. *Crassus* became his surety vnto his greatest creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirty talentes: whereuppon they suffered *Cæsar* to depart to the gouernment of his prouince. In his iourney it is reported, that passing ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a litle poore village that had not many housholdes, and yet poore cotages. There, his friendes that did accompany him, asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there were any strife there amongest the noble men for honor. *Cæsar* speaking in good earnest, aunswered, I can not tell that said he, but for my part, I had rather be the chiefest man here, then the second person in ROME. An other time also when he was in SPAINE, reading the history of *Alexanders* acts, when he had red it, he was sorrowful a good while after, and then burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, maruelled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He aunswered them, doe ye not thinke sayd hee, that I haue good cause to be heauy, when king *Alexander* being no older then my selfe is now, had in old time wonne so many nations and countries: and that I hitherto vnto haue done nothing worthy of my selfe? Therefore when hee was come into SPAINE, he was very carefull of his busines, and had in few dayes ioyned tenne mo ensignes more of footemen, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the CALLÆCIANS and LVSITANIANS, he conquered all, and went as far as the great sea Oceanum, subduing all the people which before knew not the ROMAINES for their Lordes. There he tooke order for pacifying of the war, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friendes one with an other, but specially hee pacified all sutes of law, and strife, betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of vsury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearely two parts of the reuenue of their debtors, vntill such time as they had payed them selues: and that the debtors should haue the third part to them selues to liue with all. He hauing wonne great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his gouernment very rich, and his souldiers also full of rich spoiles, who called him Imperator, to say soueraine Captaine. Now the ROMAINS hauing a custome, that such as demaunded honor of triumphe, should remaine awhile without the city, & that they on the other side which sued for the Consulship, should

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Clodius accused for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius quit by the Iudges for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar Prætor of Spaine.

Crassus suretie for Cæsar to his creditors.

Cæsars acts in Spaine.

Cæsars order betwixt the creditor and debtor.

Cæsars souldiers called him Imperator.

of necessity be there in person: *Cæsar* comming vnhappily at that very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that fauor, that being absent, hee might by his friends sue for the Consulshippe. *Cato* at the first did vehemently inuey against it, vouching an expresse law forbidding the contrary. But afterwardes, perceiuing that notwithstanding the reasons he alleaged, many of the Senators (being wonne by *Cæsar*) fauoured his request: yet he cunningly sought all he could to preuent them, prolonging time, dilating oration vntill night. *Cæsar* thereupon determined rather to giue ouer the sute of his triumph and to make sute for the Consulshippe: and so came into the city, and had such a deuise with him, as went beyond them all, but *Cato* onely. His deuise was this, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, two of the greatest personages of the city of ROME, being at iarre together, *Cæsar* made them friends and by that meanes got vnto him selfe the power of them both: for, by colour of that great acte and friendshippe of his, he subtilly (vnwares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the common wealth. For it was not the priuate discord betweene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, as many men thought, that caused the ciuill warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who ioyned all their powers first to ouerthrow the state of the Senate and nobility, and afterwardes they fell at iarre one with an other. But *Cato*, that then foresaw and prophecied many times what would followe, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwardes they found him a wiser man, then happy in his counsell. Thus *Cæsar* being brought vnto the assembly of the election, in the middest of these two noble persons, whom hee had before reconciled together: he was there chosen Consull, with *Calphurnius Bibulus*, without gainsaying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entred into his office, he beganne to put foorth lawes meeter for a seditious Tribune of the people, then for a Consull: because by them he preferred the deuision of landes, and distributing of corne to euery citizen, Cæsar to please them withall. But when the noble men of the Senate were against his deuise, he desiring no better occasion, began to crie out, and to protest, that by the ouerhardnesse and austerity of the Senate, they draue him against his will to leane vnto the people: and thereupon hauing *Crassus* on the one side of him, and *Pompey* on the other, he asked them openly in the assembly, if they did giue their consent vnto the lawes which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatned him with force of sword to let him. *Crassus* gaue him his word, he would. *Pompey* also did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his sword and target both, against them that would withstand him with their swordes. These words offended much the Senate, being farre vnmeete for his grauity, and vndecent for the maiesty and honour he caried, and most of all vncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should haue reuerenced: and were speaches fitter for a rash light headed youth, then for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other side, they reioyced. Then *Cæsar* because he would be more assured of *Pompeys* power and friendship, he gaue him his daughter *Iulia* in mariage, which was made sure before vnto *Seruilius Cæpio*, and promised him in exchange *Pompeis* wife, the which was sure also vnto *Faustus* the sonne of *Sylla*. And shortly after also, *Cæsar* selfe did marie *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piso*, whom he caused to be made Consull, to succeede him the next yeare following. *Cato* then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnes, that it was a shamefull matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make hauoke of the Empire of ROME, by such horrible bawdie matches, distributing among them selues through these wicked mariages, the gouernments of the prouinces, and of great armies. *Calphurnius Bibulus* fellow Consull with *Cæsar*, perceiuing that he did contend in vaine, making all the resistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes hee was in daunger to be slaine with *Cato* in the market place and assembly: hee kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulshippe. When *Pompey* had maried *Iulia*, he filled all the market place with souldiers, & by open force authorised the lawes which *Cæsar* made in the behalfe of the people. Furthermore, he procured that *Cæsar* had GAVLE on this side, and beyond the Alpes, and all ILLYRIA, with foure legions graunted him for fiue yeares. Then *Cato* standing vp to speake against it: *Cæsar* badde his officers lay holde on him, and carie him to prison, thinking hee would haue appealed vnto the Tribunes. But *Cato* sayd neuer a word, when he went his way. *Cæsar* perceiuing then, that not

Cæsar reconcileth Pompey and Crassus together.

Catoes forsight and prophecy.

Cæsars first Consulshippe with Calphurnius Bibulus.

Cæsars lawes. Lex agraria.

Cæsar maried his daughter Iulia vnto Pompey.

Cæsar maried Calphurnia the daughter of Piso.

Pompey by force of armes authorised Cæsars lawes.

Cæsar sent Cato to prison.

not onely the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people also for the reuerence they bare vnto *Catoes* vertues, were ashamed, and went away with silence: he him selfe secretely did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take *Cato* from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate vnder him, but left the city, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called *Considius*, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to councell, because they were afrayed of his souldiers. *Cæsar* answered him againe: and why then, doest not thou keepe thee at home, for the same feare? *Considius* replied, because my age taketh away fear from me: for hauing so short a time to liue, I haue no care to prolong it further. The shamefullest part that *Cæsar* played while he was Consull, seemeth to be this: when he chose *Clodius* Tribune of the people, that had offred his wife such dishonor, and profaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne house. *Clodius* sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy *Cicero*: and *Cæsar* selfe also departed not from Rome to his army, before he had set them together by the eares, and driuen *Cicero* out of Italy. All these things they say he did, before the warres with the Gaules. But the time of the great armies and conquests he made afterwards, and of the war in the which he subdued al the Gaules: (entring into an other course of life far contrary vnto the first) made him to be known for as valiant a souldier and as excellent a Captaine to lead men, as those that afore him had been counted the wisest and most valiantest Generals that euer were, and that by their valiant deedes had atchieued great honor. For whosoeuer would compare the house of the *Fabians*, of the *Scipios*, of the *Metellians*, yea those also of his owne time, or long before him, as *Sylla*, *Marius*, the two *Lucullians*, and *Pompey* selfe,

Cæsar by Clodius, draue Cicero out of Italy.

Cæsar, a valiant souldier, and a skilfull captaine.

Whose fame ascendeth vp vnto the heauens.

It will appeare that *Cæsars* prowes and deedes of armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard countries where he made wars: an other, in enlarging the realmes and countries which he ioyned vnto the Empire of Rome: an other, in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he ouercame: an other, in the rudenesse and austere nature of men with whom he had to doe, whose maners afterwardes he softned and made ciuill: an other, in curtesie and clemency which he vsed vnto them whome hee had conquered: an other in great bounty and liberality bestowed vpon them that serued vnder him in those warres: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battels he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had slaine in battell. For in lesse then tenne yeares warre in Gaule hee tooke by force and assault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred seuerall nations: and hauing before him in battell thirty hundred thousand souldiers, at sundry times hee slue tenne hundred thousand of them, and tooke as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloued of his souldiers, that to doe him seruice (where otherwise they were no more then other men in any priuate quarrell) if *Cæsars* honour were touched, they were inuincible, and would so desperatly venture them selues, & with such fury, that no mã was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the example of *Acilius*: who in a battell by sea before the city of Marselles, bording one of his enemies ships, one cut off his right hand with a sword, but yet he forsooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies faces, and made them flie, so that he wan their ship from them. And *Cassius Scæua* also, in a conflict before the city of Dyrrachium, hauing one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder striken through with a dart, and his thigh with an other, and hauing receiued thirty arrowes vpon his shield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yeelde vnto them. But when two of them came running to him, he claue one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turne his backe, and at the length saued him selfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpe him. And in Britayne also, when the Captaines of the bandes were driuen into a marrisse or bogge full of mire and durt, and that the enemies did fiercely assaile them there: *Cæsar* then standing to view the battell, hee saw a priuate souldier of his thrust in among the Captaines, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length hee draue the barbarous people to flie, and by his meanes saued the Captaines, which otherwise were in great daunger to haue bene cast away.

Cæsars conquests in Gaule.

The loue and respect of Cæsars souldiers vnto him.

The wonderful valiantnes of Acilius, Cassius Scæua, and diuers others of Cæsars souldiers.

Then this ſouldier being the hindemoſt man of all the Captaines, marching with great pain through the mire and durt, halfe ſwimming, and halfe a foote in the end got to the other ſide, but left his ſhield behinde him. *Cæſar* wondering at his noble courage, ranne to him with ioy to imbrace him. But the poore ſouldier hanging downe his head, the water ſtanding in his eyes, fell downe at *Cæſars* feete, and beſought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behinde him. And in Affrike alſo, *Scipio* hauing taken one of *Cæſars* ſhippes, and ſlaine *Granius Petronius.* *as Petronius* aboord on her amongeſt other, not long before choſen Treaſurer: he put all the reſt to the ſword but him, and ſayed he would giue him his life. But *Petronius* anſwered him againe: that *Cæſars* ſouldiers did not vſe to haue their liues giuen them, but to giue other their liues: and with thoſe wordes he drew his ſword, and thruſt him ſelfe through. Now *Cæſars* ſelfe did breede this noble courage and life in them. Firſt, for that he gaue them bountifully, and did honor them alſo, ſhewing thereby, that he did not heape vp riches in the way to maintaine his life afterwardes in wantonneſſe and pleaſure, but that he did keepe it in ſtore honourably to reward their valiant ſeruice: and that by ſo much hee thought him ſelfe richer by how much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deſerued it. Furthermore, they did not wonder ſo much at his valiantneſſe in putting him ſelfe at euery inſtant in ſuch manifeſt daunger, and in taking ſo extreame paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedy deſire of honor that ſet him a fire, and pricked him forward to doe it: but that hee alwaies continued all labour and hardineſſe, more then his body could beare, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the conſtitution of his body, hee was leane, white, and ſoft ſkinned, and often ſubiect to headache, and otherwhile to the falling ſickneſs: (the which tooke him the firſt time, as it is reported, in Cordvba, a city of Spaine) but yet therefore yeelded not to the diſeaſe of his body, to make it a cloke to cherriſhe him withall, but contrarily tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his ſicke body fighting alwayes with his diſeaſe, trauelling continually, liuing ſoberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the moſt nights he ſlept in his coch or litter, and thereby beſtowed his reſt, to make him alwayes able to doe ſome thing: and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downe the country to the townes, caſtels, and ſtrong places. He had alwaies a ſecretarie with him in his coche, who did ſtill write as he went by the way, and a ſouldier behinde him that caried his ſword. He made ſuch ſpeede the firſt time he came from Rome, when he had his office: that in eight daies he came to the riuer of Rhone. He was ſo excellent a rider of horſe from his youth, that holding his handes behinde him, he would galloppe his horſe vppon the ſpurre. In his warres in Gavle, he did further exerciſe him ſelfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two ſecretaries at once with as much as they could write: and as *Oppius* writeth, more then two at a time. And it is reported, that *Cæſar* was the firſt that deuiſed friendes might talke together by writing ciphers in letters, when he had no leyſure to ſpeake with them for his weighty buſineſſe, and for the great diſtance beſides from Rome. How litle accompt *Cæſar* made of his diet, this example doth proue it. *Cæſar* ſupping one night in Milane with his friend *Valerius Leo*, there was ſerued ſparrage to his bourde, and oyle of perfume put into it inſtead of ſallet oyle. He ſimply eate it, and found no fault, blaming his friendes that were offended and told them, that it had bene enough for them to haue abſtained to eate of that they miſliked, and not to ſhame their friend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his friend. An other time as he trauelled through the country, he was driuen by fowle weather on the ſodaine to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, and that was ſo narrow, that one man could but ſcarce lye in it. Then he ſayed to his friendes that were about him: greateſt roomes are meeteſt for ſot greateſt men, and the moſt neceſſary roomes for the ſickeſt perſons. And thereuppon he cauſed *Oppius* that was ſicke to lie there all night: and he him ſelfe, with the reſt of his friends, lay with out dores, vnder the eaſing of the houſe. The firſt warre that *Cæſar* made with the Gavles, was with the Helvetians and Tigvrnians, who hauing ſette fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelue, and foure hundred villages beſides, came to inuade that part of Gavle which was ſubiect to the Romaines, as the Cimbri and Tevtons had done before: vnto whom for valiantneſſe they gaue no place, and they were alſo a great number of them (for they were thre hundred thou-

Cæſar had the falling ſickneſs.

The temperance of Cæſar in his diet. Cæſars ciuility not to blame his friend.

ſand

soules in all) whereof there were a hundred, foure score, and tenne thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not *Cæsar* himselfe that ouercame the TIGVRINIANS, but *Labienus* his Lieutenaunt, that ouerthrew them by the riuer of Arax. But the HELVETIANS themselues came sodainely with their army to set vpon him, as he was going towardes a city of his confederates. *Cæsar* perceiuing that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there to sette his men in battell ray. When one brought him his horse to gette vp on which he should fight in battell, he sayed vnto them: when I haue ouercome mine enemies, I will then get vp on him to follow the chase, but now lette vs giue them charge. Therewith he marched forward a foote, and gaue charge: and there fought it out a long time, before hee could make them flie that were in battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distresse their campe, and to breake their strength which they had made with their cartes. For there, they that before had fledde from the battell, did not onely put them selues in force, and valiantly fought out: but their wiues and children also fighting for their liues to the death, were all slaine, and the battell was scant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, vnto that he also added an other as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battell, hee gathered together againe aboue a hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to returne home into their country which they had forsaken, and into their townes also which they had burnt: because he feared the GERMAINES would come ouer the riuer of Rheyne, and occupie that countrey lying voide. The second warre he made, was in defence of the GAVLES against the GERMAINES: although before, he him selfe had caused *Ariouistus* their king, to be receiued for a confederat of the ROMAINS. Notwithstanding, they were growen very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainely, that hauing any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they woulde not content them with their owne, but ment to inuade and possesse the rest of GAVLE. *Cæsar* perceiuing that some of his Captaines trembled for feare, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of ROME, who thought to haue gone to the warres with him, as only for their pleasure and game: he called them to councell, and commaunded them that were afrayd, that they should get home, and not put them selues in daunger against their willes, sith they had such womanish faint hearts to shrinke when he had neede of them. And for him selfe, he sayed, hee would set vppon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, saying, that the enemies were no valianter then the CIMBRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferior vnto *Marius*. This oration being made, the souldiers of the tenth legion sent their Lieutenaunts vnto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iourney with good will to serue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlongs of the campe of the enemies. *Arioustus* courage was well cooled, when he saw *Cæsar* was come, and that the ROMAINES came to seeke out the GERMAINES, where they thought, and made accompt, that they durst not haue abidden them: and therefore nothing mistrusting it would haue come so to passe, hee wondered much at *Cæsars* courage, and the more when he saw his owne army in a maze withall. But much more did their courages fall, by reason of the foolishe women propheciers they had among them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waues and trouble of the riuers, and the terrible noise they made running downe the streame, did forewarne them not to fight, vntill the new moone. *Cæsar* hauing intelligence thereof, and perceiuing that the barbarous people thereuppon ceased not: thought it best then to sette vppon them, being discouraged with this superstitious feare, rather then loosing time, hee should tarie their leysure. So he did skirmishe with them euen to their fortes, and litle hilles where they lay, and by this meanes prouoked them so, that with great furie they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them in battell, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlong, euen vnto the riuer of Rheyn: and hee filled all the fieldes thitherto with dead bodies and spoyles. Howbeit *Arioustus* flying with speede, gotte ouer the riuer of Rheyn, and escaped with a few of his men. It is sayed that there were slaine foure score thousand persons at this battell. After this exploite, *Cæsar* left his army amongest the SEQVANES to winter there:

The Tigurinians slaine by Labienus. Arax fl.

Cæsar refused his horse, when he fought a battell.

The Heluetians slaine by Cæsar.

Rheynus fl.

Cæsar made war with king Arioustus.

The wise women of Germany how they did foretell things to come.

King Arioustus ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

and he him selfe in the meane time, thinking of the affaires at ROME, went ouer the mo-
taines into GAVLE about the riuer of Po, being part of his prouince which he had in cha
For there, the riuer called Rubico, deuideth the rest of ITALY from GAVLE on this side
Alpes. *Cæsar* lying there, did practise to make friendes in ROME, because many came thit
to see him: vnto whom he graunted their sutes they demaunded, and sent them home
partly with liberall rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all
conquest of the GAVLES. *Pompey* did not consider how *Cæsar* enterchaungeably did conq
the GAVLES with the weapons of the ROMAINES, and wanne the ROMAINES againe w
the money of the GAVLS. *Cæsar* being aduertised that the BELGÆ (which were the warli
men of all the GAVLES, and that occupied the third part of GAVLE) were all vp in arm
and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towardes them with all
sible speede, and found them spoyling and ouerrunning the countrey of the GAVLES, th
neighbours, and confederates of the ROMAINES. So he gaue them battell, and they fighti
cowardly, he ouerthrew the most part of them which were in a troupe together, and slue
a number of them, that the ROMAINES passed ouer deepe riuers and lakes a foote, vpon
dead bodies, the riuers were so full of them. After this ouerthrow, they that dwelt neares
to the sea side, and were next neighbours vnto the Ocean, did yeeld them selues without
compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the NERVIANS, the stoutest war
ers of all the BELGÆ. They dwelling in the wodde countrey, had conuayed their wiues, ch
dren and goods, into a maruellous great forrest, as farre from their enemies as they could:
being about the number of six score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day
set vppon *Cæsar*, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, litle looking
haue fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the ROMAINES,
compassing in the twelfth and seauenth legion, they slue all the Centurions and Captaines
the bands. And had not *Cæsar* selfe taken his shield on his arme, and flying in amongst the
barous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion also
ing him in danger, run vnto him from the toppe of the hill where they stoode in battell,
broken the ranckes of their enemies: there had not a ROMAINE escaped a liue that day.
taking example of *Cæsars* valiantnes, they fought desperately beyond their power, and
could not make the NERVIANS flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all
maner slaine in the field. It is written that of three score thousand fighting men, there escape
only but fiue hundred: and of foure hundred gentlemen and counsellers of the ROMAINS,
three saued. The Senate vnderstanding it at ROME, ordained that they should do sacrifice
to the goddes, and keepe feasts and solemne processions fifteene dayes together without inter
mission, hauing neuer made the like ordinaunce at ROME, for any victory that euer was ob
tained. Because they saw the danger had bene maruellous great, so many nations rising as th
did in armes together against him: and further, the loue of the people vnto him made his v
ctory much more famous. For when *Cæsar* had set his affairs at a stay in GAVLE, on the ot
side of the Alpes: he alwayes vsed to lye about the riuer of Po in the winter time, to giue d
ction for the establishing of things at ROME, at his pleasure. For, not onely they that m
sute for offices at ROME were chosen Magistrates, by means of *Cæsars* money which he g
them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were
office, did al that they could to increase *Cæsars* power and greatnes: but the greatest and chie
men also of the nobility, went vnto LVKE vnto him. As *Pompey*, *Crassus*, *Appius*, Prætor
SARDINIA, and *Nepos*, Proconsull in SPAINE. Insomuch that there were at one time, six scor
sergeaunts carying roddes and axes before the Magistrats: and aboue two hundred Senato
besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should agai
be chosen Consuls the next yeare following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that *Cæsar* sho
haue money againe deliuered him to pay his army, and besides, did proroge the time of h
gouernment fiue yeares further. This was thought a very strange and an vnreasonable matt
vnto wise men. For they thē selues that had taken so much money of *Cæsar*, perswaded the Se
nate to let him haue money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea t
speake more plainly, they compelled the Senate vnto it, sighing & lamenting to see the decre
they

The Belgæ ouercome by Cæsar.

Nerwij the stoutest warriers of all the Belgæ.

The Nerwij slaine by Cæsar

The great Lords of Rome came to Luca to Cæsar.

they passed. *Cato* was not there then, for they had purposly sent him before into CYPRVS. Howbeit *Faonius* that followed *Catoes* steppes, when he saw that he could not preuaile, nor withstand them: he went out of the Senate in choller, and cried out amongest the people, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reuerence they bare vnto *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, and others fauouring *Cæsars* proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselues, and sturred not. Then *Cæsar* returning into GAVLE beyond the Alpes vnto his armie, founde there a great warre in the country. For two great nations of GERMANIE had not long before passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn, to conquer new landes: and the one of these people were called IPES, and the other TENTERIDES. Now touching the battell which *Cæsar* fought with them, he himselfe doth describe in his Commentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous people hauing sent Ambassadours vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time, they notwithstanding, against law of armes, came and set vpon him as he trauelled by the way, in somuch as eight hundred of their men of armes ouerthrew fiue thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their comming. Againe, that they sent him other Ambassadours to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole armie to marche against them, thinking it a follie, and madnesse, to keepe faith with such traiterous barbarous breakers of leagues. *Cauutius* writeth, that the Senate appointing againe to do new sacrifice, processions, and feastes, to giue thankes to the goddes for this victorie: *Cato* was of contrarie opinion, that *Cæsar* should be deliuered into the handes of the barbarous people, for to purge their citie and common wealth of this breache of faith, and to turne the curse vpon him, that was the authour of it. Of these barbarous people, which came ouer the Rheyn (being about the number of foure hundred thousand persons) they were all in manner slaine, sauing a very few of them, that flying from the battell got ouer the riuer of Rheyn againe, who were receiued by the SICAMBRIANS, an other people of the GERMAINES. *Cæsar* taking this occasion against them, lacking no good will of himselfe besides, to haue the honour to be counted the first ROMAINE that euer passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn with an army: he built a bridge ouer it. This riuer is maruellous broad, and runneth with great furie. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breath from one side to the other, and it hath so strong and swift a streame besides: that men casting downe great bodies of trees into the riuer (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes and force thereof maruellously shake the postes of the bridge he had set vp. But to preuent the blowes of those trees, and also to breake the furie of the streame: he made a pile of great wood aboue the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ramme them in to the bottome of the riuer, so that in ten dayes space, he had set vp and finisht his bridge of the goodliest carpenters worke, and most excellent inuention to see to, that could be possible thought or deuised. Then passing ouer his armie vpon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the SVVEVIANS, which were the warlikest people of all GERMANIE, had gotten themselues with their goodes into wonderfull great valleys and bogges, full of woods and forrests. Now when he had burnt all the coūtry of his enemies, & confirmed the league with the confederats of the ROMAINES: he returned backe againe into GAVLE after he had taried eighteen dayes at the most in GERMANIE, on the other side of the Rheyn. The iourney he made also into ENGLAND was a noble enterprise, & very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, & that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make warre in that so great & famous Iland: (which many auncient writers would not beleeue that it was so indeede, & did make them vary about it, saying that it was but a fable & a lye) and was the first that enlarged the ROMAINE Empire, beyond the earth inhabitable. For twise he passed ouer the narrow sea against the firme land of GAVLE, and fighting many battels there, did hurt his enemies more, then enrich his owne men: because, of men hardly brought vp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his warre had not such successe as he looked for, and therefore taking pledges onely of the king, and imposing a yearely tribute vpon him, to be payed vnto the people of ROME: he returned againe into GAVLE. Where he was no sooner landed, but he founde letters ready to be sent ouer the sea vnto him:

Ipes, and Tenterides, people of Germanie.

Cæsars horsemen put to flight.

The Ipes and Tenterides slaine by Cæsar.

Sicambri, a people of the Germaines.

Cæsar made a bridge ouer the riuer of Rheyn

Cæsars iourney into England.

The death of Iulia Cæsars daughter.

in the which he was aduertiſed from ROME, of the death of his daughter, that ſhe was dead with child by Pōpey. For the which, *Pompey* & *Cæſar* both, were maruellous forowfull: & their friends mourned alſo, thinking that this alliance which mainteined the common wealth (that otherwiſe was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now ſeuered, and broken a ſunder, and the rather likely, becauſe the child liued not long after the mother. So the common people at ROME tooke the corps of *Iulia*, in deſpight of the Tribunes, & buried it in the field of *Mars*. Now *Cæſar* being driuen to deuide his armie (that was very great) into ſundry garriſons for the winter time, and returning againe into ITALIE as he was wont: all GAVLE rebelled againe, and had raiſed great armies in euery quarter to ſet vpon the ROMAINES, and to aſſay if they could diſtreſſe their forts where they lay in garriſon. The greateſt number & moſt warlike men of theſe GAVLES, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one *Ambiorix*: and

The rebellion of the Gaules.

Cotta, and Titurius, with their armie ſlaine.

firſt did ſet vpon the garriſons of *Cotta*, and *Titurius*, whom they ſlue, & all the ſouldiers they had about them. Then they went with three ſcore thouſand fighting men to beſiege the garriſon which *Quintus Cicero* had in his charge, and had almoſt taken them by force, becauſe all the ſouldiers were euery man of them hurt: but they were ſo valiant & couragious, that they did more then men (as they ſay) in defending of themſelues. Theſe newes being come to *Cæſar*, who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all poſsible ſpeede, and leuying ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers, made haſt to helpe *Cicero* that was in ſuch diſtreſſe. The GAVLES that did beſiege *Cicero*, vnderſtanding of *Cæſars* comming, raiſed their ſiege incontinently, to go and meete him: making account that he was but a handfull in their handes, they were ſo few. *Cæſar* to deceiue them, ſtill drew backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Captaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commaunded his men in no wiſe to ſturre out to skirmiſh with them, but compelled them to raiſe vp the rampers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were afrayd, becauſe the enemies ſhould the leſſe eſteeme of them: vntill that at length he tooke opportunitie, by their diſorderly cōming to aſſaile the trenches of his campe, (they were growen to ſuch a preſumptuous boldneſſe and brauery) and then ſalying out vpon them, he put them

Cæſar ſlue the Gaules led by Ambiorix.

all to flight with ſlaughter of a great number of them. This did ſuppreſſe all the rebellions of the GAVLES in thoſe parties, and furthermore, he himſelfe in perſon went in the middeſt of winter thither, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a new ſupply out of ITALIE of three whole legions in their roome, which he had loſt: of the which, two of them *Pompey* lent him, and the other legion, he himſelfe had leauyed in GAVLE about the riuer of Po. During theſe ſturres, brake forth the beginning of the greateſt & moſt daungerous warre that he had in all GAVLE, the which had bene ſecretly practiſed of long time by the chiefeſt & moſt warlike people of that country, who had leauied a wonderfull great power. For euery where they leauied multitudes of men, and great riches beſides, to fortifie their ſtrong holds.

The ſecond rebellion of the Gaules againſt Cæſar.

Furthermore the countrey where they roſe, was very ill to come vnto, & ſpecially at that time being winter, when the riuers were froſen, the woodes and forreſts couered with ſnow, the medowes drowned with fluddes, and the fieldes ſo deepe of ſnow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the mariſſes nor riuers to be diſcerned, all was ſo ouerflowen & drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keepe *Cæſar* from ſetting vpon the rebels. Many nations of the GAVLES were of this conſpiracy, but two of the chiefeſt were the ARVERNIANS and CARNVTES: who had choſen *Vercingentorix* for their Lieute-

Vercingentorix Captaine of the rebels againſt Cæſar.

nant generall, whoſe father the GAVLES before had put to death, becauſe they thought he aſpired to make himſelfe king. This *Vercingentorix* deuiding his armie into diuers partes, and appointing diuers Captaines ouer them, had gotten to take his part, all the people and countries there about, euen as far as they that dwell towards the ſea* Adriatick, hauing further determined (vnderſtāding that ROME did cōſpire againſt *Cæſar*) to make all GAVLE riſe in armes againſt him. So that if he had but taried a litle longer, vntill *Cæſar* had entred into his ciuill warres: he had put all ITALIE in as great feare and daunger, as it was when the CIMBRI did come and inuade it. But *Cæſar*, that was valiant in all aſſayes and daungers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and oportunitie: ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood the newes of the rebellion, he departed with ſpeede, and returned backe the ſelfe ſame way which he had

** Some ſay, that in this place is to be read in the Greeke πρὸς τὸν Ἀραριν which is the riuer Saone.*

gone,

gone, making the barbarous people know, that they should deale with an army vnuincible, & which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speede he had made with the same, in so sharpe and hard a winter. For where they would not possibly haue beleeued, that a post or currer could haue come in so short a time from the place where he was, vnto them: they wondred when they saw him burning & destroying the countrey, the townes & strong forts where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yeelded vnto him: vntill such time as the HEDVI tooke armes against him, who before were wont to be called the brethrē of the ROMAINES, & were greatly honored of them. Wherfore *Cæsars* men whē they vnderstood that they had ioyned with the rebels, they were maruellous sory, and halfe discouraged. Therupon, *Cæsar* departing from those parties, went through the coūtry of the LINGONES, to enter the coūtry of the *BVRGONIANS, who were confederats of the ROMAINES, & the neareſt vnto ITALY on that side, in respect of all the rest of GAVLE. Thither the enemies came to set vpon him, and to enuironne him of all sides, with an infinit number of thousands of fighting mē. *Cæsar* on the other side taried their comming, & fighting with them a long time, he made them so affrayd of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had receiued some ouerthrow: for the ARVERNIANS shewed a sword hanged vp in one of their temples, which they sayd they had wonne from *Cæsar*. Insomuch as *Cæsar* selfe comming that away by occasion, saw it, and fell a laughing at it. But some of his friendes going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bad them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thing. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saued themselues by flying, the most of them were gotten with their king into the citie of ALEXIA, the which *Cæsar* went and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the wals, as also for the multitude of souldiers they had to defend it. But now during this siege, he fell into a maruellous great daunger without, almost incredible. For an army of three hundred thousand fighting men of the best men that were among all the nations of the GAVLES, came against him, being at the siege of ALEXIA, besides them that were within the citie, which amounted to the number of three score and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiuing he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driuen to fortifie himselfe with two wals, the one against them of the citie, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had ioyned together, *Cæsar* had bene vtterly vndone. And therefore, this siege of ALEXIA, and the battell he wanne before it, did deseruedly winne him more honour and fame, then any other. For there, in that instant and extreme daunger, he shewed more valiantnesse & wisedome, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wōderfull thing was this? that they of the citie neuer heard any thing of them that came to ayde them, vntill *Cæsar* had ouercome them: and furthermore, that the ROMAINES themselues which kept watch vpon the wall that was built against the citie, knew also no more of it, then they, but when it was done, & that they heard the cryes & lamentations of men & women in ALEXIA, when they perceiued on the other side of the citie such a nūber of glistering shields of gold and siluer, such store of bloudy corslets and armours, such a deale of plate and moueables, and such a number of tents and pauilions after the fashion of the GAVLES, which the ROMAINES had gotten of their spoyles in their campe. Thus sodainly was this great army vanished, as a dreame or vision: where the most part of them were slaine that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the citie of ALEXIA had done great hurt to *Cæsar*, and themselues also: in the end, they all yeelded themselues. And *Vercingentorix* (he that was their king and Captaine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with rich cappariſon accordingly, and rode round about *Cæsar*, who sate in his chaire of estate. Then lighting from his horse, he tooke off his cappariſon and furniture, and vnarmed himselfe, and layed all on the ground, and went and sate downe at *Cæsars* feete, and sayd neuer a word. So *Cæsar* at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to lead him afterwardes in his triumph at ROME. Now *Cæsar* had of long time determined to destroy *Pompey*, & *Pompey* him also. For *Crassius* being killed amōgst the PARTHIANS, who onely did see, that one of them two must needes fall: nothing kept *Cæsar* from being the greateſt person, but because he destroyed not *Pompey*, that was the greater: neither did any thing let *Pōpey* to with-

The Heduis rebell against the Romaines.

** Sequani.*

Vercingentorix ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

The siege of Alexia.

Cæsars daunger, and wise policie.

Cæsars great victorie at Alexia.

Alexia yeelded vp to Cæsar.

The discord betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, and the cause of the ciuill warre. Cæsars craftinesse.

stand that it should not come to passe, but because he did not first ouercome *Cæsar*, whom only he feared. For till then, *Pompey* had not long feared him, but alwayes before set light by him, thinking it an easie matter for him to put him downe when he would, sith he had brought him to that greatnes he was come vnto. But *Cæsar* contrarily, hauing had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for trickes to ouerthrow his aduersary: he went farre from ROME, to exercise himselfe in the warres of GAVLE, where he did trayne his armie, and presently by his valiant deedes did increase his fame and honour. By these meanes became *Cæsar* as famous as *Pompey* in his doings, & lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of colour, which *Pompey* partly gaue him, & partly also the time deliuered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill gouernement at that time of the common wealth at ROME. For they that made sute for honour & offices, bought the voyces of the people with ready money, which they gaue out openly to vsury, without shame or feare. Therupõ, the common people that had sold their voyces for money, came to the market place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hyred them: not with their voyces, but with their bowes, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldome time brake vp, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinckled with the bloud of them that were slaine in the market place, the citie remaining all that time without gouernement of Magistrate, like a ship left without a Pilote. In somuch, as men of deepe iudgement & discretion seeing such furie and madnesse of the people, thought themselues happy if the cõmon wealth were no worse troubled, then with the absolute state of a Monarchy & soueraign Lord to gouerne thẽ. Furthermore, there were many that were not affrayed to speake it openly, that there was no other helpe to remedy the troubles of the cõmon wealth, but by the authority of one man only, that should cõmand them all: and that this medicine must be ministred by the hands of him, that was the gentlest Phisition, meaning couertly *Pompey*. Now *Pompey* vsed many fine speaches, making semblãce as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly vnder hand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to passe, that he might be chosen Dictator. *Cato* finding the marke he shot at, & fearing least in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator: he perswaded the Senat rather to make him sole Consull, that contẽting himself with that more iust & lawfull gouernmẽt, he should not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counsell, did not only make him Consull, but further did proroge his gouernemẽt of the prouinces he had. For he had two prouinces, all SPAYNE, & AFRICK, the which he gouerned by his Lieutenants: & further, he receiued yearely of the common treasure to pay his souldiers a thousand talents.

The peoples voyces bought at Rome for money.

Pompey, gouerned Spayne and Africke.

Cæsar sueth the second time to be Consull, and to haue his gouernemẽt proroged.

Hereupon *Cæsar* tooke occasion also to send his men to make sute in his name for the Consulship, & also to haue the gouernement of his prouinces proroged. *Pompey* at the first held his peace. But *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* (that otherwise hated *Cæsar*) withstood them, and to shame & dishonour him, had much needelesse speach in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke away the freedome frõ the COLONYES which *Cæsar* had lately brought vnto the city of NOVVM COMVM in GAVLE towards ITALY, where *Cæsar* not lõg before had lodged them. And moreouer, when *Marcellus* was Consull, he made one of the Senators in that citie to be whipped with rods, who came to ROME about those matters: and sayd, he gaue him those marks that he should know he was no ROMAINE Citizen, & bad him go his way, & tell *Cæsar* of it.

Cæsar bribeth the Magistrats at Rome.

After *Marcellus* Consulship, *Cæsar* setting open his cofers of the treasure he had gotten among the GAVLES, did franckely giue it out amongst the Magistrates at ROME, without restraint or spare. First, he set *Curio*, the Tribune cleare out of debt: and gaue also vnto *Paule* the Consull a thousand fiue hundred talents, with which money he built that notable pallace by the market place, called *Paules* Basilicke, in the place of *Fuluius* Basilicke. Thẽ *Pompey* being affrayd of this practise, began openly to procure, both by himselfe and his friends, that they should send *Cæsar* a successour: & moreouer, he sent vnto *Cæsar* for his two legions of men of warre which he had lent him, for the conquest of GAVLE. *Cæsar* sent him them againe, and gaue euery private souldier, two hundred and fifty siluer drachmas. Now, they that brought these two legions backe from *Cæsar*, gaue out ill and seditious wordes against him among the people, and did also abuse *Pompey* with false perswasions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was maruellously desired and wished for in *Cæsars* campe: and that though in ROME, for the mat-

Pompey abused by flatterers.

lice and secret spight which the gouernours there did beare him, he could hardly obteine that he desired: yet in GAVLE he might assure himselfe, that all the armie was at his commaundement. They added further also, that if the souldiers there did once returne ouer the mountaines again into ITALIE, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate *Cæsar*: because he wearied them with too much labour & continuall fight, and withall, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding securitie in *Pompey*, & a vaine conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation for warre, as though he had no occasion to be afrayed: but onely studied to thwart *Cæsar* in speach, & to crosse the sutes he made. Howbeit *Cæsar* passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of *Cæsars* Captaines which was sent to ROME to prosecute his sute, being at the Senate doore, & hearing that they denied to prorogue *Cæsars* time of gouernement which he sued for: clapping his hand vpon his sword, he said, sith you will not grant it him, this shall giue it him. Notwithstãding, the requests that *Cæsar* propounded, caried great semblance of reason with them. For he sayd, that he was contented to lay downe armes, so that *Pompey* did the like: & that both of them as priuat persons should come & make sute of their Citizens to obtaine honorable recompence: declaring vnto them, that taking armes from him, & graunting them vnto *Pompey*, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make himselfe a tyrant, and in the meane time to graunt the other meanes to be a tyrant. *Curio* making these offers & perswasions openly before the people, in the name of *Cæsar*, he was heard with great reioycing and clapping of hands, & there were some that cast flowers and nosegayes vpon him when he went his way, as they commonly vse to do vnto any man, when he hath obteined victorie, and wonne any games. Then *Antonius* one of the Tribunes, brought a letter sent frõ *Cæsar*, and made it openly to be read in despight of the Consuls. But *Scipio* in the Senate, *Pompeys* father in law, made this motion: that if *Cæsar* did not dismisse his army by a certaine day appointed him, the ROMAINES should proclaime him an enemy vnto ROME. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the Senatours, if they thought it good that *Pompey* should dismisse his armie: but few agreed to that demaund. After that againe they asked, if they liked that *Cæsar* should dismisse his armie: thereto they in manner aunswered, yea, yea. But when *Antonius* requested againe that both of them should lay downe armes: then they were all indifferently of his minde. Notwithstanding, because *Scipio* did insolently behaue himselfe, and *Marcellus* also, who cryed that they must vse force of armes, & not mens opinions against a theefe: the Senate rose straight vpon it without further determination, & men chaunged apparell through the citie because of this dissention, as they vse to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from *Cæsar*, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him GAVLE, that lyeth betweene the mountaines of the Alpes & ITALIE, & ILLYRIA, with two legios onely: & then that he would request nothing else, vntill he made sute for the secõd Cõsulship. *Cicero* the Orator, that was newly come from his gouernement of CILICIA, trauelled to recõcile them together, & pacified *Pompey* the best he could: who told him, he would yeeld to any thing they would haue him, so he did let him alone with his army. So *Cicero* perswaded *Cæsars* friends to be contented, to take those two prouinces, and fiue thousand men onely, that they might be friends & at peace together. *Pompey* very willingly yeelded vnto it, & granted them. But *Lentulus* the Consull would not agree to it, but shamefully draue *Curio* and *Antonius* out of the Senate: whereby they themselues gaue *Cæsar* a happy occasion & colour, as could be, stirring vp his souldiers the more against them, whẽ he shewed them these two notable men & Tribunes of the people that were driuen to flie, disguised like slaues, in a carriers cart. For, they were driuen for feare to steale out of ROME, disguised in that maner. Now at that time, *Cæsar* had not about him, aboue fiue thousand footemen, and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his armie, he left on the other side of the mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. So, considering that for the execution of his enterprise, he should not need so many men at the first, but rather sodainly stealing vpon them, to make them afrayed with his vauntfe, taking benefit of the opportunitie of time, because he should more easily make his enemies afrayed of him, comming so sodainly when they looked not for him; then he should otherwise distresse them, assailing them with his whole armie, in giuing them leysure to pro-

Cæsars requests vnto the Senate.

Antonius and Curio, Tribunes of the people, fly frõ Rome to Cæsar.

uide further for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieutenants to go before, without any other armour then their swords, to take the citie of ARIMINVM, (a great citie of GAVLE, being the first citie men come to, when they come out of GAVLE) with as litle bloudshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that force and army he had with him, vnto *Hortensius* one of his friends: he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of euery man, to see the sword players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongest them, and made mery with them a while, whom he had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forward night, and very darke, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be mery, and no man to sturre, for he would straight come to them againe: howbeit he had secretly before commaunded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him, not altogether, but some one way, and some an other way. He himselfe in the meane time tooke a coche he had hyred, and made as though he would haue gone some other way at the first, but sodainly he turned backe againe towardes the citie of ARIMINVM. When he was come vnto the litle riuer of Rubicon, which deuideth GAVLE on this side the Alpes from ITALIE: he stayed vpon a sodaine. For, the neater he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to thinke what an enterprise he tooke in hand: & his thoughtes also fell out more doubtfull, when he entred into consideration of the desperatnesse of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himselfe, and spake neuer a word, waiuing sometime one way, sometime an other way, and oftentimes chaunged his determination, contrary to himselfe. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was *Asinius Pollio*, telling them what mischiues the beginning of this passage ouer that riuer would breed in the world, and how much their posteritie and them that liued after them, would speake of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage, all those perillous thoughts to come, & speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt daungerous and desperat enterprises, *A desperat man feareth no daunger*, come on: he passed ouer the riuer, and when he was come ouer, he ranne with his coche and neuer stayed, so that before day light he was within the citie of ARIMINVM, and tooke it. It is said, that the night before he passed ouer the riuer, he dreamed a damnable dreame, that he carnally knew his mother. The citie of ARIMINVM being taken, & the rumour therof dispersed through all ITALIE, euen as if it had bene ope warre both by sea & land, & as if all the lawes of ROME, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same had bene broken vp: a man would haue sayd, that not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities themselues letting their habitations, fled from one place to an other through all ITALIE. And ROME itself also was immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parties like droues of cattell, that there was neither office nor Magistrate that could any more commaund them by authoritie, neither by any perswasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that ROME had in manner destroyed it selfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, there were daungerous sturres and tumultes euery where: because they that were glad of the trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running vp and downe the citie, when they met with others in diuers places, that seemed either to be afrayed or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a citie) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned them with that that was to come. *Pompey* himselfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill wordes some gaue him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproued him, and sayd that he had done wisely, and had payed for his folly, because he had made *Cæsar* so great and strong against him and the common weale. And other againe did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace, which *Cæsar* had offered him, suffering *Lentulus* the Consull to abuse his power too much. On the other side, *Phaonius* spake vnto him, & bad him stampe on the ground with his foote: For *Pompey* being one day in a braueric in the Senate, sayd openly: let no man make any thought for preparation of warre, for when he listed, with one stampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all ITALIE with souldiers. This notwithstanding, *Pompey* at that time he

Cæsars doubtfull thoughts at the riuer of Rubicon.

The Greeke vseth this phrase of speech, cast the dye.

Cæsar tooke the citie of Ariminum.

Cæsars damnable dreame.

Rome in vproare with Cæsars comming.

greater number of souldiers then *Cæsar*: but they would neuer let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him so many lyes, and put so many examples of feare before him, as if *Cæsar* had bene already at their heeles, and had wonne all: so that in the end he yeelded vnto them, and gaue place to their furie and madnesse, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboyle) that there was no way but to forsake the citie, and thereupon commaunded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tary there, vnlesse he loued tyranny, more then his own libertie and the common wealth. Thus the Consuls themselues, before they had done their common sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the citie, fled euery man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senatours, taking their owne things in hast, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from an other. And there were some of them also that alwayes loued *Cæsar*, whose wits were then so troubled & besides themselues, with the feare they had conceiued: that they also fled, and followed the streame of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessitie. But aboue all things, it was a lamentable sight to see the citie it selfe, that in this feare & trouble was left at all aduenture, as a ship tossed in storme of sea, forsaken of her Pilots, and dispairing of her safetie. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the loue they bare vnto *Pompey*) to be their naturall countrey, and reckoned ROME no better then *Cæsars* campe. At that time also *Labienus*, who was one of *Cæsars* greatest friends, and had bene alwayes vsed as his Leutenant in the warres of GAVLE, and had valiantly fought in his cause: he likewise forsooke him then, and fled vnto *Pompey*. But *Cæsar* sent his money and cariage after him, and then went and encamped before the citie of CORFINIVM, the which *Domitius* kept, with thirty cohorts or ensignes. When *Domitius* saw he was besieged, he straight thought himselfe but vndone, and dispayring of his successe, he bad a Phisition, a slaue of his, giue him poyson. The Phisition gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to haue dyed. But shortly after, *Domitius* hearing them report what clemencie and wonderfull curtesie *Cæsar* vsed vnto them he tooke: repented him then that he had drunke this drinke, and began to lament & bewayle his desperate resolution taken to dye. The Phisition did comfort him againe, & told him, that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him sleepe, but not to destroy him. Then *Domitius* reioyced, and went straight and yeelded himselfe vnto *Cæsar*: who gaue him his life, but he notwithstanding stale away immediatly, & fled vnto *Pompey*. When these newes were brought to ROME, they did maruellously reioyce and comfort them that still remained there: and moreouer there were of them that had forsaken ROME, which returned thither againe. In the meane time, *Cæsar* did put all *Domitius* men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leuied men for *Pompey*. Now *Cæsar* hauing assembled a great & dreadfull power together, went straight where he thought to finde *Pompey* himselfe. But *Pompey* taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with their army he had, vnto DYRRACHIVM: and he himselfe also went thither afterwardes, when he vnderstood that *Cæsar* was come, as you shall heare more amply hereafter in his life. *Cæsar* lacked no good will to follow him, but wanting ships to take the seas, he returned forthwith to ROME: So that in lesse then three score daies, he was Lord of all ITALIE, without any bloud-shed. Who when he was come to ROME, and found it much quieter then he looked for, and many Senatours there also, he curteously intreated them, and prayed them to send vnto *Pompey*, to pacifie all matters betweene them, vpon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared *Pompey* for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought *Cæsar* meant not as he spake, but that they were wordes of course, to colour his purpose withall. And when *Metellus* also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of *Saturne*, but told him that it was against the law: Tush, sayd he, time & warre and law are two things. If this that I do, quoth he, do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for warre can not abide this francke and bold speach. But when warres are done, and that we are all quiet againe, then thou shalt speake in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of fauour, in payring so much my right, for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that haue risen against me, and whom I haue in my handes. When he had spoken thus vnto *Metellus*, he went to the temple doore where the treasure

Pompey flyeth from Rome.

Labienus forsooke Cæsar, & fled to Pompey.

Domitius escaped from Cæsar, and fled to Pompey.

Pompey flyeth into Epirus.

Silent leges inter arma.

Cæsar taketh money out of the temple of Saturne.

lay: and finding no keyes there, he causèd Smithes to be sent for, and made them breake open the lockes. *Metellus* thereupon began againe to withstand him, and certaine men that stood by prayséd him in his doing: but *Cæsar* at length speaking biggely to him, threatned him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, young man, quoth he, thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, then to do it. That word made *Metellus* quake for feare, that he got him away roundly: and euer after that, *Cæsar* had all at his commaundement for the warres. From thence he went into SPAYNE, to make warre with *Petreius* and *Varro*, *Pompeys* Lieutenants: first to get their armies and prouinces into his handes which they gouerned, that afterwardes he might follow *Pompey* the better, leauing neuer an enemy behind him. In this iourney he was oftentimes himselfe in daunger, through the ambushes that were layd for him in diuers straunge sortes and places, and likely also to haue lost all his army for lacke of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he neuer left following of *Pompeys* Lieutenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in: vntill he had gotten their campe and armies into his handes, albeit that the Lieutenants themselues fled vnto *Pompey*. When *Cæsar* returned againe to ROME, *Piso* his father in law gaue him counsell to send Ambassadours vnto *Pompey*, to treate of peace. But *Isauricus*, to flatter *Cæsar*, was against it. *Cæsar* being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had bene slaine in *Sylla* time: and did somewhat cut off the vsuries that did oppresse them, and besides, did make some such other ordinaunces as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleuen dayes onely, & then did yeeld it vp of himselfe, and made himselfe Consull, with *Seruilius Isauricus*, and after that determined to follow the warres. All the rest of his armie he left comming on the way behind him, and went himselfe before with six hundred horse, and fiue legions onely of footemen, in the winter quarter, about the month of Ianuary, which after the ATHENIANS, is called POSIDEON. Then hauing past ouer the sea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the cities of ORICVM and APOLLONIA. Then he sent his ships backe againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM, to transport the rest of his souldiers that could not come with that speede he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body, & lusty youth, was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry battels as they had fought with their enemies: complained of *Cæsar* in this sort. To what end and purpose doth this man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vsing vs like slaues and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what, shal we neuer be without our harnes on our backes, and our shieldes on our armes? should not *Cæsar* thinke, at the least whē he seeth our bloud & wounds, that we are all mortall men, and that we feele the miserie & paines that other men do feele? And now euen in the dead of winter, he putteth vs vnto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea which the gods thēselues can not withstand: as if he fled before his enemies, & put fled thē not. Thus spending time with this talke, the souldiers still marching on, by small iourneys came at length vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM. But when they were come, & found that *Cæsar* had already passed ouer the sea, then they straight chaunged their complaints and mirids. For they blamed themselues, & tooke on also with their Captaines, because they had not made thē make more hast in marching: & sitting vpō the rocks & clyffes of the sea, they looked ouer the mayne sea towards the realme of EPIRVS, to see if they could discerne the ships returning backe, to transport thē ouer. *Cæsar* in the meane time being in the citie of APOLLONIA, hauing but a small army to fight with *Pompey*, it greeued him for that the rest of his army was so lōg a comming not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a daungerous determination, to imbarke vnknowen in a litle pynnase of twelue ores only, to passe ouer the sea again vnto BRVNDVSIVM: the which he could not do without great danger, cōsidering that all that sea was full of *Pompeys* ships & armies. So he tooke ship in the night apparelled like a slaue, & went aboord vpon this litle pynnase, & said neuer a word, as if he had bene some poore man of meane condition. The pynnase lay in the mouth of the riuer of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme & quiet, by reason of a litle wind that came frō the shore, which euery morning draue backe the waues farre into the maine sea. But that night, by ill fortune, there came a great wind from the sea that ouercame the land wind, in somuch as the force & strength of the wind

Cæsars iourney into Spayne, against Pompeys Lieutenants.

Cæsar Dictator.

Cæsar and Isauricus Consuls.

Cæsar goeth into the kingdome of Epirus.

Complaints of the old souldiers against Cæsar.

A great aduenture of Cæsar.

Anius fl.

fighting

fighting againſt the violence of the rage and waues of the ſea, the encounter was maruellous dangerous, the water of the riuer being driuen backe, and rebounding vpward, with great noyſe & danger in turning of the water. Therupon the Maiſter of the pynnaſe ſeeing he could not poſsibly get out of the mouth of this riuer, bad the Mariners to caſt about againe, & to returne againſt the ſtreame. *Cæſar* hearing that, ſtraight diſcouered himſelfe vnto the Maiſter of the pynnaſe, who at the firſt was amazed whē he ſaw him: but *Cæſar* thē taking him by the hād ſayd vnto him, good fellow, be of good cheare, & forwards hardily, feare not, for thou haſt *Cæſar* & his fortune with thee. Then the Mariners forgetting the danger of the ſtorme they were in, layd on lode with ores & laboured for life what they could againſt the winde, to get out of the mouth of this riuer. But at length, perceiuing they laboured in vaine, and that the pynnaſe tooke in aboundance of water, & was ready to ſincke: *Cæſar* then to his great griefe was driuē to returne backe againe. Who when he was returned vnto his campe, his ſouldiers came in great companies vnto him, & were very ſory, that he miſtruſted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his perſon in danger, to go fetch them that were abſent, putting no truſt in them that were preſent. In the meane time *Antonius* arriued, and brought with him the reſt of his army frō BRVNDVSIVM. Then *Cæſar* finding himſelfe ſtrōg enough, went & offered *Pompey* battell, who was paſsingly well lodged, for victualling of his campe both by ſea & land. *Cæſar* on the other ſide, who had no great plenty of victuals at the firſt, was in a very hard caſe: in ſomuch as his men gathered rootes, & mingled thē with milke, & eate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it alſo, & ſometime when they skirmiſhed with the enemies, & came alōgeſt by them that watched & warded, they caſt of their bread into their trenches, & ſayd: that as long as the earth brought forth ſuch fruites, they would neuer leaue beſieging of *Pompey*. But *Pompey* ſtraightly commaunded them, that they ſhould neither caſt thoſe wordes nor bread into their campe, fearing leaſt his mens harts would faile them, & that they would be affrayd, when they ſhould thinke of their enemies hardneſſe, with whom they had to fight, ſith they were weary with no paynes, no more then brute beaſts. *Cæſars* men did daily skirmiſh hard to the trenches of *Pompeys* campe, in the which *Cæſar* had euer the better, ſauing once only, at what time his men fled with ſuch feare, that all his campe that day was in great hazard to haue bene caſt away. For *Pompey* came on with his battell vpon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driuen into their campe, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were ſlayne within the very gate and bulwarkes of their campe, they were ſo valiantly purſued. *Cæſar* ſtood before them that fled, to make them to turne head againe: but he could not preuaile. For when he would haue taken the enſignes to haue ſtayed them, the enſigne bearers threw them down on the ground: ſo that the enemies tooke two and thirtie of them, and *Cæſars* ſelfe alſo ſcaped hardly with life. For ſeeking a great bigge ſouldier that fled by him, commanding him to ſtay, and turne his face to his enemy: the ſouldier being affrayed, lift vp his ſword to ſtrike at *Cæſar*. But one of *Cæſars* Pages preuenting him, gaue him ſuch a blow with his ſword, that he ſtrake off his ſhoulder. *Cæſar* that day was brought vnto ſo great extremitie, that (if *Pompey* had not either for feare, or ſpightfull fortune, left off to follow his victorie, and retired into his campe, being contented to haue driuen his enemies into their campe) returning to his campe with his friends, he ſayd vnto them: the victorie this day had bene our enemies, if they had had a Captaine, that could haue told how to haue ouercome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more, then any night that euer he had. For ſtill his minde came with greas ſorow of the fowle fault he had committed in leading of his armie, of ſelfe will to remaine there ſo long by the ſea ſide, his enemies being the ſtronger by ſea: conſidering that he had before him a goodly country, riche and plentifull of all things, and goodly cities of MACEDON and THESSALIE, and had not the wit to bring the warre from thence, but to loſe his tyme in a place, where he was rather beſieged of his enemies for lacke of victuals, then that he did beſiege them by force of armes. Thus, fretting and chafing to ſee himſelfe ſo ſtraighted with victuals, and to thinke of his ill lucke, he raiſed his campe, intending to go ſet vpon *Scipio*, making account, that either he ſhould draw *Pompey* to battell againſt his will, whē he had not the ſea at his backe to furniſh him with plenty of

Cæſars daungers and troubles in the Realme of Epirus.

Cæſars army fled frō Pompey.

Cæſars wordes of Pompeys victorie.

Cæſar troubled in minde, after his loſſe.

victuals: or else that he should easily ouercome *Scipio*, finding him alone, vnlesse he were aydet. This remoue of *Cæsars* campe, did much encourage *Pompeys* army and his Captaines, who would needes in any case haue followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled. But for *Pompey* himselfe, he would in no respect hazard battell, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himselfe well prouided of all things necessary to tary time, he thought it better to draw this warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to consume the litle strength that remained in *Cæsars* army: of the which, the best men were maruellous well trained and good souldiers, & for valiantnesse, at one dayes battell, were incomparable. But on the other side again, to remoue here & there so oft, & to fortifie their campe where they came, and to besiege any wall, or to keepe watch all night in their armour: the most part of thē could not do it, by reason of their age, being then vnable to away with that paines, so that the weakenesse of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their harts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate: yet was not this the worst. For besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals: so that it seemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respectes, *Pompey* would in no case fight, & yet had he but *Cato* onely of his mind in that, who stucke in it the rather, because he would auoyd sheding of his coūtry mens bloud. For when *Cato* had viewed the dead bodies slaine in the campe of his enemies, at the last skirmish that was betweene thē, the which were no lesse then a thousand persons: he couered his face, & went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, & blamed him, because he so long refrained from battell: and some prickt him forward, and called him *Agamemnon*, and king of kings, saying, that he delayed this warre in this sort, because he would not leaue his authoritie to commaund them all, and that he was glad alwayes to see many Captaines round about him, which came to his lodging to honour him, and wait vpon him. And *Faonius* also, a harebrayn fellow, frantickly counterfeiting the round and plaine speach of *Cato*, made as though he was maruellous angry, and sayd: is it not great pitie, that we shall not eate this yeare of TVSCVLVM figges, and all for *Pompeys* ambitious minde to raigne alone? & *Afranius*, who not long before was but lately come out of SPAYNE, (where, because he had but ill successe, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sold his army vnto *Cæsar*:) he went busily asking, why they fought not with that Marchant, vnto whom they sayd he had sold the prouince of SPAYNE? So that *Pompey* with these kind of speaches, against his will, was driuen to follow *Cæsar*, to fight with him. Then was *Cæsar* at the first, maruellously perplexed, & troubled by the way: because he found none that would giue him any victuals, being despised of euery man, for the late losse and ouerthrow he had receiued. But after that he had taken the citie of GOMPHES in THESSALY, he did not onely meete with plenty of victuals to relieue his army with: but he straungely also did rid them of their disease. For the souldiers meeting with plentie of wine, drinking hard, and making mery: draue away the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed thēselues vnto dauncing, masking, and playing the BACCHERIANS by the way: in somuch that drinking druncke they ouercame their disease, and made their bodies new againe. When they both came into the country of PHARSALIA, and both campes lay before the other: *Pompey* returned againe to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signes & tokens of misfortune in his sleepe. For he thought in his sleepe that whē he entred into the Theater, all the ROMAINES receiued him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon, they that were about him grew to such boldnesse and securitie, assuring themselues of victorie: that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, in a braucrie contended betweene themselues, for the chiefe Bishoppricke which *Cæsar* had. Furthermore, there were diuers that sent vnto ROME to hyre the neerest houses vnto the market place, as being the fittest places for Praetors, and Consuls: making their account already, that those offices could not scape them, incontinently after the warres. But besides those, the young Gentlemen, and ROMAINE Knights were maruellous desirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt armours, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselues goodly young men, to the number of seuen thousand, where the Gentlemen of *Cæsars* side, were but one thousand onely. The number of his footemen also were much after the same reckoning. For he had

Pompeys determinatiō for the warre.

Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.

The citie of Gomphes in Thessalie.

Pompeys dreame in Pharsalia. The securitie of the Pompeians.

fiue & forty thousand against two & twenty thousand. Wherefore *Cæsar* called his soul-
diers together, & told them how *Cornificius* was at hād, who brought two whole legions, &
that he had fifteen ensignes led by *Calenus*; the which he made to stay about MEGARA and Athens. Then he asked thē if they would tary for that ayde or not, or whether they would trie
the battell themselues alone. The souldiers cryed out to him, and prayed him not to
differre battell, but rather to deuise some meth to make the enemy fight assoone as he could.
Then as he sacrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his army: the first beast was no sooner
sacrificed, but his Soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three dayes. *Cæsar* asked
him againe, if he saw in the sacrifices, any lucky signe, or token of good lucke. The Soothsayer
answered, for that, thou shalt aunswer thy selfe, better then I can do: for the gods do promise
a marueilous great chaunge, & alteration of things that are now, vnto an other cleane contrary. For if thou beest well now, doest thou thinke to haue worse fortune hereafter? & if thou
be ill, assure thy selfe thou shalt haue better. The night before the battell, as he went about mid-
night to visite the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came
ouer *Cæsars* campe, and fell downe in *Pompeys*. In the morning also, when they relieued the
watch, they heard a false allarme in the enemies campe, without any apparāt cause: which they
commōly call a sodaine feare, that makes men besides themselues. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* thought not to fight that day, but was determined to haue raised his campe from thence, &
to haue gone towardes the citie of SCOTVSA: and his tents in his campe were already ouer-
throwen whē his scoutes came in with great speed, to bring him newes that his enemies were
preparing themselues to fight. Thē he was very glad, & after he had made his prayers vnto the
gods to helpe him that day, he set his men in battell ray, & deuided them into three squadrons:
giuing the middle battell vnto *Domitius Caluinus*, and the left wing vnto *Antonius*, and placed
himselfe in the right wing, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that, his enemies had set all their horsemen: he was halfe affrayd when he saw the great
number of them, & so braue besides. Wherfore he closely made six ensignes to come from the
rereward of his battel, whom he had layd as an ambush behind his right wing, hauing first ap-
pointed his souldiers what they should do, whē the horsemen of the enemies came to giue thē
charge. On the other side, *Pompey* placed himselfe in the right wing of his battell, gaue the left
wing vnto *Domitius*, & the middle battel vnto *Scipio* his father in law. Now all the ROMAINE
knights (as we haue told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpose to enuiron *Cæsars* right wing behind, and to giue their hottest charge there, where the generall of their ene-
mies was: making their account, that there was no squadrō of footemē how thick soeuer they
were, that could receiue the charge of so great a troupe of horsemen, and that at the first onset,
they should ouerthrow them all, & march vpon their bellies. Whē the trumpets on either side
had sound the allarme to the battell, *Pompey* cōmanded his footemen that they should stād still
without sturring, to receiue the charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their
darts. Wherefore *Cæsar* afterwards sayd, that *Pompey* had cōmitted a fowle fault, not to consi-
der that the charge which is giuen running with fury, besides that it giueth the more strength
also vnto their blowes, doth set mēs harts also a fire: for the cōmon hurling of all the souldiers
that runne together, is vnto them as a boxe on the eare that sets men a fire. Then *Cæsar* making
his battell march forward to giue the onset, saw one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very
skilfull in warre, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his souldiers that he had
vnder his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloude by his
name, and sayd vnto him: well, *Caius Crassinius*, what hope shall we haue to day? how are we
determined, to fight it out manfully? Then *Crassinius* casting vp his hand, aunswered him a-
loud: this day, O *Cæsar*, we shall haue a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt
praise me alyue or dead. When he had told him so, he was himself the formost man that gaue
charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about six score men, and ma-
king a lane through the foremost rankes, with great slaughter he entred far into the battell of
his enemies: vntill that valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length in the mouth
with a sword, that the point of it came out againe at his necke. Now the footemen of both bat-
tels being come to the sword, the horsemen of the left wing of *Pompey*, did march as fiercely

Pompeys army as great again as Cæsars.

A wonder seene in the element, before the battell in Pharsalia.

Cæsars armie and his order of battell, in the fieldes of Pharsalia.

Pompeys army, and his order of battell.

An ill counsell and fowle fault of Pompey.

The battell in the fieldes of Pharsalia.

also, spreading out their troupes, to compasse in the right wing of *Cæsars* battell. But before they began to giue charge, the six ensignes of footemen which *Cæsar* had layd in ambush behind him, they began to runne full vpon them, not throwing away their darts farre off as they were wont to do, neither striking their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to seeke to hit them full in the eyes, & to hurt them in the face, as *Cæsar* had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young Gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vsed to see themselues hurt, & the which, being in the pryme of their youth and beautie, would be affrayd of those hurts, aswell for the feare of the present danger to be slayne, as also for that their faces should not for euer be deformed. As indeede it came to passe, for they could neuer abide that they should come so neare their faces, with the points of their dartes, but hung downe their heads for feare to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselues, they began at length cowardly to flye, and were occasion also of the losse of all the rest of *Pompeys* armie. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to set vpon the squadron of the footemen behind, and slue them. Then *Pompey* seeing his horsemen from the other wing of his battell, so scattered and dispersed, flying away: forgat that he was any more *Pompey* the great which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whose wits the goddes had taken from him, being affrayed and amazed with the slaughter sent from aboue, and so retired into his tent speaking neuer a word, and sat there to see the end of this battell. Vntill at length all his army being ouerthrowen, and put to flight, the enemies came, and got vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himselfe againe, he spake but this onely word: What, euen into our campe? So in haste, casting off his coate armour and apparell of a generall, he shifted him, and put on such, as became his miserable fortune, and so stale out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrow, and how he had put himselfe into the handes of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whom he was miserably slayne: we haue set it forth at large in his life. Then *Cæsar* entring into *Pompeys* campe, and seeing the bodies layed on the grounde that were slayne, and others also that were a killing, sayd, fetching a great sigh: it was their owne doing, and against my will. For *Caius Cæsar*, after he had won so many famous conquestes, and ouercome so many great battels, had bene vtterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his army. *Asinius Pollio* writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and sayth furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the campe, were slaues and bondmen, and that there were not slayne in all at this battell, aboue six thousand souldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, *Cæsar* did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom *Brutus* was one, that afterwardes slue *Cæsar* himselfe: and it is reported, that *Cæsar* was very sory for him, when he could not immediatly be founde after the battell, and that he reioyced againe, when he knew he was aliue, and that he came to yeeld himselfe vnto him. *Cæsar* had many signes and tokens of victorie before this battell: but the notablest of all other that hapned to him, was in the citie of TRALLES. For in the temple of victorie, within the same citie, there was an image of *Cæsar*, and the earth all about it very hard of it selfe, and was paued besides with hard stone: and yet some say that there sprang vp a palme hard by the base of the same image. In the citie of PADNA, *Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothsayer, (a country man and friend of *Titus Liuius* the Historiographer) was by chaunce at that time set to behold the flying of birdes. He (as *Liuie* reporteth) knew the very tyme when the battell began, and told them that were present, euen now they giue the onset on both sides, and both armies do meete at this instant. Then sitting downe againe to consider of the birdes, after he had bethought him of the signes: he sodainly rose vp on his feete, and cryed out as a man possessed with some spirit, oh, *Cæsar*, the victorie is thine. Euery man wondring to see him, he tooke the crowne he had on his head, and made an othe that he would neuer put it on againe, till the euent of his prediction had proued his art true. *Liuie* testifieth, that it so came to passe. *Cæsar* afterwardes giuing freedome vnto the THESSALIANS, in respect of the victory which he wan in their country, he followed after

Cæsars stratageme.

Cæsar ouerthroweth Pompey.

Pompeys flight.

Brutus that slue Cæsar, taken prisoner at the battell of Pharsalia.

Signes and tokens of Cæsars victorie.

A strange tale of Cornelius an excellent Prognosticatour.

after *Pompey*. When he came into ASIA, he gaue freedom also vnto the GVIDIANS for *Theophanes* sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release ASIA also, the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid vnto the ROMAINES. Then he came into ALEXANDRIA after *Pompey* was slaine: and detested *Theodotus* that presented him *Pompeys* heade, and turned his head at toe side because he would not see it. Nothwithstanding, he tooke his seale, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he curteously vsed all *Pompeys* friends & familiars, who wandring vp & downe the country, were taken of the king of ÆGYPT, and wan them all to be at his comandement. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote vnto his friends at ROME, that the greatest pleasure he tooke of his victorie, was, that he daily saued the liues of some of his countrey men that bare armes against him. And for the warre he made in ALEXANDRIA, some say, he needed not haue done it, but that he willingly did it for the loue of *Cleopatra*: Wherein he wan litle honor, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault vpon the king of ÆGYPTS ministers, but specially on *Pothinus* the Eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the kings seruants, after he had caused *Pompey* to be slaine, and driuen *Cleopatra* from the Court, secretly laide waite all the waies he could, how he might likewise kill *Cæsar*. Wherefore *Cæsar* hearing an inckling of it, beganne thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safety. Besides all this, *Pothinus* the Eunuch spake many things openly not to be borne, onely to shame *Cæsar*, and to stirre vp the people to enuie him. For he made his souldiers haue the worst and oldest wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complaine of it, he told them, they must be contented, seeing they eate at an other mans cost. And he would serue them also at the table in treene & earthen dishes, saying that *Cæsar* had away all their gold and siluer, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vnto him: which was, a thousande seuen hundred and fiftie Myriades, whereof *Cæsar* had before forgiuen seuen hundred & fiftie thousand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a Myllion to pay his souldiers withall. Thereto *Pothinus* answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, & afterwards that he should at more leasure recouer his debt, with the kings good will and fauour. *Cæsar* replyed vnto him, and said, that he would not aske counsell of the ÆGYPTIANS for his affaires, but would be paid: and therupon secretly sent for *Cleopatra* which was in the country to come vnto him. She only taking *Apollodorus* SICILIAN of all her friends, tooke a litle bote, & went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the castle. Then hauing no other mean to come into the court without being knowen, she laid her selfe down vpon a mattresse or flockbed, which *Apollodorus* her friend tied and bound vp together like a bundle with a great leather thong, & so tooke her vp on his backe, and brought her thus hamred in this fardle vnto *Cæsar*, in at the castle gate. This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made *Cæsar* to loue her: but afterwardes, when he saw her sweete conuersation and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her againe vnto her brother the king, with condition, that they two ioyntly should raigne together. Vppon this new reconciliation, a great feast being prepared, a slaue of *Cæsars* that was his barber, the fearfullest wretch that liued, stil busily prying and listening abroad in euery corner, being mistrustfull by nature: found that *Pothinus* and *Achillas* did lie in waite to kill his maister *Cæsar*. This being proued vnto *Cæsar*, he did set such sure watch about the hall, where the feast was made, that in fine, he slew the Eunuch *Pothinus* himselfe. *Achillas* on the other side, saued himself and fled vnto the kings campe, where he raised a maruellous dangerous and difficult warre for *Cæsar*: because he hauing then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight against a great and strong citie. The first danger he fell into, was for the lacke of water he had: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water vnto the castle. The second danger he had, was, that seeing his enemies came to take his shippes from him, he was driuen to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arsenall where the ships lay, and that notable librarie of ALEXANDRIA withall. The third danger was in the battell by sea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by sea, he lept from the peere into a bote. Then the ÆGYPTIANS made towards him with their owers, on euerie side: but hee leaping into the sea, with great hazard saued himselfe by swimming.

Cæsars clemencie in victory.

The cause of Cæsars warre in Alexandria.

Pothinus the Eunuch caused Pompey to be slaine.

Cleopatra came to Cæsar.

Cleopatra trussed vp in a mattresse, and so brought to Cæsar, vpon Apollodorus backe.

The great library of Alexandria burnt.

Cæsars swimming with bookes in his hand.

It is said, that then holding diuerse bookes in his hand, he did neuer let them go, but kept them alwayes vpon his head aboue water, and swamme with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot maruellously at him, and was driuen somtime to ducke into the water: howbeit the bote was drowned presently. In fine, the king comming to his men that made warre with *Cæsar*, he went against him, and gaue him battell, and wanne it with great slaughter, and effusion of bloud. But for the king, no man could euer tell what became of him after. Thereupon *Cæsar* made *Cleopatra* his sister, Queene of ÆGYPT, who being great with childe by him, was shortly brought to bed of a sonne, whō the ALEXANDRIANS named *Cæsarion*. From thence he went into SYRIA, and so going into ASIA, there it was told him that *Domitius* was ouerthrowen in battell, by *Pharnaces* the sonne of king *Mithridates*, & was fled out of the realme of PONTE, with a few men with him: and that this king *Pharnaces* greedily following his victorie, was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA, and CAPPADOCIA, but further would needes attempt to win ARMENIA the lesse, procuring all those kings, princes, and gouernors of the prouinces thereabouts to rebell against the ROMAINES. Therupon *Cæsar* went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battell with king *Pharnaces* by the citie of ZELA, where he slew his armie, & draue him out of all the realme of PONTE. And because he would aduertise one of his friends of the sodainnesse of this victorie, he onely wrote three words vnto *Anitius* at ROME: *Veni, Vidi, Vici:* to wit, I came, I saw, I ouercame. These three wordes ending all with like sound and letters in the Latin, haue a certaine short grace, more pleasant to the eare, then can be well expressed in any other tongue. After this, he returned againe into ITALY, and came to ROME, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the second time, which office before was neuer graunted for one whole yeare, but vnto him. Then he was chosen Consull for the yeare following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his souldiers in a mutine hauing slaine two Prætors, *Cosconius* and *Galba*, he gaue them no other punishment for it, but in stead of calling them souldiers, he named them citizens, and gaue vnto euery one of them a thousand Drachmas a man, and great possessions in ITALIE. He was much misliked also for the desperate parts and madnes of *Dolabella*, for the couetousnesse of *Anitius*, for the drunkennesse of *Antonius* and *Cornificius*, which made *Pompeys* house be pulled downe and builded vp againe, as a thing not bigge enough for him, wherewith the ROMAINES were maruellously offended. *Cæsar* knew all this well enough, and would haue bene contented to haue redressed them: but to bring his matters to passe he pretended, he was driuen to serue his turne by such instruments. After the battell of Pharsalia, *Cato* and *Scipio* being fled into AFRICKE, king *Iuba* ioyned with them, & leauied a great puisant army. Wherefore *Cæsar* determined to make warre with them, & in the middest of winter, he tooke his iorney into SICILE. There, because he would take all hope from his Captaines and souldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged vpon the very sands by the sea side, and with the next gale of winde that came, he tooke the sea with three thousand footemen, and a fewe horsemen. Then hauing put them a land, vnwares to them, he hoysed saile againe, to go fetch the rest of his armie, being affraid least they should meete with some daunger in passing ouer, and meeting them mid way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was tolde him that his enemies trusted in an ancient Oracle, which said, that it was predestined vnto the family of the *Scipioes* to be conquerors in AFRICK: either of purpose to mocke *Scipio* the Generall of his enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefite of this name (giuen by the Oracle) vnto himselfe, in all the skirmishes and battels fought, he gaue the charge of his army, vnto a man of meane qualitie and account, called *Scipio Salutius*, who came of the race of *Scipio* AFRICAN, & made him alwaies his Generall when he fought. For he was eftsoones compelled to wearie and harrie his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had come enough, nor his beasts forrage, but the souldiers were driuen to take sea weedes, called Alga: and (washing away the brackishnesse thereof with fresh water, putting to it a litle herbe called dogges tooth) to cast it so to their horse to eate. For the NVMIDIANS (which are light horsemen, and very readie of seruice) being a great number together, would be on a sodaine in euery place, and spred all the fieldes ouer thereabout, so that no man durst peepe out of the campe to goe for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were staying to beholde an AFRICAN doing

Cæsars victorie of king Pharnaces.

Cæsar writeth three wordes to certifie his victorie.

Cæsars iorney into Africke, against Cato and Scipio.

Cæsars troubles in Africke.

Alga and dogs tooth giuen to the horse to eate.

Cæsars dangers in Africke.

doing notable things in dauncing and playing with the flute: they being set downe quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, hauing in the meane time giuen their slaues their horses to hold, the enemies stealing sodainly vpon them, compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pell mell into their campe. Furthermore had not *Cæsar* himselfe in person, and *Asinius Pollio* with him gone out of the campe to the rescue, and staied them that fled: the warre that day had bene ended. There was also an other skirmish where his enemies had the vpper hand, in the which it is reported, that *Cæsar* taking the ensigne bearer by the coller that caried the Eagle in his hand, stayed him by force, and turning his face, told him: see, there be thy enemies. These aduantages did lift vp *Scipioes* heart aloft, and gaue him courage to hazard battell: and leauing *Afranius* on the one hand of him, and king *Iuba* on the other hand, both their campes lying neere to other, he did fortifie himselfe by the citie of THAPSACVS, aboue the lake, to be a safe refuge for them all in this battell. But whilest he was busie intrenching of himselfe, *Cæsar* hauing marvellous speedily passed through a great country full of wood, by bypathes which men would never haue mistrusted: he stale vpon some behinde, and sodainely assailed the other before, so that he ouerthrew them all, and made them flie. Then following this first good happe he had, he went forthwith to set vpon the campe of *Afranius*, the which he tooke at the first onset, and the campe of the NVMIDIANS also, king *Iuba* being fled. Thus in a litle peece of the day only, he tooke three campes, and slew fifty thousand of his enemies, & lost but fiftie of his souldiers. In this sort is set downe the effect of this battell by some writers. Yet others do write also, that *Cæsar* selfe was not there in person at the execution of this battell. For as he did set his men in battell ray, the falling sickenesse tooke him, whereunto he was giuen, and therefore feeling it coming, before he was ouercome withall, he was caried into a castle not farre from thence, where the battell was fought, and there tooke his rest till the extremitie of his disease had left him. Now, for the Prætor and Consuls that scaped from this battell, many of them being taken prisoners, did kill themselues, and others also *Cæsar* did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men else to haue *Cato* aliue in his hands, he went with all possible speede vnto the citie of VTICA, whereof *Cato* was Gouernour, by meanes whereof he was not at the battell. Notwithstanding being certified by the way that *Cato* had slaine himself with his own hands, he then made open shew that he was very sory for it, but why or wherfore, no man could tell. But this is true, that *Cæsar* said at that present time: O *Cato*, I enuie thy death, because thou didst enuy my glory, to saue thy life. This notwithstanding, the booke that hee wrote afterwards against *Cato* being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitifull hart towards him. For how could he haue pardoned him, if liuing he had had him in his hands: that being dead did speake so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would haue pardoned him, if he had taken him aliue, by the clemencie he shewed vnto *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and diuers others that had borne armes against him. Some report, that he wrote that booke, not so much for any priuate malice he had to his death, as for enuill ambition, vpon this occasion. *Cicero* had written a booke in praise of *Cato*, which he intituled, *Cato*. This booke in likelihood was verie well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent subiect thereof. *Cæsar* therewith was maruellously offended, thinking that to praise him, of whose death he was author, was euen as much as to accuse himselfe: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped vp a number of accusations against *Cato*, and intituled the booke *Anticaton*. Both these bookes haue fauourers vnto this day, some defending the one for the loue they bare to *Cæsar*, & others allowing the other for *Catoes* sake. *Cæsar* being now returned out of AFRICKE, first of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victorie, declaring vnto them, that he had conquered so many countries vnto the Empire of ROME, that he could furnish the common wealth yearely, with two hundred thousand bushels of wheate, and twentie hundred thousand pound weight of oyle. Then he made three triumphs, the one for ÆGYPT, the other for the kingdome of PONTE, and the third for AFRICKE: not because he had ouercome *Scipio* there, but king *Iuba*. Whose sonne being likewise called *Iuba*, being then a young boy, was led captiue in the shewe of this triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous

Cæsars great victorie and small losse.

Cæsar troubled with the falling sickenesse.

Cæsar was sorie for the death of Cato.

Cæsar wrote against Cato being dead.

Cicero wrote a booke in praise of Cato being dead.

Iuba, the sonne of king Iuba, a famous historiographer.

NVMIDIAN, by the studie he fel vnto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wisest historiographers of the GRECIANS. After these three triumphes ended he very liberally rewarded his souldiers: & to curry fauor with the people, he made great feasts and common sports. For he feasted all the ROMAINES at one time, at two and twenty thousand tables, and gaue them the pleasure to see diuers sword plaiers to fight at the sharpe, & battels also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter *Iulia*, which was dead long before. Then after all these sports, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered: and where there were at the last musters before, three hundred and twentie thousande citizens, at this muster only there were but a hundred and fiftie thousand. Such misery and destruction had this ciuill warre brought vnto the common wealth of ROME, and had consumed such a number of ROMAINES not speaking at all of the mischieues and calamities it had brought vnto all the rest of ITALY, and to the other prouinces pertaining to ROME. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consull the fourth time, & went into SPAINE to make warre with the sonnes of *Pompey*: who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a maruellous great army together, and shewed to haue had manhoode and courage worthie to commaund such an armie, insomuch as they put *Cæsar* himselfe in great daunger of his life. The greatest battell that was fought betwene them in all this warre, was by the citie of MVNDA For then *Cæsar* seeing his men sorely distressed, and hauing their hands full of their enemies: he ranne into the prease among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them: what, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yeelding your selues with your owne handes to these young boyes? And so, with all the force he could make, hauing with much a doe put his enemies to flight: he slew aboue thirtie thousand of them in the fielde, and lost of his owne men a thousand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victorie, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his owne life. He wanne this battell on the very feast day of the BACCHANALIANS, in the which men say, that *Pompey* the great went out of ROME, about foure yeares before, to beginne this ciuill warre. For his sonnes, the younger scaped from the battell: but within few dayes after, *Diddius* brought the head of the elder. This was the last warre that *Cæsar* made. But the triumph he made into ROME for the same, did as much offend the ROMAINES, and more, then any thing that euer he had done before: because he had not ouercome Captaines that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sonnes of the noblest man in ROME, whom fortune had ouerthrowen. And because he had plucked vp his race by the roote, men did not thinke it meete for him to triumph so, for the calamities of his countrie, reioycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men: that he was compelled to doe that he did. And the rather they thought it not meete, because he had neuer before sent letters nor messengers vnto the common wealth at ROME, for any victorie that he had euer wonne in all the ciuill warres: but did alwaies for shame refuse the glorie of it. This notwithstanding, the ROMAINES inclining to *Cæsars* prosperitie, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for them to take breath a litle, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these ciuill warres: they chose him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyranny: for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraide to be deposed: *Cicero* propounded before the Senate, that they should giue him such honors, as were meete for a man: howbeit others afterwards added to, honours beyonde all reason. For, men striuing who should most honor him, they made him hatefull and troublesome to themselues that most fauoured him, by reason of the vnmeasurable greatnes and honors which they gaue him. Thereupon, it is reported, that euen they that most hated him, were no lesse fauorers and furtherers of his honors, then they that most flattered him: because they might haue greater occasions to rise, and that it might appeare they had iust cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himselfe, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did so honorably behaue himselfe, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore mee thinkes, amongst other honors they gaue him, he rightly deserued this, that they should build him a temple of clemencie, to thanke him for his courtesie he had vsed vnto them in his victorie. For he pardoned many

Cæsars feasting of the Romaines.

The muster taken of the Romaines.

Cæsar Consull the fourth time.

Battell fought betwixt Cæsar and the young Pompeys, by the citie of Munda.

Cæsars victorie of the sonnes of Pompey.

Cæsars triumph of Pompeys sonnes.

Cæsar Dictator perpetuall.

The temple of clemencie, dedicated vnto Cæsar, for his courtesie.

many of them that had borne armes againſt him, and furthermore, did preferre ſome of them to honour and office in the common wealth: as amongſt others, *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, both the which were made Prætors. And where *Pompeys* images had bene throwen downe, he cauſed them to be ſet vp againe: whereupon *Cicero* ſaid then, that *Cæſar* ſetting vp *Pompeys* images againe he made his owne to ſtand the ſurer. And when ſome of his friends did counſell him to take a guard for the ſafetie of his perſon, and ſome alſo did offer themſelues to ſerue him: he would neuer conſent to it, but ſaide, it was better to die once, then alwaies to be affraide of death. But to win himſelfe the loue and good will of the people, as the honorableſt guard and beſt ſafetie he could haue: he made common feaſts againe, and generall diſtributions of corne. Furthermore, to gratifie the ſouldiers alſo, hee repleniſhed many cities againe with inhabitantes, which before had bene deſtroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire vnto: of the which the nobleſt & chiefeſt cities were theſe two, CARTHAGE & CORINTH, and it chaunced alſo, that like as aforetime they had beene both taken and deſtroyed together, euen ſo were they both ſet a foote againe, and repleniſhed with people, at one ſelfe time. And for great perſonages, he wanne them alſo, promiſing ſome of them, to make them Prætors and Conſuls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferrements, but to all men generally good hope, ſeeking all the waies he could to make euery man contented with his regne. Inſomuch as one of the Conſuls called *Maximus*, chauncing to die a day before his Conſulſhippe ended, he declared *Caninius Rebilius* Conſull onely for the day that remained. So, diuers going to his houſe (as the maner was) to ſalute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferrement, being newly choſen officer: *Cicero* pleaſantly ſaide, come, let vs make haſte, and be gone thither before his Conſulſhippe come out. Furthermore, *Cæſar* being borne to attempt all great enterpriſes, and hauing an ambitious deſire beſides to couet great honors: the proſperous good ſucceſſe he had of his former conqueſtes bred no deſire in him quietly to enioy the frutes of his labours, but rather gaue him hope of things to come, ſtill kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterpriſes, and deſire of new glory, as if that which he had preſent, were ſtale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no other but an emulation with himſelfe as with an other man, and a certaine contention to ouercome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation alſo, to make warre with the PERSIANS. Then when he had ouercome them, to paſſe through HYRCANIA (compaſſing in the ſea Caſpium, and mount Caucaſus) into the realme of PONTVS, and ſo to inuade SCYTHIA: and ouerrunning all the countries, and people adioyning vnto high GERMANY, and GERMANY it ſelfe, at length to returne by GAVLE into ITALIE, and ſo to enlarge the ROMAINE Empire round, that it might be euery way compaſſed in with the great ſea Oceanum. But whileſt he was preparing for this voiage, he attempted to cut the iſthme of the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, in the place where the citie of CORINTH ſtandeth. Then he was minded to bring the riuers of Anienes and Tiber, ſtraight from ROME, vnto the citie of CIRCEES, with a deepe channell and high bankes caſt vp on either ſide, and ſo to fall into the ſea at TERRACINA, for the better ſafety and commoditie of the marchants that came to ROME to trafficke there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and ſeaw all the water of the mariſhes betwixt the cities of NOMENTVM and SETIVM, to make it firme lande, for the benefit of many thouſandes of people: and on the ſea coaſt next vnto ROME, to caſt great high bankes, and to cleanſe all the hauen about OSTIA, of rockes and ſtones hidden vnder the water, and to take away all other impedimentes that made the harborough dangerous for ſhippes, and to make new hauens and arſenals meete to harbour ſuch ſhippes, as did continually trafficke thither. All theſe things were purpoſed to be done, but tooke no effect. But, the ordinance of the kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confuſion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the ROMAINES vſing then the ancient computation of the yeare, had not only ſuch incertainty and alteration of the moneth and times, that the ſacrifices and yearely feaſtes came by litle and litle to ſeaſons contrarie for the purpoſe they were ordained: but alſo in the reuolution of the ſunne (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the ROMAINES themſelues, only the prieſts vnder-

Caſſius and Brutus Prætors.

Cæſars ſaying of death.

Good will of ſubiects, the beſt guard and ſafetie for Princes.

Caninius Rebilius Conſull for one day.

Anienes. Tiber. flu.

Cæſar reformed the inequalitie of the yeare.

stood it. And therefore when they listed, they sodainly (no man being able to controll them) did thrust in a moneth aboue their ordinarie number, which they called in old time, * Mercedonius. Some say, that *Numa Pompilius* was the first, that deuised this way, to put a moneth betwene: but it was a weake remedie, and did litle helpe the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But *Cæsar* committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set foorth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMAINES doe vse vntill this present day, and do nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuied his greatnesse, did not sticke to finde fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one saide, to morow the starre Lyra will rise: yea, said he, at the commandement of *Cæsar*, as if men were compelled so to say and thinke, by *Cæsars* edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the couetous desire he had to be called king: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honor & dignitie, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybiline prophecies, how the ROMAINES might ouercome the PARTHIANS, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that *Cæsar* returning to ROME from the citie of ALBA, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and *Cæsar* also angry, he said he was not called king, but *Cæsar*. Then euery man keeping silence, he went his way heauy & sorowfull. When they had decreed diuers honors for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors accõpanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his maiestie, disdaining to rise vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene priuate men, answered them: that his honours had more neede to be cut off than enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the common wealth: insomuch as euerie man that might lawfully goe his way, departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also *Cæsar* rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his dublet coller, making his necke bare, he cried out aloud to his friendes, that his throte was readie to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwards to excuse this follie, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wittes are not perfit which haue his disease of the falling euil, when standing on their feete they speake to the common people, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their bodie, and a sodaine dimnesse and guidinesse. But that was not true. For he would haue risen vp to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus* one of his friends (but rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: what, doe you not remember that you are *Cæsar*, and will you not let them reuerence you, and doe their dueties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time, the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in olde time men say was the feast of sheapheards or heard men, and is much like vnto the feast of the LYCIANS in ARCADIA. But howsoeuer it is, that day there are diuers noble mens sonnes, young men, (and some of them Magistrates themselues that gouerne then) which run naked through the citie, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thongs, haire and all on, to make them giue place. And many noble women and gentle women also, goe of purpose to stand in their way, and doe put forth their handes to be striken, as schollers hold them out to their schoolemaster, to be striken with the ferula: perswading themselues that being with childe, they shall haue good deliuerie, and also being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with childe. *Cæsar* sate to beholde that sport vpon the pulpit for orations, in a chaire of golde, apparelled in triumphing manner. *Antonius* who was Consull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to *Cæsar*, and presented him a Diadeame wreathed about with laurell. Whereupon there rose a certaine cry of reioycing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpose. But when *Cæsar* refused the Diadeame, then all

* *Mercedonius mensis intercalaris.*

Why Cæsar was hated.

The feast Lupercalia.

Antonius being Consull, was one of the Lupercalians.

Antonius presented the Diademe to Cæsar.

all the people together made an outcry of ioy. Then *Antonius* offering it him again, there was a second shout of ioy, but yet of a few. But when *Cæsar* refused it againe the second time, then all the whole people shouted. *Cæsar* hauing made this proofe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chaire, and commanded the crowne to be caried vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there were set vp images of *Cæsar* in the city with Diadems vpon their heades, like kings. Those, the two Tribunes, *Flauius* and *Marullus*, went and pulled downe: and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted *Cæsar* as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them reioycing at it, and called them *Brutes*: because of *Brutus*, who had in old time driuen the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdome of one person, vnto the gouernment of the Senate and people. *Cæsar* was so offended withall, that he depriued *Marullus* and *Flauius* of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them *Bruti*, and *Cumani*, to wit, beasts, and fooles. Hereuppon the people went straight vnto *Marcus Brutus*, who from his father came of the first *Brutus*, and by his mother, of the house of the *Seruilians*, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and sonne in law of *Marcus Cato*. Notwithstanding, the great honors and fauor *Cæsar* shewed vnto him, kept him backe that of him selfe alone, hee did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdome. For *Cæsar* did not onely saue his life, after the battell of Pharsalia when *Pompey* fled, and did at his request also saue many moe of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a maruellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Consull, the fourth year after that, hauing through *Cæsars* friendship, obtained it before *Cassius*, who likewise made sute for the same: and *Cæsar* also, as it is reported, sayd in this contention, in deed *Cassius* hath alleaged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before *Brutus*. Some one day accusing *Brutus* while hee practised this conspiracy, *Cæsar* would not heare of it, but clapping his hand on his body, told them, *Brutus* will looke for this skinne: meaning thereby, that *Brutus* for his vertue, deserued to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions sake, hee would not shew him selfe vnthankefull or dishonorable. Now they that desired chaunge, and wished *Brutus* onely their Prince and Gouernor aboue all other: they durst not come to him them selues to tell him what they would haue him to doe, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Prætors seate where hee gaue audience, and the most of them to this effect. Thou sleepest *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* in deede. *Cassius* finding *Brutus* ambition sturred vp the more by these seditious bils, did pricke him forward, and egge him on the more, for a priuat quarrell he had conceiued against *Cæsar*: the circumstance whereof, we haue set downe more at large in *Brutus* life. *Cæsar* also had *Cassius* in great gealousie, and suspected him much: whereuppon he sayed on a time to his friends, what will *Cassius* doe, thinke ye? I like not his pale looks. An other time when *Cæsars* friends complained vnto him of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, that they pretended some mischiefe towards him: he answered them againe, as for those fat men and smooth comed heads, quoth hee, I neuer reckon of them: but these pale visaged and carian leane people, I feare them most, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Certainely, destiny may easier be foreseene, then auoyded: considering the strange and wonderfull signes that were sayd to be seene before *Cæsars* death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirites running vp and downe in the night, and also the solitary birdes to be seene at noone dayes sitting in the great market place: are not all these signes perhappes worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chaunce as happened. But *Strabo* the Philosopher writeth, that diuers men were seene going vp and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slaue of the souldiers, that did cast a maruellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it, thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was our, it was found he had no hurt. *Cæsar* selfe also doing sacrifice vnto the goddes, found that one of the beastes which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could liue without a heart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothsayer that had giuen *Cæsar* warning long time afore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of that moneth) for on that day he should be in great daunger. That day being come, *Cæsar* going vnto the Senate house, and speaking merily vnto the Soothsayer, tolde him, the Ides of March be come: so be they, softly aunswered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And

Cæsar saued Marcus Brutus life, after the battell of Pharsalia.

Brutus conspireth against Cæsar.

Cassius stirreth vp Brutus against Cæsar.

Predictions & foreshewes of Cæsars death.

Cæsars day of his death prognosticated by a Soothsayer.

the very day before, *Cæsar* supping with *Marcus Lepidus*, sealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the bord: so talke falling out amongest them, reasoning what death was best: hee preuenting their opinions, cried out aloud, death vnlooked for. Then going to bed the same night as his maner was, and lying with his wife *Calpurnia*, all the windowes and dores of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraied when he saw such light: but more, when he heard his wife *Calpurnia*, being fast a sleepe, weepe and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speaches. For shee dreamed that *Cæsar* was slaine, and that shee had him in her armes. Others also do deny that shee had any such dreame, as amonest other, *Titus Liuius* writeth, that it was in this sort. The Senate hauing set vpon the top of *Cæsars* house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certaine pinnacle: *Calpurnia* dreamed that shee saw it broken down, and that shee thought shee lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that *Cæsar* rising in the morning, shee prayd him if it wer possible, not to go out of the dores that day, but to adiorne the session of the Senate, vntill an other day. And if that hee made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he would search further of the Soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that *Cæsar* likewise did feare and suspect somewhat, because his wife *Calpurnia* vntill that time, was neuer giuen to any feare or superstition: and then, for that he saw her so troubled in minde with this dreame shee had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothsayers hauing sacrificed many beasts one after an other, tolde him that none did like them: then he determined to send *Antonius* to adiorne the session of the Senate. But in the meane time came *Decius Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, in whom *Cæsar* put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conspiracy with *Cassius* and *Brutus*: he fearing that if *Cæsar* did adiorne the session on that day, the conspiracy would out, laughed the Soothsaiers to scorne, and reproued *Cæsar*, saying: that he gaue the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might thinke hee mocked them, considering that by his commaundement they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to graunt him all things, and to proclaime him king of all the prouinces of the Empire of ROME out of ITALY, and that he should weare his Diadem in all other places both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him, they should depart for that present time, and returne againe when *Calpurnia* should haue better dreames: what would his enemies and ill willers say, and how could they like of his friends words? And who could perswade them otherwise, but that they would thinke his dominion a seruitude vnto them, and tyrannicall in him selfe? And yet if it be so, sayd he, that you vtterly mislike of this day, it is better that you goe your selfe in person, and saluting the Senate, to dismisse them till an other time. Therewithall he tooke *Cæsar* by the hand, and brought him out of his house. *Cæsar* was not gone farre from his house, but a bondman, a stranger, did what hee could to speake with him: and when he saw he was put backe by the great prease and multitude of people that followed him, he went straight into his house, and put him selfe into *Calpurnias* hands to be kept, till *Cæsar* came backe againe, telling her that he had great matters to impart vnto him. And one *Artemidorus* also borne in the Ile of GNIDOS, a Doctor of Rethoricke in the Greeke tongue, who by meanes of his profession was very familiar with certaine of *Brutus* confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practises against *Cæsar*: came and brought him a litle bill written with his owne hand, of all that he ment to tell him. He marking how *Cæsar* receiued all the supplications that were offered him, and that hee gaue them straight to his men that were about him, prest nearer to him, and sayed: *Cæsar*, reade this memoriall to your selfe, and that quickly, for they be matters of great waight and touch you nearely. *Cæsar* tooke it of him, but could neuer read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to him selfe, went on withall into the Senate house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was some man else that gaue him that memoriall, and not *Artemidorus*, who did what he could all the way as he went to giue it *Cæsar*, but he was alwayes repulsed by the people. For these things, they may seeme to come by chaunce: but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood vp an image of *Pompey* dedicated by him selfe amongest other ornaments which he gaue vnto the Theater: all these were manifest

The dreame of Calpurnia, Cæsars wife.

Decius Brutus Albinus perswasion to Cæsar.

Decius Brutus brought Cæsar into the Senate house.

The tokens of the conspiracy against Cæsar.

The place where Cæsar was slaine.

manifeſt proofes that it was the ordinaunce of ſome god, that made this treaſon to be executed, ſpecially in that very place. It is alſo reported, that *Caſſius* (though otherwiſe hee did fauour the doctrine of *Epicurus*) beholding the image of *Pompey*, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterpriſe: hee did ſoftly call vppon it, to aide him. But the inſtant danger of the preſent time, taking away his former reaſon, did ſodainly put him into a furious paſſion, and made him like a man halfe beſides him ſelfe. Now *Antonius*, that was a faithfull friend to *Cæſar*, and a valiant man beſides of his handes, him, *Decius Brutus Albinus* entertained out of the Senate houſe, hauing begunne a long tale of ſet purpoſe. So *Cæſar* comming into the houſe, all the Senate ſtoode vp on their feete to doe him honor. Then part of *Brutus* company and confederates ſtoode round about *Cæſars* chayre, and part of them alſo came towardes him, as though they made ſute with *Metellus Cimber*, to call home his brother againe from baniſhment: and thus proſecuting ſtill their ſute, they followed *Cæſar*, till hee was ſet in his chaire. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after an other, becauſe the more they were denied, the more they preſſed vppon him, and were the earneſter with him: *Metellus* at length, taking his gowne with both his hands, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the ſigne giuen the confederats to ſet vppon him. Then *Caſca* behinde him ſtrake him in the necke with his ſword, howbeit the wound was not great nor mortall, becauſe it ſeemed, the feare of ſuch a deuiliſh attempt did amaze him, and take his ſtrength from him, that he killed him not at the firſt blow. But *Cæſar* turning ſtraight vnto him, caught hold of his ſword, and held it hard: & they both cried out, *Cæſar* in Latin: O vile traitor *Caſca*, what doeſt thou? And *Caſca* in Greeke to his brother, brother, helpe mee. At the beginning of this ſtur, they that were preſent, not knowing of the conſpiracy, were ſo amazed with the horrible ſight they ſaw: they had no power to flie, neither to helpe him, not ſo much, as once to make any outcry. They on the other ſide that had conſpired his death, cõpaſſed him in on euerie ſide with their ſwords drawen in their hands, that *Cæſar* turned him no where, but hee was ſtriken at by ſome, and ſtill had naked ſwords in his face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a wilde beaſt taken of hunters. For it was agreede among them, that euery man ſhould giue him a wound, becauſe all their parts ſhould be in this murther: and then *Brutus* him ſelfe gaue him one wound about his priuities. Men report alſo, that *Cæſar* did ſtill defend him ſelfe againſt the reſt, running euery way with his body: but when he ſaw *Brutus* with his ſword drawen in his hand, then he pulled his gowne ouer his head, and made no more reſiſtaunce, and was driuen either caſually, or purpoſedly, by the counſell of the conſpirators, againſt the baſe whereupon *Pompeys* image ſtoode, which ran all of a goare bloud till he was ſlaine. Thus it ſeemed, that the image tooke iuſt reuenge of *Pompeys* enemy, being throwen downe on the ground at his feete, and yeelding vp his ghoſt there, for the number of wounds he had vpon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds vpon his body: and diuers of the conſpirators did hurt them ſelues, ſtriking one body with ſo many blowes. When *Cæſar* was ſlaine, the Senate (though *Brutus* ſtood in the middeſt amongſt them as though he would haue ſaied ſomewhat touching this fact) preſently ran out of the houſe, and flying, filled all the city with marueilous feare and tumult. Inſomuch as ſome did ſhut to their dores, others forſooke their ſhops and warehouſes, and others ranne to the place to ſee what the matter was: and others alſo that had ſeene it, ran home to their houſes again. But *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, which were two of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friends, ſecretly conueying them ſelues away, fled into other mens houſes, and forſooke their own. *Brutus* and his confederats on the other ſide, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, hauing their ſwords drawen in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made countenaunce to flie, but otherwiſe boldly holding vp their heades like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and ſtayed to ſpeake with euery great perſonage whom they met in their way. Of them, ſome followed this troupe, and went amongeſt them, as if they had beene of the conſpiracy, and falſely chalenged part of the honor with them; among eſt them was *Caius Octauius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vaine couetouſnes of honour, by *Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the younger: and yet had no part of that honor for the which they were put to death, neither did any man beleeue that they were

Antonius Cæſars faithfull friend.

Caſca, the firſt that ſtrake at Cæſar.

Cæſar ſlaine and had 23. wounds vpon him.

The murtherers of Cæſar dee goe to the Capitoll.

any of the confederats, or of counsell with them. For they that did put them to death, tooke reuenge rather of the wil they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, *Brutus* and his confederates came into the market place to speake vnto the people, who gaue them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reproued, nor allowed the fact: for by their great silence they shewed, that they were sory for *Cæsars* death, and also that they did reuerence *Brutus*. Now the Senate granted generall pardon for all that was past, and to pacifie euery man, ordained besides, that *Cæsars* funerals should bee honored as a god, and established all things that he had done: and gaue certain prouinces also, and conuenient honors vnto *Brutus* and his confederates, whereby euery man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietnes againe. But when they had opened *Cæsars* testament, and found a liberall legacie of money, bequeathed vnto euery citizen of ROME, and that they saw his body (which was brought into the market place) all bemangled with gashes of swords: then there was no order to keepe the multitude and cõmon people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, & stooles, and layed them all about the body, and setting them a fire, burnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the firebrands, and went vnto their houses that had slaine *Cæsar*, to set them a fire. Other also ran vp and downe the city to see if they could meete with anie of them, to cut them in peeces: howbeit they could meete with neuer a man of them, because they had locked them selues vp safely in their houses. There was one of *Cæsars* friends called *Cinna*, that had a maruellous strange and terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that *Cæsar* bad him to supper, and that he refused, & would not go: then that *Cæsar* tooke him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now *Cinna* hearing at that time, that they burnt *Cæsars* body in the market place, notwithstanding that he feared his dreame, and had an ague on him besides: he went into the market place to honor his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to an other, and that other vnto an other, so that it ranne straight through them all, that hee was one of them that murdered *Cæsar*: (for in deede one of the traitors to *Cæsar*, was also called *Cinna* as him selfe) wherefore taking him for *Cinna* the murderer, they fell vppon him with such fury, that they presently dispatched him in the market place. This sturre and fury made *Brutus* and *Cassius* more afraied, then of all that was past, and therefore within few dayes after, they departed out of ROME: and touching their doings afterwards, & what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we haue written it at large, in the life of *Brutus*. *Cæsar* died at six and fifty yeares of age: and *Pompey* also liued not passing foure yeares more then he. So he reaped no other fruite of all his raigne and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreame danger: but a vaine name only, and a superficial glory, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his countrey. But his great prosperity and good fortune that fauored him al his life time, did cõtinue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellers in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to *Cassius* aboue all other, is most to be wondred at. For he being ouercome in battel at the iorney of Philippes, slue him selfe with the same sword, with the which he strake *Cæsar*. Againe, of signs in the element, the great comet which seuen nights together was seene very bright after *Cæsars* death, the eight night after was neuer seene more. Also the brightnes of the sun was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, & shined not out, whereby it gaue but small heat: therefore the aire being very cloudy and dark, by the weaknes of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and vnripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripe. But aboue all, the ghost that appeared vnto *Brutus* shewed plainely, that the gods were offended with the murther of *Cæsar*. The vision was thus. *Brutus* being ready to passe ouer his army from the city of ABYDOS, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept euery night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by report hee was as carefull a Captaine, and liued with as litle sleepe, as euer man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent dore, and looking towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatnes, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him maruellously afraid.

Cæsars funerals.

Cinnaes dream of Cæsar.

The murther of Cinna.

Cæsar 56 yeare old at his death

The reuenge of Cæsars death.

Cassius being ouerthrowen at the battell of Philippes, slue himselfe with the selfe same sword, wherewith he strake Cæsar.

Wonders seene in the element after Cæsars death.

A great comet.

Brutus vision.

A spirit appeared vnto Brutus.

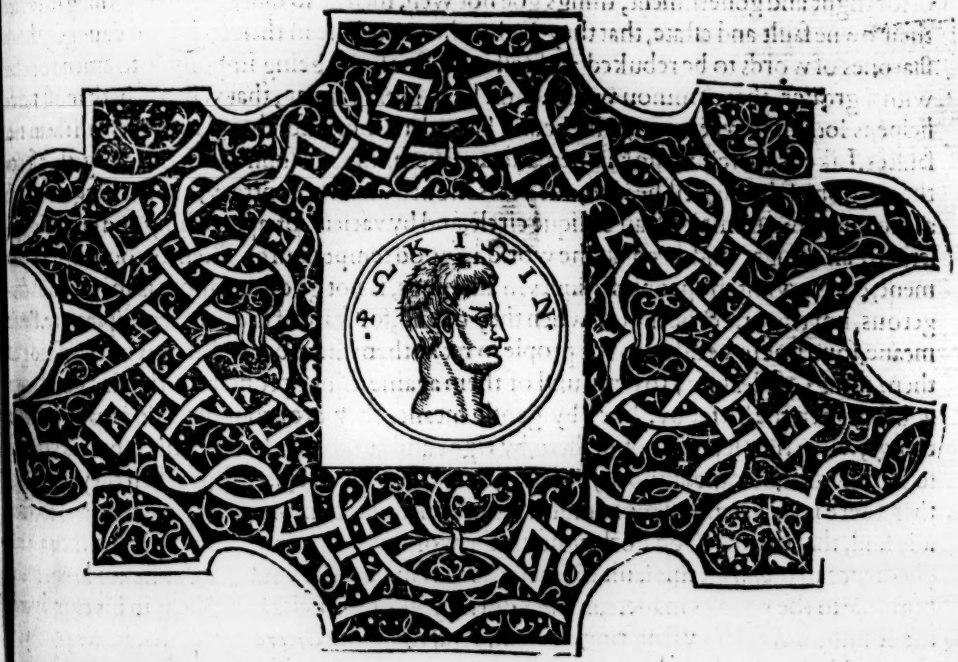
But

But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stoode by his bed side, and sayd nothing: at length he asked him what he was. The image aunswered him: I am thy ill angell, *Brutus*, and thou shalt see me by the city of PHILIPPES. Then *Brutus* replied againe, and sayed: well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirite presently vanished from him. After that time *Brutus* being in battell neare vnto the city of PHILIPPES, against *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæsar*, at the first battell he wan the victory, and ouerthrowing all them that withstoode him, he draue them into young *Cæsars* campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared againe vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereuppon *Brutus* knowing hee should die, did put him selfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowen, he ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre off, and there setting his swordes point to his brest, fell vpon it, and slue him selfe, but yet as it is reported, with the helpe of his friend that dispatched him.

The second appearing of the spirite vnto Brutus.

The end of Cæsars life.

THE LIFE OF *Phocion.*



THE Orator *Demades* on a time florished in ATHENS, because in all his doings and sayings in the administration and gouernment of the common wealth, he alwayes fauored the MACEDONIANS and *Antipater*: in respect whereof he was eftsoones compelled, both in his counsell and lawes, to preferre many things to the dishonor of his city, saying, that they must pardon him, because he gouerned the shippewracks of his country. This was an arrogant speach: but yet referring it to the gouernment of *Phocion* he sayd truely. For in deede *Demades* selfe was the shipwracke of the common weale, because hee liued so insolently, and gouerned so lewdly. Insomuch as *Antipater* sayd of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beast sacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of *Phocion*, which had to fight against the cruell and bitter enemy of the time, were so obscured by the calamities of GREECE: that his fame was nothing so great as he deserued. For we must not credit *Sophocles* words, making vertue of it selfe but weake, in these verses.

Demades arrogant saying.

When stormes of fore aduersities (ô king) doe men assaile,
It daunts their corage, cuts their combs, and makes their hearts to quaile.

The power of vertue and fortune.

But we must onely giue place to fortune, who when shee frowneth vppon any good and vertuous men, her force is so great, that where they deserue honor and fauor, she violently heapeth false and malicious accusations against them, which maketh their vertue lame, and not of that credite which in deede it deserueth. And yet it seemeth to many, that free cities are most cruel vnto their good citizens in time of prosperity: because they flow in wealth & liue at ease, which maketh them of haughty minds. But it is cleane contrary. For aduersity commonly maketh mens maners sower, choller like, and very hasty: besides, slow to heare, churlish, and offended with euery little sharpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, seemeth to call their aduersity in their teeth: and hee that telleth them plainely of their faultes, seemeth also to despise them. For like as honny sweete by nature, applied vnto woundes, doth bring both smart and paine: euen so, sharpe wordes, though profitable, doe bite the vnfortunate man, if they be not tempered with discretion & curtesie. And therefore *Homer* the Poet calleth sweete and pleasaunt things μείλιχα, as yeelding and not striuing with contrariety, against that part of the minde, whereby we be angry and froward. For euen as sore eyes doe like to looke on blacke and darke colors, and can not abide the bright and glaring: so in a city, where for want of foresight and gouernment, things goe not well, men be so diuers and vnwilling to heare of their owne fault and estate, that they had rather continue in their folly and daunger, then by sharpnes of words to be rebuked and restored. So that it being impossible to amend one fault with a greater, that common wealth must be in great danger, that when it hath most need of helpe, is lothest to receiue any: and he also hazardeth him selfe, that plainely telleth them their faultes. Like as therefore the Mathematician sayeth, that the sunne doth not altogether follow the motion of the highest heauen, not yet is moued directly contrary, but fetching a compasse a litle ouerthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approching and departing preserueth all things, and keepeth the world in good temperature. Euen so, too seuere gouernment, contrarying the peoples mindes in all things, is not good: as also it is maruellous daungerous, not to correct offendors when they offend, for feare of the peoples displeasure. But the meane, sometime to yeeld vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to grant them things of pleasure, to demaund of them againe things profitable: that is a good way to gouerne men the better by. For, by gentle meanes they are brought to doe many profitable things, when they seeke it not of them, by rigor and authority. In deed this meane is very hard to be obserued, because authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meete together, there is no harmony more musicall, nor concordance more perfit then that: and therefore it is said, that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary, then a forced obedience in men. But this fault of seuerenes was in *Cato* the younger, for he could not fashion him selfe to the peoples maners, neither did they like his: neither did he win his estimation in the common wealth by flattering of them. And therefore *Cicero* sayed, that he was put by the Consulship, for that he behaued him selfe as though hee liued in the common wealth deuised by *Plato*, and not amongest the disordered and corrupt posterity of *Romulus*. Me thinketh I can liken him properly vnto vntimely fruite: the which though men doe take pleasure to see and wonder at, yet they eate them not. Euen so, the auncient simplicity of *Catoes* maner (hauing long time bene out of vse, and comming then to shew it selfe in that corrupt time & ill maners of the city) was in deede much praise worthy: but yet not the conuenientest, nor the fittest for him, because it aunswered nor respected not the vse and manners of his time. For he found not his country (as *Phocion* did) vtterly destroyed, but tossed in a dangerous tempest: and being not of authority like the pilot to take the sterne in hand, and gouerne the ship: hee tooke him selfe to tricking the sailes, and preparing the tacle, so to assist men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he so thwarted fortune (which seemed to haue sworne the ouerthrow of the estate of ROME) that with much a do, with great difficulty, and a long time after, she executed her malice. And yet the common wealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by meanes of *Cato* and his vertue: with whom I do compare the vertue of *Phocion*, who yet in my opinion were not in all things alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of gouernment. For there

Aduersity maketh men hasty.

Ciceros saying of Cato, and the common wealth at Rome.

Catoes plaine maner, became not the corrupt and subtil time.

differ-

difference betwixt manhood and manhood, as there was betwixt that of *Alcibiades*, & that of *Epaminondas*: betwixt wisdom and wisdom, as betwixt that of *Aristides*, & that of *Themistocles*: & betwixt iustice and iustice, as betwixt that of *Numa*, & that of *Agesilaus*. But the vertues of these men (to him that shall superficially regard, and lightly consider them) seeme all one in qualitie, in maner, & vse, both alike in temperance of curtesy with seueritie, & manhood with wisdom: a vigilant care for others, with presence of corage & securitie of mind for thēselues, abhorring all filthines & corruptiō, and imbracing cōstancy & loue of iustice: that for any mā to discerne the difference betwene thē, it requireth an excellent good wit & iudgment. Now touching *Cato*, euery man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we wil shew you hereafter in his life: but for *Phocion*, I gesse he came of no base parentage. For if he had bene the sonne of a spoonmaker, as *Idomeneus* testifieth: *Glaucippus* the son of *Hyperides*, hauing in an inuectiue he wrote against him, rehearsed all the mischiefs he could of him, he would not haue forgottē to haue vpbraid him with his base parētage, neither he himself also (if that had bene true) had bene so well brought vp as he was. For when he was but a yong man, he was *Platoes* scholler, and afterwards *Xenocrates* scholler, in the schoole of Academia: and so, euen from his first beginning, he gaue himselfe to followe them that were learned. For as *Duris* writeth, neuer ATHENIANS saw him weepe nor laugh, nor wash himselfe in any common bath, nor his hands out of his sleeues when he wore a long gown. For when he went to the warres, he would alwaies goe a foote, and neuer wore gowne, vnles it were extreame cold: and then the souldiers to mocke him withall, would say it was a signe of a sharpe winter, when they sawe *Phocion* in his gowne. Now, though in deede he was very courteous and gentle of nature, yet he had such a grymme looke withall, that no man had any desire to talke with him, but such as were of his familiar acquaintance. And therefore when *Chares* the Orator one day mocked him for the bending of his browes, and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughter withall: My Masters, q. *Phocion*, the bending of my browes haue done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of these flatterers, haue made ye oftentimes to weepe. Furthermore, his maner of speech was very profitable, for the good sentences and counsels he vttered: but it was mixed with an imperious, austere, and bitter shortnes. For as *Zeno* the Philosopher saieth, that the wise man should temper his wordes with wit and reason, before he vtter them: euen so was *Phocions* speech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it seemeth that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN said, that *Demosthenes* was an excellent Orator, but in speech, *Phocion* was very witty. For like as coynes of gold or siluer, the lighter they weigh, the finer they be of goodnesse: euen so the excellencie of speech consisteth in signifying much by fewe wordes. And touching this matter, it is reported that the Theater being full of people, *Phocion* walked all alone vpon the scaffold where the players played, and was in a great muse with himselfe: whereupon, one of his friendes seeing him so in his muses, said vnto him, Surely *Phocion*, thy minde is occupied about somewhat. Indeed it is so sayed he: for I am thinking with my selfe, if I could abridge any thing of that I haue to say to the people. For *Demosthenes* selfe litle esteeming all other Orators, when *Phocion* rose vp to speake, he would round his friendes in the eare, and told them: See, the matter of my wordes riseth. Peraduenture he ment it by his maners also: For when a good man speaketh, not a word only, but a wincke of an eie, or a nod of his head, doth counstruaile many artificiall words & speeches of Rethoricians. Furthermore, when he was a young man, he went to the wars vnder Captaine *Chabrias*, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfit souldier, and in recompence thereof, hee reformed many of his Captaines imperfections, and made him wiser then he was. For *Chabrias* otherwise being very dull and slothfull of himselfe, when he came to fight, he was so hot and couragious, that he would thrust him selfe into danger, with the desperatest persons: and therefore for his rashenes it afterwards cost him his life, in the city of CHIO, where lanching out with his gally before the rest, he pressed to land in despite of his enemies. But *Phocion* being wise to look to him selfe, and very quicke to execute: on the one side quickned *Chabrias* slownes, and on the other side also, by wisdome cooled his heate and fury. *Chabrias* therefore, being a good man and curteous, loued *Phocion* very well, and did preferre him in matters of seruice, making him famous amongest the GRECIANS, and employed him in his hardiest enterprises. For by his meanes

The parentage of Phocion.

Phocion neuer wept nor laughed.

Phocions maners.

Wherein excellencie of speech consisteth.

Phocions first souldiers fare.

he atchieued great fame and honor in a battell by sea, which he wanne by the Ile of NAXOS, giuing him the left wing of his armie, on which side the fight was sharpest of all the battell, and there he sooneſt put the enemies to flight. This battell being the first which the citie of ATHENS wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene taken: gaue the people cause to loue *Chabrias*, and made them also to make account of *Phocion*, as of a noble soldier, and worthy to haue charge. This victory was gotten on the feast day of the great misteries, in memory whereof *Chabrias* did yerely on the sixtenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called Auguſt) make all the people of ATHENS drinke. After that time *Chabrias* sending *Phocion* to receiue the tribute of the Ilanders, their confederates, and the shippes which they should send him: he gaue him twentie gallies to bring him thither. But *Phocion* then (as it is reported) said vnto him: if he sent him to fight with his enemies, he had need to haue more shipps: but if he sent him as an Ambassador vnto his friendes, then that one shippe would serue his turne. So he went with one galley onely: and after he had spoken with the cities, and courteously dealt with the gouernors of euery one of them, he returned backe, furnished of their confederates, with a great fleete of shippes and money, to carie vnto ATHENS. So *Phocion* did not onely reuerence *Chabrias* while he liued, but after his death also he tooke great care of his friends and kinsmen, and sought to make his sonne *Cteſippus*, an honeſt man: whom though he saw very wilde and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is sayed also, that when this yong man did trouble him much with vaine friuolous questions, seruing then vnder him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counsell, to reproue him, and to teach him the dutie of a Captaine: he could not but say, O *Chabrias Chabrias*: nowe doe I pay for the loue thou diddeſt beare me when thou wert aliue, in bearing with the folly of thy sonne. But when he saw that the heads of the citie of ATHENS had as it were by lot deuided among themselues the offices of warre and peace, and that some of them, as *Eubulus*, *Ariſtophon*, *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and *Hyperides* were common speakers and preferrers of matters in councels and Senate: and that others, as *Diopithes*, *Meneſtheus*, *Leoſthenes*, and *Chares*, became great men by the warres, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the manner of gouernment, of *Pericles*, *Ariſtides*, and *Solon*, as being mingled of both. For either of them seemed (as the Poet *Archilochus* saith)

To be both champions ſtout, of Marſis warlike band,
And of the Muſes eke, the artes to vnderſtand.

He knew also, that *Pallas* the goddesse and protector of ATHENS, was called *Polemica*, and *Politica*: to wit, skilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, hauing thus disposed of himselfe in gouernment, he alwaies perswaded peace and quietnes, and yet was often chosen Captaine, and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his time, did neuer sue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serue the common wealth. It is certaine that hee was chosen fiue and forty times Prætor, and was alwaies absent at the elections, but yet sent for. Whereupon all the wise men wondered to see the manner of the people towards him, considering that *Phocion* had neuer done nor sayed any thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had bene against their desires: and how they vsed other gouernours notwithstanding, that were more pleasant and delightfull in their orations, like men to sport at, as it is sayed of kings, who after they haue washed their handes to go to their meate, doe vse to haue Iesters and flatterers to make them merry: but on the other side when they had occasion of warres in deed, how then like wise men they could bethinke themselues, and choose the wiſeſt and stouteſt man of the city, and that most would withstand their mindes and desires. For on a time an oracle of *Apollo Delphius*, being openly red before them, which sayd, that all the other ATHENIANS being agreed, yet there was one among them that was contrary to all the rest of the city: *Phocion* stepping forth before them all, bad them neuer seeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of al their doings. An other time he chaunced to say his opinion before all the people, the which they all praised and approued: but he saw they were so sodainely become of his minde, he turned backe to his friends, and asked them: alas, hath not some euill thing slipped my mouth vnwares? An other time a generall collection being gathered of the people at ATHENS, towardes the solemnizing of a sacri-

The victorie of Chabrias & Phocion in the Ile of Naxos.

Phocions notable sayings.

fice

ſe: other men of his ſtate hauing payed their parte, he was often alſo called vpon to pay his. he he anſwered them againe, aske them that be rich, for it were a ſhame for me to giue you thing, being yet in this mans debt: pointing to *Callicles* the vſurer, who had lent him mo- But when they left him not for all this, to cry out vpon him for the contribution, he begā ell them this tale: that on a time there was a coward preparing to goe to the warres, and he was readie to depart, he heard the rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ſigne, he put off his harnes, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnes again, and on his way towardes the campe: the rauens begamne againe to make a goodlier crie be- him. But thereupon he ſtaied ſtraight, and at length ſayed: ye ſhall crooke as loude as ye before ye feede on my carkas. Another time the ATHENIANS being in warre vnder his ge, would needes haue him to leade them to giue charge vppon their enemies, but he uld not: thereupon they called him coward, and ſayed he durſt not. Well ſayd he againe, not you can make me valiant, no more then my ſelfe can make you cowards: and yet one know an other. Another time in a maruellous dangerous time, the people handled him churliſhly, and would needes haue him preſently deliuer account of his charge: but he ered them, O my friendes, firſt ſaue your ſelues. Furthermore, the people being very and humble, for feare, in time of warres: and preſently in peace againe waxing braue in rds againſt *Phocion*, charging him that he had taken the victorie out of their handes: he ly ſaid this to them, you are happy that haue a Captaine that knowes you, elſe you would new ſong. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the BOEOTIANS, and them, a- their bounds and fronters: the which they would not trie by law, but by battell. But *Pho-* old them, they did they wiſt not what, & counſelled them rather to fight it out in words, ich they were the ſtronger, & not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another they ſo much miſliked his opinion in the aſſembly, that they would not abide to heare nor ſuffer him to ſpeak. Well, my Maiſters, q he then, you may make me do that which not to be done: but you ſhall neuer compell me againſt my minde, to ſay that which is not be ſpoken. He would as gallantly alſo gird the Orators his aduerſaries, when they were bu- with him. As on a time he anſwered *Demoſthenes*, that ſaid vnto him: the people, *Phocion* will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heads. Yea thee, q he, if they be wiſe. Againe, when *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, in a hot day perſwaded the people of ATHENS to make warre with king *Philip*, ſweating, and with much a doe fetching his breath, being a fatte man, that he was driuen oftentimes to drinke water, to end his oration: ſurely ſaide *Phocion*, yee ſhall doe maruellous wiſely, to make warre at ſuch a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he do, when he hath his curates and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that now in making an oration onely before you, which he hath ſtudied long before, is almoſt ſti- At another time alſo whē *Lycurgus* in his oratiō had openly reproued him for many things before the people, and among the reſt, for that *Alexander* demaunding tenne Citizens of A- ens to do with them what he thought good, that he had counſelled them to deliuer them: ocion anſwered him, I haue oftentimes counſelled them for the beſt, but they would neuer follow my counſell. There was one *Archibiades* at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeated the LACEDEMONIAN, with a maruellous long beard, a beggerly cloke, & a ſower looke. *Pho-* being checkt one day before the people, appealed vnto *Archibiades* for a witneſſe, to con- that he ſpake. But he riſing vp, counſelled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. cion perceiuing it, took him by the beard, and ſaid vnto him: alas *Archibiades*, why diddeſt not then clippe thy beard, ſeeing thou wouldeſt needes flatter? There was an other great leader, one *Ariſtogiton*, that in all the aſſemblies of the city, did nothing but buze wars conti- ally in their eares. Afterwards when men were to be leauied and muſtered, and their names red that ſhould goe to the warres: *Ariſtogiton* came halting into the market place with ſtaffe in his hand, and both his legs bound vp, to make the people beleeue that he was ſicke diſeaſed. *Phocion* ſpying *Ariſtogiton* far off, cried out to the Clearke that wrote the billes: put in *Ariſtogiton*, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me muſe, how, or where- ſo ſharpe and ſeuere a man (as by theſe examples it appeareth hee was) could come to the name of good. Notwithſtanding, in the end I finde it a hard thing, but not impoſſible, that

Ariſtogiton, a Sycophant, and coward.

Phocion called by surname, Good.

a man should be like wine, both sweet and sharpe together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the first sight, seeme very courteous and gentle of conuersation, and vpon better acquaintance, proue churlish and dogged. It is reported also, that *Hyperides* the Orator one day should say to the ATHENIANS: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my sharpenes, but consider if my sharpenes be without profit. As who should say, men are not troublesom, but for couetousnes only, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of insolencie and malice, did abuse & contemne their authoritie. *Phocion* on the other side, he neuer did Citizen hurt, for any priuate malice he bare him: but was euer sharpe and cruell to them, which were against any matter he preferred, for the benefit of the common wealth. For in all other things, he shewed himselfe maruellous lowly and curteous to euery bodie, & would be familiar with his aduersaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwise in danger of displeasure with the state. Insomuch as his friends therefore reproued him on a time, when he spake on the behalfe of a naughtie man, an offender: O sayed he, honest men neede no helpe. Another time, *Aristogiton* the Sycophant, being clapped vp in prison, sent vnto *Phocion* to pray him to come and speake with him, after he was condemned. *Phocion* went into the prison to him, though his friends perswaded him to the contrary, and answered them: O let me alone, said he, for where could I see *Aristogiton* more gladly then in prison? Furthermore, when there went any army to sea out of ATHENS, if there were any other chosen generall but *Phocion* the townes and Ilandes all alongest the sea coast, (which were friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS) fortified their wals, filled vp their hauens, and brought their wiues, slaues, and cattell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemies, & open war proclaimed. Contrarily also, if *Phocion* had bene Captaine and generall, they would send out their shippes to the sea to meete him a farre off, crowned with garlands in token of common ioy, and so would bring him to their cities. King *Philip* secretly seeking to winne the Ile of EUBOEA, sent an armie thither out of MACEDON, and intised the townes by tyrantes to rebell: whereupon *Plutarke* ERETRIAN prayed in aide of the ATHENIANS, to take this Iland from the MACEDONIANS, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not presently to ayde them. So *Phocion* was sent generall thither, but with a few men only, because they made account the men of that countrie would straight ioyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all traytors, and rebels, and brybed with king *Philippes* money, which he lauished out amongst them: so that he was brought into great danger. Thereupon he retyred to a litle hill that is seuered from the fields of Tamines, with a great large valley, and there fortified himselfe with that litle armie he had. Then he perswaded his Captaines not to care for all those rebels, pratlers, and cowards which fled out of their tents, and forsooke their ensignes and Captaines, but that they should let them goe out of the campe where they would. For sayd he, such disobedient souldiers here will do vs no seruice, and moreouer will hinder them that haue good will to serue well: and at home also, knowing themselues in fault, for that they forsooke the campe without licence, they dare not complaine vppon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to set vppon him, he commaunded his men to arme, and put themselues in readinesse, and not to sturre, vntill he had done sacrifice: but he staied long before he came, either because he could haue no lucky signes of the sacrifices, or else for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereupon *Plutarke* ERETRIAN supposing he deferred to march for feare, went himselfe first into the field, with certaine light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes seeing them giue charge, could hold no longer, but followed him also, stragling out of the campe one after an other disorderly, and so did set vpon their enemies. The first being ouerthrowen, all the other dispersed themselues, and *Plutarke* himself fled. Then certaine bands of the enemies thinking all had bin theirs, followed them euen into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time, *Phocion* hauing ended his sacrifice, the ATHENIANS came out of their campe, and set vpon them, and made part of them flie immediatly, and part of them also they slue hard by the trenches of their campe. Then *Phocion* commaunded that the battell should stand still, to receiue their men that were scattered vp and downe the fieldes: and in the meane space, he himselfe, with the choisest men of his army gaue charge vppon the enemies. The fight was cruell be-

Phocions iorny into Eubœa.

Phocion perswadeth his Captaines, to suffer the mutinous souldiers and cowards to depart the campe.

Phocions victory in Eubœa.

tweene

mene them. For the ATHENIANS fought very valiantly, venturing their persons: but of the all two young men fighting by their generall, (*Glaucus* the son of *Polymedes*, and *Thallus*, the sonne of *Cineas*) caried the praise awaye. And so did *Cleophanes* that daye also shewe himselfe very valiant. For he crying out still vpon the horsemen that fled, & perswading them to come and helpe their generall that was in danger: brought them backe againe, and thereby gotte the footmen the victorie. After this battell, he draue *Plutarke* out of ERETRIA, and tooke the castell of ZARETRA, standing in a very commodious place for this warre, where the Ile drawe into a straightnes, enuironned on either side with the sea: and would not suffer his men to take any GRECIANS prisoners, fearing least the Orators at ATHENS might moue the people shamely in a rage, to put them to death. After all these things were done, *Phocion* returned backe to ATHENS. But then did the confederats of the ATHENIANS straight wish for his iustice and courtesie: and the ATHENIANS themselues also knew his skilfulnes and manhood, for his successor *Molossus*, that was generall for the rest of the warre, delt so vndiscreetly: that he himselfe was taken prisoner there. Then king *Philip* being put in marueilous great hope, went with all his army into HELLESPONT, perswading himselfe, that he should straight take all CHERRONESVS, the cities of PERINTHE and BIZANTIVM. The ATHENIANS therupō determining to send aide, to preuent king *Philips* comming: the Orators made great sute, that *Chares* might be chosen Captaine: but he being sent thither with a good number of shippes, did no seruice worthy commendation, neither would the cities receiue his nauie into their hauens: but being suspected of euery man, and despised of his enemies, he was driuen to saile vp and downe, and to get money of the allyes. The people being incensed by the Orators, were marueilously offended, & repented themselues that they had sent aide vnto the BIZANTINES. Then *Phocion* rising vp, spake vnto the people, & told them, that it was no reason that mistrusting their confederates they should be offended with them: but to be angry with their Captaines that deserued to be mistrusted. For they, said he, doe make your confederates afraid of you, who without you notwithstanding can not saue themselues. The people changing their minds by his oration, made *Phocion* againe their Captaine, and sent him with an armie into HELLESPONT to helpe their confederates there, which was of great importance to saue the citye of BIZANTIVM. Furthermore, *Phocions* fame was so great, that *Cleon*, the greatest man of vertue and authoritie in BYZANTIVM, and had before bene *Phocions* companion and familiar in the Academy: he made sute for him vnto the citie. Thē the BYZANTINES would not suffer him (though he desired it) to campe without the wals of their citie, but opening their gates, receiued him in, and mingled the ATHENIANS amongst them. Who, perceiuing how much the Citizens trusted them, did so honestly behaue themselues in their conuersation amongst them, that they gaue them no maner of cause to complaine of them: and shewed themselues so valiant besides in all battels and conflicts, that *Philip* (which before was thought dreadfull and inuincible, euery man being afraied to fight any battell with him) returned out of HELLESPONT without any thing done, and to his great discredite: where *Phocion* wanne some of his shippes, and recouered againe the strong holds, in the which he had placed his garrisons. Furthermore, making diuers inuasions into his countries, he destroied his borders till that at length he was sore hurt there, and so driuen to returne home againe, by meanes of a great army that came against him to defend the country. Shorty after, the MEGARIANS secretly sent vnto him, to deliuer their city into his hands. *Phocion* fearing if the BOEOTIANS vnderstood it, that they would preuent him: he called a common assembly earely in the morning, and told the people what message the MEGARIANS had sent vnto him. The people vpon this motion being determined to aid them: *Phocion* straight sounding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the assembly, gaue them no further leysure, but to take their weapons, and so led them incontinently to MEGARA. The MEGARIANS receiuing him, *Phocion* shut vp the hauen of NISAEA, and brought two long wals from the city vnto it, and so ioyned it vnto the sea: whereby he stood not greatly in feare of his enemies by land, and for the sea, the ATHENIANS were Lordes of it. Now when the ATHENIANS had proclaimed open war against king *Philip*, and had chosen other Captaines in his absence, and that hee was returned from the Iles: about all things, he perswaded the people (king *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the daunger) to accept

Phocion saued the citie of Byzantium.

Phocion draue Philip out of Hellespont.

Phocion ioyned Megara vnto Athens.

the conditions of peace. Then one of these busie orators that was still accusing one or other, said vnto him: why *Phocio*, how dareſt thou, attẽpt to turn the ATHENIANS from war, hauing now their ſwords in their hands? yes truly, ſayd *Phocion*: though in warre I know I ſhall command thee, and in peace thou wilt command me. But when the people would not harken to him, and that *Demoſthenes* caried them away with his perſwaſions, who counſelled them to fight with king *Philip*, as farre from ATTICA as they could: I pray thee frend (ꝙ *Phocion* vnto him, let vs not diſpute where we ſhall fight, but conſider how we ſhall ouercome, the which if we can ſo bring to paſſe, be ſure we ſhall put the warre far enough from vs. For men that are ouercome, be euer in feare and danger, whereſoeuer they be. When the ATHENIANS had loſt a battell againſt *Philip*, the ſeditious Orators, that hunted after innouation, preferred *Charidemus* to be choſen generall of the ATHENIANS: whereupon the magiſtrates and Senators being afraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the AREOPAGITS, they made ſuch earneſt ſute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at laſt (but with much a doe) they obtained, that the affaires of the citie might be put into *Phocions* hands and gouernment. He thought good to accept the articles and gentle conditions of peace which *Philip* offered them. But after that the orator *Demades* moued that the citie of ATHENS would enter into the common treatie of peace, and cõmon aſſembly of the ſtates of GRECE, procured at king *Philips* requeſt: *Phocion* would not agree to it, vntill they might vnderſtand what demaunds *Philip* would make at the aſſembly of the GRECIANS. When his opinion through the peruerſnes of time could not be liked of them, and that he ſaw the ATHENIANS ſoone after repented them that they did not followe his counſell, when they heard they ſhould furniſh king *Philip* with ſhips and horſemen: then he told them, the feare whereof ye now complaine, made me to withſtand that, which now ye haue conſented vnto. But ſithence it is ſo that you haue now paſt your conſents, you muſt be contented, and not be diſcouraged at it: remembring that your auncеſtors in times paſt haue ſometime commaunded, and other while obeyed others, and yet haue ſo wiſely and diſcreetely gouerned themſelues in both fortunes, that they haue not onely ſaued their citie, but all GRECE beſides. When newes came of king *Philips* death, the people for ioy would ſtraight haue made bonfires and ſacrifices to the goddes for the good newes: but *Phocion* would not ſuffer them, and ſaid, that it was a token of a baſe minde, to reioyce at any mans death, and beſides that, the armie which ouerthrewe you at CHERONIA, hath not yet loſt but one man. And when *Demoſthenes* alſo would commonly ſpeake ill of *Alexander*, and ſpecially when he was ſo neere THEBES with his armie: *Phocion* rehearſed vnto him theſe verſes of *Homer*:

To reioyce at any mans hurt ſheweth a baſe mind, and vile nature.

How great a folly is it for to ſtand
Againſt a cruell king,
VVhich being armd and hauing ſword in hand,
Seekes fame of euery thing?

What, when there is ſuch a great fire kindled, wilt thou caſt the city into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not ſuffer them to caſt them ſelues away: for to that end haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernment. And afterwards alſo, when *Alexander* had raſed the city of THEBES, and had required the ATHENIANS to deliuer him *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Charidemus*, and that the whole aſſembly and counſell not knowing what aunſwere to make, did all caſt their eyes vpon *Phocion*, and cried vnto him to ſay his opinion: he then roſe vppe, and taking one of his friendes vnto him called *Nicocles*, whom he loued and truſted aboue all men elſe, he ſayed thus openly vnto them. Theſe men whome *Alexander* requireth, haue brought this city to this extremity, that if he required *Nicocles* here, I would giue my conſent to deliuer him: For I would thinke my ſelfe happy to loſe my life, for all your ſafety. Furthermore, though I am right heartely ſory (ſaid he) for the poore afflicted THEBANS, that are come into the city for ſuccour: yet I aſſure yee, it is better one city mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is beſt to intreate the Conquerour for both, rather then to our certaine deſtruction to fight with him that is the ſtronger. It is ſayed alſo that *Alexander* refuſed the firſt decree which the people offered him vppon *Phocions* requeſt, and ſent away the Ambaſſadours, and would not ſpeake with them. But the ſecond, which

which *Phocion* himselfe brought, he tooke: being told by his fathers olde seruantes that king *Philip* made great account of him, whereuppon *Alexander*, did not onely giue him audience, and grant his request, but further followed his counsell. For *Phocion* perswaded him, if he loued quietnes, to leaue warre if he desired fame, then that he should make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the GRECIANS. So *Phocion* feeding *Alexanders* humor with such talke and discours as he thought would like him best: he so altered and softned *Alexanders* dispositiõ, that when he went from him, he willed him that the ATHENIANS should looke to their affaires, for if he should dye, he knew no people fitter to commaund then they. Furthermore, because he would be better acquainted with *Phocion*, and make him his friend: he made so much of him, that he more honored him, then all the rest of his friends. To this effect, *Duris* the historiographer writeth that when *Alexãder* was grown very great, and had ouercom king *Darius*: he left out of his letters this word Chærin (to wit, ioy, & health) which he vsed commonly in all the letters he wrote, and would no more honor any other with that manner of salutation, but *Phocion*, and *Antipater*. *Chares* also writeth the same. And they all doe confesse, that *Alexander* sent *Phocion* a great gift out of ASIA, of a hundreth siluer talents. This money being brought to ATHENS, *Phocion* asked them that brought it, why *Alexander* gaue him such a great reward, aboue all the other Citizens of ATHENS. Because sayd they, he only esteemeth thee to be a good, and honest man. *Phocion* replied again, then let him giue me leaue to be that I seeme, and am whilst I liue. The messengers would not so leaue him, but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbãdry and thriftines. For they found his wife her selfe baking, & he himself drew water before them, out of the well to wash his feet. But then they were more earnestly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings present, and were offended with him, saying it was a shame for *Alexanders* friend to liue so miserably and beggarly as he did. Then *Phocion* seing a poore olde man goe by, in a threadbare gowne, asked them whether they thought him worse then he? No, God forbid, answered they againe. Then replyed he againe, he liues with lesse then I doe, and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be short, sayed he, if I should take this summe of money and occupie it not, it is as much as I had it not: on the other side, if I occupie it, I shall make all the citie speake ill of the king and me both. So this great present was sent backe from ATHENS, whereby he shewed the GRECIANS, that he was richer that needed not such gold and siluer, then he that gaue it him. But when *Alexander* wrote again vnto *Phocio*, that he did not reckõ them for his frends, that would take nothing of him: *Phocion* notwithstanding would not take the money, but onely requested him for his sake, that he would set these men at libertie, which were kept prisoners in the citie of SARDIS, for certen accusations layed against them: *Echecrates* the Rethoritian, *Athenodorus* borne in the citie of IMBROS, and two CORINTHIANS, *Demaratus* & *Spartus*. *Alexander* presently set them at liberty, & sent *Craterus* into MACEDON, comanding him to giue *Phocio* the choice of one of these foure cities of ASIA which he liked best: CIOS, GERGITHA, MYLASSIS, ELEA: sending him worde, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuse this offer, than he was at the first. But *Phocion* would neuer accept any one of them: and *Alexander* shortly after died. *Phocions* house is sene yet at this day in the village of MELITA, set forth with platesof copper, but otherwise very meane, and without curiositie. For his wiues he married, there is no mention made of the first saying that *Cephisodotus* the image grauer was her brother. But for his second wife she was no lesse famous at ATHENS, for her honestie and good housewiuerie: then *Phocion* for his iustice and equitie. And for proofe thereof, it is reported that the ATHENIANS being one day assembled in the Theater, to see new tragedies plaied, one of the players when he should haue come vpon the scaffold, to haue played his part, asked the setter forth of the plaies the apparell of a Queene, and certaine Ladies to waite vppon her, because he was to playe the part of the Queene. The setter forth of the plaies denying him, the player went away in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, & would not come out vpon the stage. But *Melanthius* the setter forth of the plaies, compelling him, brought him by force on the stage, and cried out vnto him: doest thou not see *Phocions* wife that goeth vppe and downe the cittie with one mayde onely waiting vpon her? and wilt thou playe the foole, and marre the modestie of

Alexander pacified with the Atheniens, by Phocions meanes.

Phocions vertue and integritie, refusing of Alexanders money.

Phocions house and wiues.

the women of ATHENS? the people hearing his wordes, filled all the Theater with ioy and clapping of hands. The same Ladye, when a certen gentlewoman of IONIA came to ATHENS to see her, and shewed her all her rich iewels and pretious stones she had: she answered her againe, all my riches and iewels, is my husband *Phocion*, who these twentie yeares together hath continually bene chosen generall for the ATHENIANS. *Phocions* sonne telling his father on a time, that he was desirous to contend with other young men for the victorie, who should cunninglieſt leape out, and get vp againe into the charets or coches, running full course at the feasts Panathenæa at ATHENS: his father was contented he should, not that he was desirous his sonne should haue the honor of the victorie, but because by this honest exercise he should grow to better manner, for that he was a dissolute young man, and much giuen to wine. Yet he wanne the victorie at that time, and there were diuerse of his fathers friends, that prayed him to doe them that honor, that they might keepe the feaste of this victorie in their houses. *Phocion* denied them all, but one man, and him he suffred to shew his good will vnto his house and went thither himselfe to supper to him. Where amongest many fine and superfluous things prepared, he found passing bathes of wine and sweet smelling spices to wash the feete of the bidden guests as they came to the feast. Whereupon he called his son to him, and asked him, how canst thou abide *Phocus*, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victorie with excesse? but because he would withdraw his sonne from that licentious life, he brought him to SPARTA, and placed him there among young boyes brought vp after the LACONIAN discipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it, to see that *Phocion* did so much despise his owne countrie maner and fashions. Also when *Demades* the orator one day sayd vnto *Phocion*, why do we not perswade the ATHENIANS to liue after the LACONIAN manner? As for me (sayd he if thou wilt make one to set it forward: I am ready to be the first man to moue the matter. Indeed q *Phocion*, thou art a meet man to perswade the ATHENIANS to liue LACONIAN like, in cõmon together at their meales, & to praise *Lycurgus* strait law: that art thy self cõmonly so perfumed, & fine in thy apparel. Another time when *Alexãder* writ letters vnto ATHENS to send him some ships, and that the Orators perswaded them not to grant him, the people called vpon *Phocion* chiefly to say his opinion: then *Phociõ* told thẽ plainly, me thinks ye must either make your selues the strongest in warres, or being the weaker, procure to be friends vnto the stronger. *Pythias* a new come orator, being full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speake in euery matter: Wherefore *Phocion* sayed to him, good gods, will this nouice neuer leaue babling? And when *Harpalus* king *Alexanders* Lieutenant of the prouince of BABYLON, fled out of ASIA, and came to ATTICA with a great summe of gold and siluer: straight these men that solde their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a sight of swallowes. And he stuck not to giue euery one of them a peece of money to baste them with for it was a trifle to him, considering the great summes of money he brought. But to *Phocion* himselfe, he sent vnto him seuen hundreth talents, and offered himselfe and all that he had into his hands of trust. But *Phocion* gaue him a sharpe answer, and tolde him, that he would make him repent it, if he corrupted the citie of ATHENS in that manner. So *Harpalus* being amazed therewith, left him at that time, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIANS sate in councell about him, he perceiued that those which had taken his money were shrunk from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should haue excused him, to bleere the world, that men should not suspect them they had bene corrupted: and that *Phocion* on the other side which had refused his money, hauing respect to the cõmon wealth, had also some regard to saue his life: he once more attempted all the waies he could to win him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could carie the man. Then *Harpalus* falling in friendship with *Chariles* (*Phocions* sonne in lawe) he made him to be ill spoken of, and greatly suspected, because men saw that he trusted him in all things, and imployed him in all his affaires. As in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous tombe for *Pythonicè*, the famous Curtisan that was dead, whom he loued, and by whom he had a daughter: the taking vpon him whereof was no lesse shame vnto *Chariles*, then the finishing thereof was disgrace vnto him. This tombe is sene vnto this day in a place called Hermium, in the high way from ATHENS to ELEVSIN: the workmanship thereof being nothing like neare the charge of

Phocus Phocions sonne what he was.

Phocion despiseth Harpalus money.

of thirtie talents, which was reported to be giuen by *Harpalus* vnto *Chariles*, for the finishing of the same. Furthermore after *Harpalus* death, *Chariles* and *Phocion* tooke his daughter, and carefully brought her vp. Afterwards also, *Chariles* being accused for the money he had taken of *Harpalus*, he besought his father in law *Phocion*, to help to ease him in his iudgment. But *Phocion* flatly denied him, and said: *Chariles* I took thee for my sonne in law, in al honest and iust causes only. Furthermore, when *Aslepiades* the son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first newes of the death of king *Alexander*, *Demades* the Orator would not beleue him: for said he, if it were true, all the earth would smell of the sauor of his corse, *Phocion* then perceiuing the people began to be high minded, and sought innouation: he went about to bridle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators got vp to the pulpit for orations, and cryed out that *Aslepiades* newes was true of *Alexanders* death: well then quoth *Phocion*, if it be true to day, it shalbe true also to morrow, and the next day after. And therfore my Maisters, be not too hasty, but thinke of it at better leisure, and set your affayres at a sure stay. When *Leosthenes* also by his practise had brought the citie of ATHENS into the warre called the GREEKES warre, and in skorne asked *Phocion* that was offended at it, what good he had done vnto the common wealth soe many yeares together, as he had bene generall ouer the ATHENIANS: *Phocion* answered him, no small good sayed he, for all my countrye men haue bene buryed at home in their owne graues. Another time also, *Leosthenes* speaking proudly and insolently vnto the people, *Phocion* one daye sayed vnto him: young man my friende, thy wordes are lyke vnto a Cypresse tree, which is high and greate, but beareth no fruite. Then *Hyperides* rising vppe, asked *Phocion*: when wilt thou then counsell the ATHENIANS to make warre? when I shall see young men sayed he not to forsake their ranckes, rich men liberall, and Orators leaue to robbe the common wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondred to see such a goodly greate armie as *Leosthenes* had leauied: and that they asked *Phocion* how he lyked it: A goodly armie, quoth he, for a furlong, but I feare their returne, and the continuance of this warre: for I doe not see the citie able to make any more money, nor more shippes, neither yet any more souldiers than these. The which proued true, as it fell out afterwardes: for at the first, *Leosthenes* did many notable exployts. He ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and draue *Antipater* into the citie of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in such a hope and iolitie, that they made continuall feastes and sacrifices through the citie to thanke the goddes for these good newes. And there were some among them, that to take *Phocion* in a trippe, asked him if he did not wish that he had done all those things? yes indeed answered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not haue giuen the counsell to haue done them. Another time also when letters came daily, one after another, bringing good newes, good gods, sayd he, when shall we leaue off to ouercome? When *Leosthenes* was dead in this voyage, they that feared *Phocion* shoulde be appoynted Captaine in his place, and that he would pacifie the warre: did thrust in a man of meane hauior, and vnknowen, that sayed in the assembly, that he was *Phocions* friend, and schoolefellowe, and therefore besought the people that they would spare *Phocion*, because they had not such another man as he, and that they would make *Antiphilus* Generall of their armie. The people were contented withall. But then *Phocion* stoode vppe, and sayed, that this man was neuer scholler with him, neither did he euer knowe him before that time: but nowe sayed he, from henceforth I will take thee for my friend, for thou hast giuen the people the best counsell for mee. The people notwithstanding determining to make warre with the BOEOTIANS, *Phocion* spake against it all he coulde. Thereupon his friendes bidding him beware of such speeches, howe he did offende the people, least they killled him: he answered them, they shall wrongfully put me to death quoth he, speaking for the benefitte of my countrie, but otherwise they shall haue reason for to doe it, if I speake to the contrarie. But when he sawe nothing would pacifie them, and that they went on still with their intent: then he commaunded the Herauld to proclayme by sound of trumper, that all Citizens from foureteene yeeres vnto threescore, able to carrie weapon, should presently vpon breaking vp of the assembly, arme themselues, and follow him with fiue dayes prouision for victuals. Then was there great sturre amongst

Phocion refused to defend his sonne in law in an ill cause.

them in the citie, and the olde men came and complained vnto him, for his ouer ſtraight commandement. He told them againe, I doe you no wrong: for I am foure ſcore my ſelfe, and yet will goe with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that time, and quenched their fonde deſire of warre. But when all the ſea coaſt was full of ſouldiers, both of the MACEDONIANS, and other ſtrangers which were led by *Micion* their Captaine, that landed in the territorie of the village RHAMNVS, and ſpoyled the countrie thereabouts: then *Phocion* led the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, diuers taking vpon them the office of a Lieutenant, & going about to counſell him, ſome to lodge his camp vpon ſuch a hill, & others to ſend his horſmen to ſuch a place, and others to campe heere: O *Hercules* (q. he), how many Captains do I ſee, and how few ſouldiers? Afterwards when he had ſet his footmē in battel ray, there was one among them that left his ranck, & ſtepped out before them al. Therupon one of his enemies alſo made towards him to fight with him: but the ATHENIANS hart failed him, and he went backe again to his place. Then ſaid *Phocion* vnto him: art thou not aſhamed yong lout to haue forſaken thy ranck twiſe? the one, where thy captain had placed thee, & the other in the which thou haddeſt placed thy ſelf? So *Phocion* giuing charge vpon the enemies, he ouerthrew them, and ſlue *Micion* their Captain, with diuers others. Furthermore, the army of the GRECIANS being at that time in THESSALY, wan a battell of *Antipater*, & *Leonatus*, that ioyned with him with the MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of ASIA: where *Leonatus* was ſlaine in the field, *Antiphilus* being generall of the footmen, & *Menon* THESSALIAN, Collonell of the horſmen. Shortly after *Craterus* cōming out of ASIA into EVROPE with a great armie, they fought a battell by the citie of CRANON, where the GRECIANS were ouerthrowen: yet was not the ouerthrow nor ſlaughter great, although it came through the diſobedience of the ſoldiers to their captains, which were but yong men & vſed them ouer gently. Moreouer, when *Antipater* practiſed to make the cities reuolt, they betrayed them, and ſhamefully forſooke to defend their cōmon libertie: whereupon *Antipater* marched forthwith with his armie, to the citie of ATHENS. *Demoſthenes* & *Hyperides* vnderſtanding that, forſook the citie. Then *Demades*, that was in diſgrace & defamed for lack of payment of ſuch fines as were ſet vpon his head (being 7 ſeuerall times condemned, becauſe he had ſo many times moued matters contrary to the law) & could not therfore be ſuffered any more to ſpeake in the aſſembly, was then diſpenced withall, & licenſed to ſpeake: whereupon he moued the people to ſend ambaſſadors vnto *Antipater*, with ful cōmiſſion & authoritie to treate with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans truſt this abſolute authoritie to treat of peace: they called for *Phocion*, ſaying that he only was to be truſted with the ambaſſade. Thē *Phocion* anſwered them: if you had beleued my former coūcels I alwaies gaue you, ſuch weighty matters ſhould not now haue troubled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by the people, *Phocion* was ſent ambaſſador vnto *Antipater*, that lay at the caſtle of Cadmea, being ready at that time to inuade the coūtry of ATTICA. *Phocion* firſt requeſted him, that before he remoued from thence, he would make peace with the ATHENIANS. *Craterus* preſently anſwered him: *Phocion*, thy requeſt is vnreaſonable, that lying here we ſhould eate out our frends, & deſtroy their country: when we may liue of our enemies, & enrich our ſelues with their ſpoile. But *Antipater* taking *Craterus* by the hand, told him: we muſt needs doe *Phocion* this pleaſure. And for the reſt, touching the capitulations of peace, he willed that the ATHENIANS ſhould ſend them a blanck, & refer the conditions of peace to them: like as himſelf being beſieged in the citie LAMIA, had referred all capitulations and articles of peace, vnto the diſcretion of *Leoſthenes* their generall. So when *Phocion* was come backe to ATHENS, the ATHENIANS ſeing there was no remedie, were compelled to be contented with ſuch offer of peace, as the enemie made thē. Then *Phocion* was ſent back again to *Antipater* at THEBES, with other ambaſſadors ioyned in commiſſion with him: amongſt whom alſo was that famous Philoſopher *Xenocrates*. The eſtimatiō of his vertue was ſo great with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing mā ſo proud, cruell, diſdainfull, nor haſty of nature, but that the onely looke of *Xenocrates* would ſoften and qualifie him, and make him to reuerence him: but yet with *Antipater* it fell out contrary, by his peruerſe nature, which hated all vertue: for he embraced all the reſt, and would not once ſalute *Xenocrates*. Whereupon, ſome

Phocions victorie of the Macedonians.

The Grecians ouercome by Antipater.

Phocion Ambaſſador vnto Antipater.

Xenocrates authoritie.

Xenocrates deſpiſed of Antipater.

me say, that *Xenocrates* said then, *Antipater* doth well to be ashamed, to see me a witnes of his discourtesie and euill he meaneth vnto the ATHENIANS. So when *Xenocrates* beganne to speake, *Antipater* would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the end commaunded him to holde his peace. When *Phocion* had spoken, *Antipater* answered them, that he would make peace with the ATHENIANS, so they deliuered him *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*: that they should keep their ancient lawes and gouernment, that they should receiue a garrison into the hauen of Munychia, that they should defraye the charges of this warre, and also pay a ransome besides. All the other Ambassadours but *Xenocrates*, willingly accepted these conditions of peace, as very reasonable and fauorable: but he sayed that they were slaues, *Antipater* did handle them fauourably, but for free men, he dealt too hardly with them. Then *Phocion* besought him that he woulde yet release them of their garrison. But *Antipater* (as it is sayed) answered him: *Phocion*, we would gladly graunt thee any thing, saue that which should vndoe thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithstanding, that *Antipater* sayed not so, but asked him, if he would become suertie for the ATHENIANS, that they should attempt no alteration, but faithfully keepe the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did release them of this garrison. *Phocion* then holding his peace, & delaying answer, there was one *Callimedon* surnamed *Carabos*, (a bold man, and hated the libertie of the people) that spake forth in these wordes: if *Phocion* were so fonde to giue his word for the ATHENIANS, wouldest thou *Antipater* beleue him therefore, and leaue to doe that thou hast determined? Thus were the ATHENIANS, driuen to receiue the garrison of the MACEDONIANS of the which *Menillus* was Captaine, an honest man, and *Phocions* friend. This commandement to receiue the garrison within the hauen of Munychia, was found very stately, and done by *Antipater* rather of a vaine glorie to boast of his power: then for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke possessiō of the castle, he further increased their griefe: because the garrison entred the twentith day of Bœdromion (to wit, the month of August) on the which the feast day of their misteries was celebrated, at what time they make their procession called Iacchus, from the citie of ATHENS, vnto ELEVSIN. Therfore the solemnitie of this holy feast being thus confused, many began to consider, that in old time when their realme did flourish, there were heard and sene voices and images of the gods on that day, which made the enemies both afraied, and amazed: and nowe in contrary manner in the very selfe same solemnitie of the goddes, they saw the greatest calamitie that could haue happened vnto GREECE. And the holiest feast which was kept all the yere through before, became then so prophaned with the title of the greatest misfortune and euent, that euer happened vnto the GRECIANS, which was, the losse of their libertie. For, not many yeres before, there was brought an Oracle from DODONE vnto ATHENS: that they should looke well to the entries of *Diana*, that straungers shoulde not possesse them. And about that time also the couerings with the which they doe adorne the holy beddes of the mysteries, being wette with water, became from a purple colour which they had before, to looke yealowe and pale, as if it had bene the couering of a dead bodie. Yea, and that which was most to be wondred at of all other, was this: that taking other couerings which were not holy, and putting them in the same water, they did without changing keepe their colour they had before. When one of the ministers of the temple also did wash a white pig in the sea in a cleane place, by the wharfe: there sodainly came a great fish that bytte at it, and caried the hinder partes of the pigge cleane away with it. Whereby men coniectured that the goddes did signifie vnto them, that they shoulde lose the lowest part of their cittie, nearest vnto the sea, and should keepe the highest partes thereof. This notwithstanding, the garrison did not offend nor trouble the ATHENIANS, because of the honestie of their Captaine *Menillus*. Now there were aboue 12000 Citizens, that for their pouertie lost the benefit of their freedome of the which, part of them remained at ATHENS, vnto whom it seemed that they offered great wrong and iniurie: and parte of them also went into THRACIA, where *Antipater* assigned them townes and landes to inhabit. They seemed to be menne like vnto them, that had bene taken by assaulte, or by seege within a citie, which had bene compelled to forsake their countrie. Furthermore, the shamefull death of *Demosthenes* in the Ile of CALAVRIA, and of Hy-

Presages of the miseries of the Athenians.

PERIDES, by the citie of CLEONES, (whereof we haue written heretofore) were almost occasion giuen them to lament the times of the raigne of king *Philip* and *Alexander*. As it is reported that when *Antigonus* was slaine, they that had ouercome him, were so cruell vnto their subiects: that a laborer in the countrie of PHRYGIA digging the earth, being asked what he sought for, answered sighing: I seeke for *Antigonus*. Then many men began to say as much, when they remembred the noble mindes of those two Princes, how merciful they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their displeasure: not like vnto *Antipater*, who craftily cloaked his tyrannicall power, which he vsurped, by being familiar, going simply apparelled, and faring meanely: and yet shewed himselfe notwithstanding a most cruell Lorde and tirant vnto them whom he had ouercome. Neuertheless *Phocion* obtained of him the restoring againe of diuerse men, whom he had banished: and those whom he could not get to be restored, yet he procured that they should not be banished into so farre countries, as others which had bene sent beyond the Mountaines Acroceraunians, and the head of Tænarus out of GREECE, but that they had libertie to remaine within the countrie of PELOPONNESVS: among the which was one *Agnonides* a Sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remained in ATHENS with great iustice and lenitie, and such as he knew to be good men and quiet, them he alwayes preferred to some offices: but such as he sawe were fantasticall people, and desirous of change, he kept them from office, and tooke all occasion from them, so that they vanished away of themselues, and learned in time to loue the countrie, and to followe tillage. When he sawe *Xenocrates* also paye a certen pension or tribute to the common wealth, which all strangers dwelling in ATHENS did vse yearely to paye: he would haue made him a freeman, and offered to put his name amongst the number of free Cittizens. But *Xenocrates* refused it, saying he would haue no part of that freedom, for the hinderance whereof, he had bene sent Ambassador. And when *Menyllus* had sent *Phocion* money, he made him answer: that *Menyllus* was no greater Lord then *Alexander* had bene, neither had he at that time any greater occasion to receiue his present, then when he had refused King *Alexanders* gifte. *Menyllus* replying againe, sayd that if he had no neede of it for himselfe, yet he might let his sone *Phocus* haue it. But *Phocion* answered: if my sonne *Phocus* will leaue his naughtie life, and become an honest man, that which I will leaue him, shall serue his turne very well: but if it be so that he will still holde on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. Another time also he answered *Antipater* more roundly, when he would haue had him done an vnhonest thing: *Antipater*, sayed he, cannot haue me to be his friend, and flatterer both. *Antipater*, who was wont to saye, that he had two friendes at ATHENS, *Phocion* and *Demades*: of the which he could neuer make the one to take any thing of him, and the other, he could neuer satisfie him. And truly *Phocions* pouertie was a great glorie vnto his vertue, sithence he was growen olde, continuing in the same, after he had bene so many times generall of the ATHENIANS, and had receiued such friendship and courtesie of so many Kings and Princes. Where *Demades* to the contrarie delighted to shew his riches, in things that were contrarie to the lawes of the citie. For, a decree being made at ATHENS, commaunding that no stranger, vpon forfeiture of a thousand Drachmas to be payed by the defrayer of the daunces of the citie, should be any of the Dauncers that Daunced at any common plaies or sportes: *Demades* one day making certen games and sportes at his owne charges, brought a hundreth Dauncers of strangers at one time, and withall, brought also a hundreth thousand Drachmas to pay the forfeiture thereof. Another time, when he married his sonne *Demas*, he sayed vnto him: sonne, when I married thy mother there was no small roste, that my next neighbour knewe not of it: where nowe at thy mariage, Kings and Princes are at the charge of the feast. Furthermore, when the ATHENIANS were importunate with *Phocion* to goe vnto *Antipater*, to intreat him to take his garrison out of their citie: he stil refused the ambassade either because he had no hope to obtaine it, or for that he saw the people more obedient vnto reason, for feare of the garrison. Howbeit, he obtained of *Antipater*, that he should not be too hastye in the demaunding of his money, but shoulde deferre it vntill a further time. So the ATHENIANS perceiuing they could do no good with *Phocion*, they intreated *Demades*, who willingly tooke the

Phocion refuseth Menillus giftes.

Phocion loued pouertie.
The insolencie of Demades the Orator.

the matter vpon him, and went with his ſonne into MACEDON, whither doubtleſſe his deſtinie caried him to his vtter deſtruction, euen at that very time when *Antipater* was fallen ſicke of a diſeaſe whereof he dyed: whereby the affaires of the Realme went through the hands of *Caſſander* his ſonne, who had intercepted a letter of this *Demades*, which he had ſent vnto *Antigonus* in ASIA, willing him to come in all poſſible ſpeede to win GREECE and MACEDON, which hung but of an old rottē threed, mocking *Antipater* in this maner. Wherfore *Caſſander* being aduertiſed of his arriuall, he made him preſently to be apprehended, & ſetting his ſonne hard by him, ſlew him before his father, ſo neere him, that the bloud of his ſonne ſprang vpon him: ſo that the father was all bloudied with the murther of his ſonne. Then *Caſſander* caſting in *Demades* teeth his ingratitude, and trecherous treaſon againſt his father, giuing him all the reproachfull words he could deuiſe: at the length he ſlew him with his own hands. Now *Antipater* before his death, had eſtabliſhed *Polyperchon* Generall of the army of the MACEDONIANS, & *Caſſander* his ſonne only Colonell of a thouſand footemen. He notwithſtanding, after his fathers deceaſe, taking vpon him the gouernment of the realme: ſent *Nicanor* with ſpeede to ſucceede *Menillus* in the Captaineſhip of the garriſon of ATHENS, before his death ſhould be reuealed, commaunding him firſt in any caſe, to take the caſtle of Munychia, which hee did. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS vnderſtanding of the death of *Antipater*, they accuſed *Phocion* for that he had knowen of his death long before, and yet kept it ſecret to pleaſe *Nicanor*. But *Phocion* regarded not this accuſation, but fell in acquaintance notwithſtanding with *Nicanor*: whō he handled ſo wiſely, that he made him not only friendly vnto the ATHENIANS but furthermore perſwaded him to be at ſome charge to giue the people the paſtime of common playes, which he made to be done at his coſt. In the meane time, *Polyperchon*, who had the gouernment of the kings perſon, meaning to giue *Caſſander* a ſlampant and blurt, he ſent letters pattentes vnto the people at ATHENS, declaring how the young king did reſtore vnto them their popular ſtate againe, and commaunded that all the ATHENIANS ſhould vſe their former ancient lawes of their citie. This was a wile and crafty fetch againſt *Phocion*. For Polyperchon deuiſing this practiſe to get the city of ATHENS into his hands (as it fell out afterwards by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpoſe, vnleſſe he found meanes firſt to baniſh *Phocion*: and thought that he ſhould eaſily bring that to paſſe, when ſuch as had before beene put off their freedome, by his meanes, ſhould come againe to haue voices in the aſſembly, & that the ſeditious Orators and accuſers might be turned at liberty againe, to ſay what they would. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the contentes of theſe letters pattentes, beganne to be ſomewhat quickned and moued withall: whereupon *Nicanor* deſiring to ſpeake with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which was aſſembled in the hauen of Piræa: he went and hazarded his perſon amongſt them, vpon *Phocions* faith and word. *Dercyllus* Captaine for the king, being ſecretly aduertiſed thereof, and in the field, not farre from the citie, did what he could to take *Nicanor*: but *Nicanor* hauing warning of it in time, ſaued himſelfe. Then it appeared, that *Nicanor* would preſently be reuenged of the citie, and they accuſed *Phocion* becauſe he kept him not, but did let him goe. Whereunto he anſwered: that he truſted *Nicanors* worde, and that he did not thinke he would offer the citie any hurt, but if it ſhould fal out otherwiſe, he had rather the world ſhould knowe, that he had the wrong offred him, then that he ſhould offer any. This truely appeared to be nobly ſpoken, in reſpect of himſelfe. But conſidering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the ſafetie of his countrie: I can not tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to haue had to the ſafetie of his countriemen. Neither could he alſo alleage for his excuſe, that hee did not lay handes on *Nicanor*, for feare to bring the citie into manifeſt warre: but that for a colour he did preferre the faith which he had ſworne and promiſed vnto him, and the iuſtice that he would obſerue in his behalfe: that for his ſake, *Nicanor* ſhould afterwardes keepe himſelfe in peace, and doe no hurt to the ATHENIANS. Howbeit in truth it ſeemed, that nothing deceiued *Phocion*: but by the ouer truſt hee had in this *Nicanor*. The which ſeemeth to be ſo, becauſe when diuers came to him to complaine of *Nicanor*, that he ſought all the ſecret meanes he could to ſurpriſe the hauen of Piræa, and that he daily paſſed ouer ſouldiers in the Ile of SALAMINA, and practiſed to bribe certaine of the inhabitants within the precinct of the hauen: he would neuer heare of it, and

Caſſander king Antipaters ſonne.

The vnfortunate end of Demades.

Polyperchon Generall of the armie of the Macedonians.

Polyperchons conſpiracie againſt Phocion

Better to receiue then to offer an iniury.

much leſſe beleeue it. Furthermore, when *Philomedes* LAMBRIAN made a motion, that the ATHENIANS ſhould prepare to be in readines to waite vpon their Captaine *Phocion*, to do as he commaunded them: he made no account of it, vntill he ſaw *Nicanor* come out with his ſouldiers from the fort of Munychia, and that he beganne to caſt trenches to compaſſe in the hauen of Piræa. But then, when *Phocion* thought to lead out the people to preuent him: he found they mutined againſt him, and no man would obey his commandement. In the meane time, *Alexander* the ſonne of *Polyperchon* came with an armie, pretending to aide them of the citie againſt *Nicanor*, where in deede he ment (if he could) to get the reſt of the citie into his hands, then ſpecially, when they were in greateſt broile one againſt an other, and the rather, becauſe the baniſhed men entred hand ouer head with him, and diuerſe ſtraungers alſo, and other defamed men: ſo that there was a confuſed councell and aſſembly of Omnigatherum kept within the citie, without any order, in the which *Phocion* was depriued of his office of Generall, and others were alſo choſen Captaines in his place. And had they not ſeene this *Alexander* talking alone with *Nicanor*, and returning many times hard to the walles of the citie, which made the ATHENIANS affraid and miſtruſtfull: they had neuer ſaued it from taking. At that time *Phocion* was preſently accuſed of treaſon by the Orator *Agnonides*: the which *Callimedon* and *Pericles* fearing got them out of the citie betimes. And *Phocion* alſo with his friendes that were not fled, went vnto *Polyperchon*: with whom alſo *Solon* PLATÆIAN, and *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN, went for company, who thought to haue found friendſhip and familiarity with *Polyperchon*. Howbeit *Dinarchus* falling ſicke by the way, in the citie of ELATIA, they ſtayed there many daies, hoping of his recouerie. But in the meane time, the people at the perſwaſion of the Orator *Agnonides*, and at the requeſt of *Archeſtratus*, ſtabliſhed a decree, to ſende Ambaſſadors vnto *Polyperchon*, to accuſe *Phocion*: inſomuch as both parties met at one ſelfe time, & found him in the field with the king about a village of the country of PHOCIDE, called PHARYGES, ſtanding at the foote of the mountaine Acrorion, which they ſurname alſo Galaten. There *Polyperchon* commaunded a cloth of gold to be ſet vp, and cauſed the king to be ſet vnder the ſame, and all his chiefeſt friends about him. But to beginne withall, he made *Dinarchus* to be taken, and commaunded them to put him to death after they had racked him: then he willed the ATHENIANS to tell what they had to ſay. Then they beganne to quarrell, and to be loud one with an other, accuſing one an other in the preſence of the king and his councell: vntill *Agnonides* at length ſtepped forth, and ſaid: my Lords of MACEDON, put vs all in priſon, and then ſende vs bound handes and feete to ATHENS, to giue account of our doings. The king laughed to heare him ſay ſo. But the noble men of MACEDON that were preſent then, and diuerſe ſtrangers beſides to heare their complaints: made ſigne to the Ambaſſadors to vtter their accuſations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for *Polyperchon* checked vp *Phocion* oftentimes, and did ſtill cut off his tale, as he thought to purge him ſelfe: inſomuch as in anger, he beat his ſtaffe he had in his hand againſt the ground, and commaunded him at length to hold his peace, & to get him thence. And when *Hegemon* alſo told *Polyperchon*, that he himſelfe could beſt witneſſe, how *Phocion* had alwaies faithfully ſerued and loued the people: he angrily aunſwered him, come not hither to lie falſly vpon me, in the preſence of the king. Therewith the king roſe out of his ſeate, and tooke a ſpeare in his hand, thinking to haue killed *Hegemon*: had not *Polyperchon* ſodainly embraced him behind, and ſtayed him. So the councell roſe, and brake vp, but preſently *Phocion* was apprehended, and they that ſtood by him. Certaine of his friendes ſeeing that, which ſtood further off, muffeled their faces, and ſtraight conueyed themſelues away. The reſt were ſent priſoners to ATHENS by *Clitus*, not ſo much to haue their cauſes heard there, as to haue them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carying of them to ATHENS was ſhamefull. For they were caried vpon cartes through the great ſtreete Ceramicum, vnto the Theater: where *Clitus* kept them, vntill the Senate had aſſembled the people, excepting no bondman, no ſtraunger, nor defamed perſon out of this aſſembly, but left the Theater wide open to all comers in whatſoeuer they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for euery man that would ſpeake againſt them. So firſt of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he did

Alexander the ſonne of Polyperchon practiſeth treaſon againſt the Athenians.

Phocion accuſed of treaſon.

Polyperchon did put Dinarchus to death.

Phocion ſent priſoner to Athens to be condemned.

did aduertise the people, that he had found these offendors conuicted of treason: notwithstanding, that he referred the sentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were free men. Then *Clitus* brought his prisoners before the people, where the noble men when they saw *Phocion*, were ashamed, and hiding their faces, wept to see him. Howbeit, there was one that rose vp and saide: my Lordes sith the king referreth the iudgement of so great persons vnto the people, it were great reason all the bondmen and strangers which are no free citizens of ATHENS, should be taken out of this assembly. The people would not agree to it, but cried out, that such traitors should be stoned to death, that fauour the authority of a few, and are enemies of the people: whereupon silence was made, and no man durst speake any more for *Phocion*. Neuertheless when *Phocion* with much a doe had obtained audience, hee asked them: my Lordes, will ye iustly or wrongfully put vs to death? Some answered him: iustly. How then can ye do it, quoth he, that will not heare our iustifications? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then *Phocion* comming neerer, saide vnto them. For my selfe, my Lordes, I confesse I haue done you wrong, & haue in gouernment committed faults deseruing death: but for these prisoners with mee, what haue they done why you should put them to death? The common people answered him: because they are thy friendes. With this answere *Phocion* departed, and spake neuer a word more. Then the Orator *Agnonides* holding a decree in his hand readie written, read it openly to the people, declaring how they should be iudged by voyces, whether the offendors had deserued death or not: & if it were found they had, then that they should all be put to death. And there were that when this decree was red, cried out, that they should adde further vnto the decree, that before *Phocion* should be put to death, they should first torment him: and therewithall commandement was giuen that the wheele should be sette vp to breake his ioynts vpon it, and also that the hangman should be sent for. But then *Agnonides* perceiuing that *Clitus* was offended with it, and thinking besides it were too beastly and barbarous a part to vse him in that sort, he saide openly: my Lordes, when you shall haue such a varlet in your handes at *Callimedon*, then you may cast him on the wheele: but against *Phocion*, I would not wish such crueltie. Then rose vp a noble man among them, and added to his words: thou hast reason to say so, *Agnonides*: for if *Phocion* should be laid on the wheele, what should we then doe with thee? The decree being confirmed according to the contentes thereof, iudgement was giuen by voices of the people, no man sitting but all standing vp, and most of them with garlandes on their heades, for the ioy they had to condemne these prisoners to death. With *Phocion* there were condemned, *Nicocles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*: but *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Callimedon* & *Charitles* were also in their absence condemned to die. Now when the assembly was broken vp, and that the persons condemned were carried backe to prison, from thence to be conueighed to execution: others imbracing their friends, and taking their last leaue of them as they went, wept, and lamented their cursed fortune. But *Phocion* looking as cheerefully of it as he was wont to doe being Generall, when they honorably waited on him to his house from the assembly: he made many of them pitie him in their hearts to consider his constancie and noble courage. On the other side also, there were many of his enemies that came as neere vnto him as they could, to reuile him, amongst whom there was one that stepped before him, and did spit in his face. Then *Phocion* turning him vnto the Magistrates, saide: will ye not cause this impudent fellow to leaue his rayling? When they were in prison, *Thudippus* seeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a morter to giue them to drinke: he beganne desperately to curse and banne, saying, that they wrongfully put him to death with *Phocion*. Why, said *Phocion* againe: and doest thou not rather reioyce to die with me? When one that stoode by asked *Phocion*, if he would any thing to his sonne *Nicocles*: yes, quoth he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the ATHENIANS do me. Then *Nicocles* one of *Phocions* dearest friends, prayed him to let him drinke the poyson before him. *Phocion* answered him, thy request is grieuous to me, *Nicocles*: but because I neuer denyed thee any thing in my life, I will also grant thee this at my death. When al the rest had drunke, there was no more poyson left, and the hangman saide he would make no more vnlesse they gaue him twelue Drachmas, for so much the pound did cost him. *Phocion* perceiuing then that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his friends vnto him, and prayed him to giue the

The furie of the Athenians against Phocion.

The crueltie of the Athenians vnto Phocion.

Phocion condemned to death.

The constancie and courage of Phocion, being condemned to die.

Phocion gaue money to be put to death.

hangman that litle money he demaunded, ſith a man can not die at ATHENS for nothing without coſt. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of Munichion, (to wit, March) on which day the Knights were wont to make a ſolemne proceſſion in the honour of *Iupiter*: howbeit ſome of them left off the garlands of flowers which they ſhould haue worn on their heads, and others alſo looking towards the priſon dore as they went by, burſt out a weeping. For, they whoſe hearts were not altogether hardned with cruelty, & whoſe iudgements were not wholly ſuppreſſed with enuie, thought it a grieuous ſacriledge againſt the goddes, that they did not let that day paſſe, but that they did defile ſo ſolemne a feaſt, with the violent death of a man. His enemies notwithſtanding, continuing ſtill their anger againſt him, made the people paſſe a decree, that his bodie ſhould be baniſhed, and caried out of the boundes of the country of ATTICA, forbidding the ATHENIANS that no fire ſhould be made for the ſolemniſing of his funerals. For this reſpect no friend of his durſt once touch his bodie. Howbeit a poore man called *Conopion*, that was wont to get his liuing that way, being hyred for money to burne mens bodies: he tooke his corſe, and caried it beyond the citie of ELEVSIN, and getting fire out of a womans houſe of MEGARA, he ſolemniſed his funerals. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of MEGARA, who comming by chaunce that way, with her gentlewomen, where his bodie was but newly burnt: ſhe cauſed the earth to be caſt vp a litle where the bodie was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, wherupon ſhe did vſe ſuch ſprinckling and effuſions, as are commonly done at the funerals of the dead: and then taking vp his bones in her lappe in the night, ſhe brought them home, and buried them in her harth, ſaying: O deare harth, to thee I bequeath the reliques of this noble and good man, and pray thee to kepe them faithfully, to bring them one day to the graue of his auncеſters, when the ATHENIANS ſhall come to confeſſe the fault & wrong they haue done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the vntowardnes of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who only maintained iuſtice, and honeſtie at ATHENS. Whereupon they made his image to be ſet vp in braſſe, and gaue honorable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accuſers, they condemned *Agnonides* of treaſon, and put him to death themſelues. The other two, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus* being fled out of the citie, were afterwards met with by his ſonne *Phocus*, who was reuenged of them. This *Phocus* as men report, was otherwiſe no great good man, who fancying a young maide which a bawde kept, comming by chance one day into the ſchoole of Lycæum, he heard *Theodorus* the Atheiſt (to wit, that beleeued not there were any goddes) make this argument. If it be no ſhame, ſaid he, to deliuer a mans friend from bondage, no more ſhame is it to redeeme his leman which he loueth: euen ſo it is all one to redeeme a mans leman, as his friend. This young man taking this argument to ſerue his turne, beleeuing that he might lawfully do it, got the young maide he loued from the baude. Furthermore, this death of *Phocion* did alſo reuiue the lamentable death of *Socrates* vnto the GRECIANS: for men thought that it was a like hainous offence and calamitie vnto the citie of ATHENS.

Phocions funerals.

The end of Phocions life.

THE LIFE OF
Cato Vtican.

THe family and house of *Cato*, tooke his first glory & name of his great grandfather, *Cato* the Censor: who for his vertue (as we haue declared in his life) was one of the famousest and worthiest men of ROME in his time. This *Cato* whom we now write of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother *Capio*, and *Porcia* his sister. *Seruilia* was also *Catoes* halfe sister, by his mothers side. All these were brought vp with their vncle *Liuius Drusus*, at that time the greatest man of the citie: for he was passing eloquent, and very honest, and of as great a courage besides, as any other ROMAINE. Men report, that *Cato* from his childhood shewed himselfe both in word and countenance, and also in all his pastimes and recreations, verie constant and stable. For he would goe through with that he tooke vpon him to doe, and would force himselfe aboue his strength: and as he could not away with flatterers, so was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh, and yet had euer a pleasant countenance. He was not chollericke, nor easie to be angred: but when the bloud was vp, he was hardly pacified. When he was first put to schoole, he was very dull of vnderstanding, and slow to learne: but when he had once learned it, he would neuer forget it, as all men else commonly doe. For such as are quicke of conceite, haue commonly the worst memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, doe keepe that better which they haue learned. For euery kinde of learning is a motion and quickening of the minde. He seemed besides not to be light of credite, & that may be some cause of his slowneſse in conceite. For truely he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth, that they that haue least reason to resist, are those which doe giue lightest credite. For young men are easilier perswaded then old men, and the sicke then the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his doubts: there he is sooneſt brought to beleeue any thing. This notwithstanding, it is reported that *Cato* was obedient vnto his schoolemaister, and would doe what he commaunded him: howbeit he would aske him still the cause and reason of euery thing. In deede his schoolemaister was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to strike him with his fist. His name was *Sarpedo*. Furthermore, when *Cato* was but a young boy, the people of ITALY which were confederates of the ROMAINES, sued to be made free citizens of ROME. At that time it chaunced one *Pompedius Silo*, a valiant souldier, and of great estimation among the confederates of

The parentage of Cato.

Liuius Drusus Catoes vncle. Catoes manners.

Why quicke wits haue neuer good memorie.

Sarpedo, Catoes schoolemaister.

the ROMAINES, and a great friend beſides of *Druſus*: to be lodged many daies at his houſe. He in this time falling acquainted with theſe young boyes, ſaid one day vnto them: good boyes, intreate your vncle to ſpeake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of ROME. *Cepio* ſmiling nodded with his head, that he would. But *Cato* making no anſwere, looked very wiſely vpon the ſtrangers that lay in the houſe. Then *Pompedius* taking him aſide, asked him: and thou, my pretie boy, what ſayeſt thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle as well as thy brother, to be good to his gueſtes? *Cato* ſtill held his peace and aunſwered nothing, but ſhewed by his ſilence and looke, that he would not heare their requeſt. Then *Pompedius* taking him vp in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would haue let him haue gone: and ſpeaking more ſharply to him then he did before, he caſt him many times out of his armes without the window, and ſaid, promiſe vs then, or elſe I will let thee fall. But *Cato* abid it a long time, and neuer quinched for it, nor ſhewed countenance of feare. Thereupon *Pompedius* ſetting him downe againe, told his friends that ſtood by him: O what good happe doth this child promiſe one day vnto ITALIE, if he liue? ſure if he were a man, I beleeue we ſhould not haue one voice of all the people of our ſide. An other time, there were ſome of *Catoes* neere kinſemen, that keeping the feaſt day of his birth, bad many young boyes to ſupper, and amongſt others this *Cato*. The boyes to occupie themſelues till ſupper was readie, gathered themſelues together great and ſmall, into ſome priuate place of the houſe. Their play was, counterfaiting pleadings before the iudges, accuſing one an other, and carying them that were condemned to priſon. Amongſt them, a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a litle chamber, bounde as a condemned perſon. The boy perceiuing he was locked vp, cryed out vnto *Cato*: who miſtruſting what it was, went ſtraight to the chamber dore & putting them by by force that withſtood him to come vnto it, he tooke out the young boy, and caried him very angrily with him to his owne houſe, and all the other young boyes followed him alſo. So *Cato* had ſuch name among the young boyes, that when *Sylla* made the game of young boyes running a horſebacke, which the ROMAINES call Troia: to appoint them before that they might be ready at the day of the ſhew, he hauing gotten all the young boyes of noble houſes together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, becauſe of his mother *Metella*, which was the wife of *Sylla*: but they would none of the other called *Sextus*, who was nephew to *Pompey* the great, neither would they be exerciſed vnder him, nor followe him. Wherefore *Sylla* asked them, which of them they would haue: they all cryed then *Cato*, and *Sextus* himſelfe did willingly giue him the honor, as the worthier of both. *Sylla* was their fathers friend, and therefore did ſend for them many times to come vnto him, & he would talke with them: the which kindnes he ſhewed to few men, for the maieſtie and great authoritie he had. *Serpedo* alſo (*Catoes* ſchoolemaiſter) thinking it a great preferrement and ſafetie for his ſchollers, did commonly bring *Cato* vnto *Syllaes* houſe, to waite vpon him: the which was rather like vnto a iayle or priſon, for the great number of priſoners which were daily brought thither, and put to death. *Cato* being then but foureteene yeares of age, and perceiuing that there were many heads brought which were ſaied to be of great men, and that euerie bodie ſighed and mourned to ſee them: he asked his ſchoolemaſter, how it was poſſible the tyrant ſcaped, that ſome one or other killed him not? Becauſe, q̃ *Serpedo*, that all men feare him, more then they hate him. Why then, replyed *Cato* againe, diddeſt thou not giue me a ſword that I might kill him, to deliuer my country of this ſlauery & bondage? *Serpedo* hearing the boy ſay ſo, and ſeeing his countenance and eyes on fire with choller, he maruelled much at it, and afterwardes had a very good eye vnto him, leaſt raſhly he ſhould attempt ſome thing againſt *Sylla*. When he was but a litle boy, ſome asked him whom he loued beſt? My brother, ſaide he. Then the other continuing ſtil to aske him, & who next: he anſwered likewiſe, his brother. Then the third time againe, likewiſe his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him ſo oft. Yea and when he was come of age alſo, he then confirmed the loue he bare to his brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he neuer ſupped without his brother *Cæpio*, neither went he euer out of his houſe into the market place, nor into the fields without him: but when his brother did noint himſelfe with ſweete oyles of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things elſe, he led a ſtraight and hard life. So that his brother

Cæpio

Catoes auſteritie.

The marueilous conſtancie of Cato when he was a child.

Syllaes loue vnto Cato being but a boy.

Catoes hate being a boy againſt a tyrant.

Catoes loue to his bother.

Cato being commended of euery man for his temperaunce, honesty, and sober life: he graunted in deede that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate life: but when I doe (sayed he) compare my life with my brother *Catoes*, me thinkes then there is no difference betwixt me and *Sippius*. This *Sippius* was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that *Cato* was once chosen *Apolloes* Priest, he went from his brother, and tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the summe of a hundred and twenty talents. Then he liued more hardly then hee did before. For he fell in acquaintaunce with *Antipater* TYRIAM, a Stoicke Philosopher, and gaue him selfe chiefly vnto the studie of morall and ciuill Philosophy, imbracing all exercise of vertue with such an earnest desire, that it seemed he was prickt forward by some god: but aboue all other vertues, he loued the sincerity of iustice, which he would not wrest for any gift nor fauor. He studied also to be eloquent, that he might speake openly before the people, because he would there should be certaine warlike forces entertained in ciuill Philosophy, as also in a great city. Notwithstanding, he would not exercise it before any body, neither would he euer haue any man to heare him speake when he did learne to speake. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did mislike he spake so litle in company: it skilleth no matter, (q) he, so they can not reproue my life, for I will beginne to speake, when I can say some thing worthy to be spoken. Hard by the market place there was the common pallace or towne house of the citie, called Basilica Porcia, the which *Porcius Cato* the elder had built, in the time of his Censorship. There the Tribunes were wont to keepe their audience: and because there was a piller that troubled their sights, they would either haue taken it away, or else haue set it in some other place. That was the first cause that made *Cato* against his will to goe into the market place, and to get vp into the pulpit for orations, to speake against them: where hauing giuen this first proofe of his eloquence and noble minde, he was maruellously esteemed of. For his oration was not like a young man, counterfeating fineness of speach and affectation, but stout, full of wit and vehemency: and yet in the shortnesse of his sentences, he had such an excellent grace withall, that he maruellously delighted the hearers: and furthermore, shewing in nature a certaine grauity besides, it did so please them, that he made them laugh. Hee had a very full and audible voyce that might be heard of a maruellous number of people, and such a strong nature besides, that he neuer fainted, nor brake his speach: for many times hee would speake a whole day together, and was neuer wearie. So when he had obtained his cause against the Tribunes, he returned againe to keepe his former great silence, and to harden his body with painefull exercises, as to abide heate, frost, and snow bare headed, and alwayes to goe a foote in the fielde, where his friends that did accompany him rode a horseback, and sometime hee would come and talke with one, sometime with an other, as he went a foote by them. He had a wonderfull patience also in his sickenesse. For when he had any ague, he would be alone all day long, and suffer no man to come and see him, vntill he perceiued his fit was off him, and that he founde he was better. When he supped with his friendes and familiars, they drew lots who should choose their parts. If he chaunced not to choose, his friendes notwithstanding gaue him the preferment to choose: but he refused it, saying it was no reason, sith the goddesse *Venus* was against him. At the first he did not vse to sitte long at the table, but after he had drunke one draught onely, he would straight rise. But when he came to be elder, he sate long at the table: so that oftentimes he would sit it out all night with his friendes, till the next morning. But they seeking to excuse it, sayed, that his great businesse and affaires in the common wealth was the cause of it. For following that all the day long, hauing no leysure nor time to studie when night came, he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philosophers, at the bord. Wherefore when *Memmius* on a time being in company, sayed, that *Cato* did nothing but drinke all night: *Cicero* taking his tale out of his mouth, aunswered him, thou doest not adde this vnto it, that all the daie he doth nothing but plaie at dise. To be short, *Cato* thinking that the manners and fashions of mens liues in his time were so corrupt, and required such great chaunge and alteration: that to goe vprightly, he was to take a contrary course in all things. For hee saw that purple, red, and the lightest colours were best esteemed of: he in contrary manner determined to weare blacke. And many times also after dinner hee would goe abroade bare footed

Antipater the Stoicke, Catoes schoolemaister.

Catoes care for Basilica Porcia

Catoes exercises.

Catoes drinking.

Ciceroons saying of Cato.

without shooes, and without any gowne: not becauſe he would be wondered at for any ſuch ſtrangeneſſe, but to acquaint him ſelfe to be aſhamed onely of ſhameleſſe and diſhoneſt things, and to deſpiſe thoſe which were not reproued, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talentes by the death of a couſin of his, that likewiſe was called *Cato*: he put it all into ready money: to lend to his friends that lacked, and without vſury. And there were ſome of his frends alſo that would morgage his land, or his ſlaues, to the chamber of the city, for their owne priuate buſines: the which he him ſelfe would either giue them to morgage, or els afterwards confirme the morgage of thē. Furthermore, when he was come of age to mary, hauing neuer knowen woman before, he was made ſure to *Lepida*. This *Lepida* had bene precontracted vnto *Metellus Scipio*: but afterwardes the precontract being broken, he forſooke her, ſo that ſhee was free, when *Cato* was contracted to her. Notwithſtanding, before *Cato* maried her, *Scipio* repenting him that he had refuſed her, made all the means he could to haue her againe: and ſo he had. *Cato* tooke it ſo grieuouſly, that he thought to goe to law for her: but his friendes diſſwaded him from it. Then ſeeing no other remedie, to ſatisfie his angry minde, he wrote verſes againſt *Scipio*, in the which hee reuiled him all he could: vſing the bitter taunts of *Archilocus* verſes, but not ſuch impudent, lewde, and childiſh reproaches as be there. After that, he maried *Attilia*, *Soranus* daughter, being the firſt woman he euer knew: yet not the onely woman whom hee did know, as is reported of *Lælius*, *Scipioes* friend, who therein was counted the happier, becauſe all that long time wherein he liued, hee neuer knew other woman but his firſt wife. Furthermore, in the warre of the bondemen (otherwiſe called *Spartacus* warre) one *Gellius* was choſen Prætor of the army vnder whom *Cato* ſerued of his own good will, for the loue he bare vnto his brother *Capio*, who in that army had charge of a thouſand footemen. Now *Cato* could not as he wiſhed, ſhew his valiantneſſe and good ſeruice, becauſe of the inſufficiency of the Prætor that gaue ill direction. This notwithſtanding, in the middeſt of all the ryot and inſolencies of them in the campe, he ſhewing him ſelfe a ſtayed man in all his doings, valiant where neede was, and very wiſe alſo: all men eſteemed him to be nothing inferiour vnto *Cato* the elder. Whereupon *Gellius* the Prætor gaue him many honors in token of his valiantnes, which are giuen in reward of mens good ſeruice: howbeit *Cato* refuſed them, and ſayed, that he was nothing worthy of thoſe honors. Theſe things made him to be thought a maruellous ſtrange man. Furthermore, when there was a law made, forbidding all men that ſued for any office in the common wealth, that they ſhould haue no prompters in any of the aſſemblies, to blow into their eares the names of priuat citizens: he alone making ſute to be Colonell of a thouſand footemen, was obedient to the law, and committed all the priuate citizens names to memory, to ſpeake vnto euery one of them, and to call them by their names: ſo that he was enuied euen of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praiſe worthy, by ſo much more were they grieued, for that they could not follow them. So *Cato* being choſen Colonell of a thouſand footemen, he was ſent into MACEDON, vnto *Rubrius*, Prætor there. Some ſay, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to ſee him goe: one *Munatius* a friend of his ſayd vnto her, take no thought *Attilia*, and leaue weeping, for I promiſe thee I will keepe thy husband for thee. It is well ſayd, anſwered *Cato*. Then when they were a daies iorney frō ROME, *Cato* after ſupper ſaid vnto this *Munatius*: thou muſt looke well to thy promiſe thou haſt made *Attilia*, that thou wouldeſt keepe me for her, and therefore forſake me not night nor day. Thereuppon he commaunded his men that from thence forth they ſhould prepare two beds in his chamber, that *Munatius* alſo might lye there: who was rather pleaſantly him ſelfe looked vnto by *Cato*, then *Cato* by him. He had fifteen ſlaues with him, two free men, and foure of his friends, which rode, and he him ſelfe went a foote: ſometime talking with one, otherwhile with another as he went. Whē he came to the campe, where there were many legions of the ROMAINS, the Prætor immediatly gaue him charge of one of them: who thinking it ſmall honor to him for him ſelf only to be valiant, ſith he was but one man, he practiſed to make all his ſouldiers vnder him, like vnto him ſelf. The which he did not by feare & terror, but by lenity and gentle perſwaſion, training and inſtructing them in euery point what they ſhould do: adding to his gentle inſtruction & perſwaſions, reward to thoſe that did well, and

Catoes mariage.

Attilia Catoes wife.

Lelius mariage.

Catoes firſt ſouldierfare in the war of the bondmen.

Cato choſen Tribunus militum.

How Cato trained his men, and made them valiant.

and punishment to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to iudge, whether hee had made them more quiet, then warlicke: more valiant, then iust. So dreadfull they shewed themselues to their enemies, and curteous to their friendes: fearefull to doe euill, and ready to winne honour. Whereof followed that which *Cato* least accounted of, that is, he wanne fame, and good will: for his souldiers did greatly honour and loue him, because he himselfe would euer first set his hand to any thing he commaunded them, and because also both in his diet, in his apparell, and in any iorney or paines, he was rather like vnto the meanest souldier, then any of the other Captaines. In contrary manner also, in good nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he farre exceeded all the other Colonels and Captaines. For the true loue of vertue, (to wit, the desire to follow it) taketh no roote in mens mindes, vnlesse they haue a singular loue and reuerence vnto the person, whome they desire to follow. When *Cato* vnderstoode that *Athenodorus* surnamed *Cordylion*, a Stoicke Philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the city of PERGAMVM, being a very old man, and one that stiffely refused the friendship of kings, princes, and noble men, desirous to haue him about them: to write to him, he thought it was but lost labor. Wherefore hauing two moneths liberty by the laws of the ROMAINES, to follow his owne affaires: he tooke sea, and went into ASIA to him, hoping he should not lose his iourney, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of diuerse matters together: at length he brought him from his first determination, and caried him to the campe with him, esteeming this victory more, then all the conquestes of *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, who had conquered the most part of all the prouinces and realmes of the East parts of the world. In the meane time, whilest hee lay at his charge in the campe, being Colonell of a thousand footemen: his brother preparing to goe into ASIA, fell sicke in the city of ÆNVS, in the countrey of THRACIA. *Cato* hauing speedy intelligence thereof, tooke sea presently, when it was maruellous rough and boysterous, and imbarked in a little crayer of a marchants of THESSALY, with two of his friends, and three bondmen only, he did escape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arriued safely, a litle after his brother *Capioes* death. He tooke his death more sorrowfully, then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, imbracing the dead corps of his brother: but also for the exceeding charge and sumptuous funerals, which he bestowed vpon him, in perfumes, sweete sauors, and sumptuous silkes that were burnt with his bodie: and furthermore, in the stately tombe of THRACIAN marble which he made for him, and set vp in the market place of the ÆNIANS, that cost eight talents. Some did mislike this vaine charge that *Cato* bestowed, considering the modesty and temperance he vsed in all things else, not regarding with iudgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinsmen, which was mingled in him with his austerity and hardnes, against all voluptuousnes, feare, and shameless requestes. Diuers cities, Princes and noble men sent him many sundry presents, to honour the funerals of his brother *Capio*: howbeit he tooke no money of all them, sauing only spices, and sweete sauors, and such other ornaments, as honored the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell vnto him, and a litle daughter of his, by the death of his brother: notwithstanding the charge hee had bene at, in his funerals, he did not reckon it in the partition of the land, betwixt him and his brother *Capioes* daughter. All the which things when they were solemnised, some* write notwithstanding, that he did clense the imbers where his brothers body had bene burnt, through a sieue or riddell, where through they clense corne, and all to get out the gold and siluer that was molten there. But such thinke that their writings should be as farre from controlement, as their doings. So when *Catoes* time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not only with ordinary praises, vowes, and prayers to the goddes for his health: but with imbracings, teares, and maruellous lamentations of the souldiers, which spred their garments on the ground as he went, and kissing of his hands, which honor the ROMAINS did but to very few of their Generalles. Furthermore, *Cato* being determined before he returned to ROME to deale in the affaires there, to go and see ASIA, partly to be an eye witnesse of the maners, customes, and power of euery prouince as he went: and partly also to satisfie king *Deiotarus* request, who hauing bene his fathers friend, had earnestly intreated him to come and see

The loue of vertue from whence it proceedeth.

Athenodorus the stoicke, Catoes friend.

The death of Capio, Catoes brother.

Catoes mourning for his brother Capioes death.

* *It seemeth to be ment of Cæsar, which wrote the booke called Anticatan.*

Catoes iorney into Asia.

Catoes modesty.

him: he went the iourney, and vsed it in this sort. First, by peepe of day, he sent his baker and cooke before, where he ment to lie that night. They comming soberly into the city or village, inquired if there were none of *Catoes* friendes and acquaintance there, and if they found none, then they prepared his supper in an Inne, and troubled no man: but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Gouernors of the towne, and prayed them to helpe them to lodging, and did content them selues with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the townes men did not beleeue they were *Catoes* men, and made no accompt of them: because they tooke all things so quietly, and made no a doe with the officers. Insomuch as *Cato* sometime came him selfe, and found nothing ready for him, and when he was come, they made as small account of him, seeing him set vpon his cariages, and speake neuer a word: for they tooke him for some meane man, and a timerous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he called them vnto him, and tolde them. O poore men, learne to be more curteous to receiue trauelling ROMAINS that passe by you, and looke not alwaies to haue *Catoes* to come vnto you: & therefore see that you vse them with such curtesie and entertainement, that they may bridle the authority they haue ouer you: for you shall finde many that will desire no better colour nor occasion, by force to take from you that they would haue: because you vnwillingly also do grant them the things they would, and need. There is a report of a prety iest hapned him in SYRIA. Whē he came to ANTIOCH, he found a great number of people deuided on either side of the streete, standing a row one by an other very decently: the yong men by them selues in faire clokes, boyes by them selues in seemely aray, and priests and other officers of the city also, al in white garments, crowned with garlands. *Cato* thought straight they had made this solemne procession to honor him, and fell out with his men he had sent before, because they did suffer them to make such preparation for his comming. So he made his friends light from their horses, and go a foot to accompany him. But when they came neare to the gate of the city, the maister of these ceremonies that had assembled all that company (an old man, hauing a rodde in his hand, and a crowne on his head) came to *Cato* without saluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come. This *Demetrius* had bin one of *Pompeis* slaues, and because *Pompeis* fame was great with all men, his seruant *Demetrius* also was much honored and made of aboue his desert, for that he was in great credite with *Pompey*. *Catoes* friends hearing what question the olde man asked him, burst out a laughing as they went through this procession. *Cato* being ashamed of it, saied no more then: but, O vnfortunate city. Afterwards notwithstanding, when he told it to any body, he would laugh at it him selfe. So *Pompey* rebuked them, that through ignorance had failed to honor *Cato*. When *Cato* came to the city of EPHESVS, and was comming towardes *Pompey* to salute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignity and estimation then he, who at that time also was Generall of a great and puissaunt army: *Pompey* seeing him comming towards him a farre off, would not tary till he came to him, sitting in his chaire of estate, but rising vp went to meete him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of ROME, and taking him by the hand, after he had imbraced and welcommed him, he presently fell in praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereuppon, euery man after that had him in great veneration for those things, which before they despised in him, when they considered better of his noble and curteous mind. For men that saw *Pompeis* entertainment towards him, knew wel enough that *Cato* was a man which he rather reuerenced, & for a kinde of duty obserued, more then for any loue he bare him: & they noted further, that he honored him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when *Cato* went from him. For he sought to keepe backe all the yong gentlemen of ROME that went to see him, and desired them to remaine with him: but for *Cato*, he was nothing desirous of his company, for that in his presence hee thought he could not command as he would, & therefore was willing to let him go, recommending his wife & his children to him, the which he neuer did before vnto any other ROMAIN that returned to ROME: howbeit in deed *Cato* was partly allied vnto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he passed, deuised (in emulation one of the other) which of thē should honor him most, & made him great feasts & bankets: in the which he praid his friends to haue an eie to him, least vnwares he shold proue *Curioes* words true. For *Curio* sometime being his frēd, & a familiar of his, misliking notwith-

A laughing matter hapned vnto Cato.

Demetrius a slaue, great with Pompey.

Cato honored of Pompey in Asia.

Pompey rather suspected Cato, then loued him.

notwithstanding his seuerity: asked *Cato* if he would go see ASIA, when his charge were expired. *Cato* answered againe, that it was his full determination. Oh well sayd, q^ *Curio*, I hope then thou wilt returne more pleasant and ciuill. And these were *Curios* words. Furthermore, *Deiotarus* king of GALATIA, being a very old man, sent for *Cato* to come into his countrey to recommend his sonnes and house vnto him: who, when he arriued there, had great riche presents of all sortes offered him by the king, intreating him all he could to take them. This so much misliked and angered *Cato*, that he comming thither in the euening, (after he had taried there one whole day only) the next morning he went his way from thence at the third houre. Howbeit he had not gone one daies iourney, but he found greater gifts that taried him, with *Deiotarus* letters, at the city of PESSINVNTA: in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the least if he would refuse them him selfe, that then he would let them be deuided amongest his friends, sith euery way they did deserue it, but specially for his sake, for that his goodes also were not so great, as could content all his friends. But *Cato* would not suffer them to take any iot of it more then before, although he saw well enough that there were some of them so tender hearted, that they complained of him, for that hee would not suffer them to take any of it. For he told them, that otherwise, corruption and bribery could lacke no honest colour to take: and for his friendes, they shoulde alwayes haue part with him of that which was his owne iustly. So hee returned king *Deiotarus* presents backe againe. Now when he was ready to imbarke, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM: some of his friendes perswaded him, that it was better to put the ashes of his brother *Capioes* bones into an other shippe. But he aunswered them, that he would rather lose his owne life, then to leaue his brothers reliques. Thereuppon he presently hoysed saile, and it is reported that he passed ouer in great danger, where other shippes arriued very safely. When he was returned vnto ROME, he was alwayes either talking Philosophy with *Athenodorus* the Philosopher, or else in the market place to pleasure his friends. When his turne came that he was to make sute to be Quæstor, he would neuer sue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the ordinaunces touching the office of Quæstor, and that hee had particularly made enquiry of men of greatest experience to know what the authority of the office was. So, he no sooner came to his office, but he presently made great alteration amongest the clearkes and officers of the treasurie: who hauing the lawes and recordes in their handes, and exercising the office commonly vnder young men which were chosen treasurers (who for their ignorauncc and lacke of experience, stoode rather in neede of maisters to teache them, then that they were able to correct others) they them selues were the officers, and controlled them. But *Cato* not contenting him selfe with the name and honour of the thing, did throughly vnderstand what the clearkes and registers should be, and therefore would haue them to be as they ought to be, ministers vnder the Quæstors onely, telling them of their bribery and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also, that faulted through ignorance. And when hee saw some insolent and impudent persons, that curried fauour with other treasurers to be against him: he caused the chiefest of them to be condemned for falshoode, in making diuision betwixt two coheires, and consequently turned him cleare out of his office, for euer doing any thing there any more. He accused an other also for forging of a will, whome *Catulus Lutatius* defending, being then Censor, and a man of great honor for the dignity of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the iustest man one of them in his time at ROME, and one of those also that highly commended *Cato*, & was conuersant with him for his honest life: when hee perceiued that he could not defend his man by no reason, he prayed them at his request that they would pardon him. But *Cato* would in no wise graunt it. But *Catulus* earnestly intreating still for him: then *Cato* plainely sayed vnto him. It is shame for thee (*Catulus*) thou that art Censor, and shouldest reforme all out liues, thus to forget the duetie of thine office, to please our ministers. *Catulus* looking at *Cato* when he had spoken, as though he would answere him: whether it were for shame, or anger, he went his way, and said neuer a word more. Yet was not the party condemned, though there was one voice more that did condemne him cleare him, because of the absence of one of the Iudges. For *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Cato* his colleagues in the Quæstorship, being sicke at that time, and absent, *Catulus* sent vnto him,

Catos iorney vnto king Deiotarus, and his abstinence from gifts.

Cato made Quæstor.

Catulus Lutatius what he was.

to pray him to come and helpe the poore man. Thereuppon *Lollius* being brought thither in a litter after iudgement giuen, gaue his last voice, which absolutely cleared him. *Cato* this notwithstanding, would neuer vse him as a clearke, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of *Lollius* voyce among others. Thus hauing pulled downe the pride and stomacke of these clearkes, and brought them vnto reason: in short time he had all the tables and recordes at his commaundement, and made the treasure chamber as honourable, as the Senate it selfe: so that euery man thought, and sayd, that *Cato* had added vnto the Quæstorshippe the dignity of the Consulship. For finding diuers men indebted before vnto the common wealth, and the common wealth also vnto diuerse men: he sette downe such an order, that neither the common wealth should be deceiued by any man, nor that any man also should haue wrong of it. For being rough with them that were indebted to the chamber, hee compelled them to pay their debt, and willingly and quickly also payed them to whom the chamber ought any thing: so that the people were ashamed to see some pay which neuer thought to haue payed any thing, and on the contrary side also others payed, which neuer looked to haue had any part of their debts paid them. Furthermore, diuers men did before make false bils of their debts, & brought them so to be put into the coffer of the Quæstors: and many times also his predecessors were wont of fauor and friendship to receiue false messages. For whilest he was Quæstor, he neuer did passe away matters so lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a message that was sent vnto him, to know whether it was true or no: albeit diuerse men did witnesse it was true, yet would he not beleeue it, vntill such time as the Consuls them selues came in their owne persons to iustifie it was true, and to sweare, that it was so ordained. Now there were many vnto whom *Lucius Sylla* being Dictator, had appointed in his second proscription twelue thousand siluer Drachmas for euery citizen and outlaw which they had slaine with their owne handes. These men, though euery man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people and cruell murtherers: yet no man durst offer to be reuenged of them. *Cato* called these men in sute, as those that did wrongfully detaine the money of the common treasure, and compelled them to repay it backe againe: sharpely reproouing (and iustly) the wicked deuilish fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were straight accused by others for murder: & as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one iudgement, they were brought into an other, to the great ioy of all the ROMAINS, who then thought they saw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and *Sylla* him selfe punished. Besides all this, *Catoes* continuall paines and care of the treasure, was so well thought of, and liked of the people as could be. For he was alwaies the first that came to the coffer of the treasurers, and also the last that went from thence, and was neuer weary of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer missed to be at any assembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, least lightly by fauour, any money due to the common wealth should be forgiuen: or else that they should abate the rent of the farmers, or that they should giue no money but to them that had iustly deserued it. Thus hauing ridde all accusers, and also filled the coffers with treasure: hee made men see, that the common wealth might be rich, without oppressing of any man. In deede at his first comming into the office, his colleagues and companions founde him maruellous troublesome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and seuere: howbeit they all loued him in the end, because he onely withstood the complaints and cries of all men against them (which complained that they would not for any mans respect or fauor let go the money of the common treasure) and was contented his companions should excuse them selues vnto their friends that were importunate, and lay the fault vppon him, saying, that it was vnpossible for them to bring *Cato* vnto it. The last day that he went out of his office, being very honorably brought home to his house by the people: it was tolde him that *Marcellus*, being in the treasure chamber, was attempted and enuironned with many of his friends, and men of great authority, that were earnestly in hand with him to record a certaine gift of money, as a thing that had bene due by the common wealth. This *Marcellus* had bene *Catoes* frend euen from their childhood, and whilest *Cato* was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him: but whē he was left alone, he was of so gentle a nature, that he would easily be intreated, and was as much ashamed to deny any man, as he was also ouerreadie to graunt euery man that he required. *Cato* straight

Cato made the Quæstorship of great dignity.

Cato was reuenged of Sylaes bloody murther.

Catoes notable leauing of his office.

straight returned backe vpon it, and finding that *Marcellus* had yeelded vnto their importunacie, and recorded the gift: he caused the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did raze it out before his face, *Marcellus* speaking neuer a word to the contrary. After that, *Marcellus* brought *Cato* home, and neuer once repined against that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued still friendship with him, as he had done before. But now, though *Cato* was out of his office of Questor, he was not without spials of his men in the treasure chamber: who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and passed in the treasurie. And *Cato* himselfe hauing bought the bookes of account for the summe of fiue talents conteyning the reuenue of the whole state of the common wealth, from *Syllaes* time vntill the very yeare of his Questorship: he euer had them about him, and was the first man that came to the Senate and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senatours tarying long before they came, he went and sate downe in a corner by himselfe, and read closely the booke he had vnder his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would neuer be out of the citie on that day when he knew the Senate should assemble. After that, *Pompey* and his consorts perceiuing that it was vnpossible to compell *Cato*, & much lesse to winne or corrupt him, to fauour their vniust doings, they sought what meanes they could to keepe him from comming to the Senate, and defending certaine of his friends causes, and to occupy him some other wayes about matters of arbiterment. But *Cato* finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them, he told his friendes once for all, whom he would pleasure: that when the Senate did sit, no mans cause should make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serue the common wealth to enrich himselfe as many did, neither for any glory or reputation, nor yet at all aduenture: but for that he had aduisedly chosen to serue the common wealth, like a iust and honest man, & therefore thought himselfe bound to be as carefull of his dutie, as the bee working her waxe in the honny combe. For this respect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of his friendes which he had in euery prouince belonging to the Empire of ROME: he got into his handes the copies of all the chiefest actes, edicts, decrees, sentences, and the notablest iudgements of the gouernours that remained in record. Once *Cato* perceiuing that *Publius Clodius* a seditious Orator amongest the people, did make great sturre, and accused diuers vnto the assembly, as the Priestes and Vestall Nunnes: among the which *Fabia Terentia*, *Ciceroes* wiues sister was accused) he taking their cause in hand, did so disgrace *Clodius* their accuser, that he was driuen to flie the citie. *Cicero* therefore giuing *Cato* thankes, *Cato* told him, that he must thanke the common wealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both sayd and did that he had done. Hereby *Cato* wanne him great fame. For when a certain Oratour or common counsellor referred one witnes vnto the Iudges, the counseller on the other side told them, that one witnesse was not to be credited, though it were *Cato* himselfe. In somuch as the people tooke it vp for a prouerbe among them, that when any man spake any straunge and vnlikely matter, they would say: Nay, though *Cato* himselfe sayd it, yet were it not to be beleeued. When on a time a certaine prodigall man had made a long Oration in the Senate, in prayse & cõmendation of sobrietie, temperance, & thriftines: one *Annaeus* a Senator rising vp, said vnto him, alas, friend, what thinkest thou? who can abide to heare thee any longer with patience: that farest at thy table like *Crassus*, buildest like *Lucullus*, & speakest to vs like *Cato*? So men commõly (in sport) called them *Catoes*, which were graue and seuere in their wordes, and dissolute in their deeds. When diuers of his friends were in hand with him to sue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meete at that time: for such an office (quoth he) of great authoritie as that, is not to be imployed, but like a strong medicine in time of neede. So, the terme and matters of law ceasing for that time, *Cato* went into the coũtry of LVKE to take his pleasure there, where he had pleasant houses: and tooke with him both his bookes & Philosophers to keepe him company. Because, meeting as he went, with diuers sumpters and great cariage, and a great traine of men besides, he asked them whose cariage it was: they told him it was *Metellus* Nepos that returned to ROME, to make sute to be Tribune. Thereupon *Cato* stayd sodainly, and bethinking himselfe, commaunded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruelling at it, he aunswered them: Do not you know that *Metellus* is to be feared of himselfe, for rashnes & folly? & now that he commeth instructed by *Pompey*, like a lightning he would

Cotoes care & integritie to the common wealth.

Catoes minde and determination to take charge in the cõmon wealth

Cato drane Clodius out of Rome.

The authoritie and credit of Cato.

Cato tooke Philosophers with him whe he went into the country.

set all the common wealth a fire? for this cause therefore, we must not now go take our pleasure in the country, but ouercome his folly, or otherwise dye honorably in defence of our libertie. Yet at his friendes persuasions, he went first vnto his house in the country, but tarried not long there, and returned straight again to Rome. When he came thither ouernight, the next morning betimes he went into the market place, & sued to the Tribune of the people, purposely to crosse *Metellus* enterprise, because the power & authoritie of the Tribune consisteth more in hindring, then doing any thing: for if all men else were agreed of a matter, and that he only were against it, the Tribune would cary it from them all. *Cato* at the first had not many of his friendes about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made sute for the Tribuneship all his friendes and noble men straight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and incouraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to serue the common wealth, then his owne turne, considering, that where many times before he might (without resistance or denyall) haue obteined the same, the state being toward no trouble, he then would neuer sue for it, but now that he saw it in danger, where he was to fight for the common wealth, and the protection of her libertie. It is reported that there was such a number of people about him to honour his sute, that he was like to haue bene stifled amõg them, & thought he should neuer haue come to the market place, for the presse of people that swarmed about him. Thus when he was chosen Tribune with *Metellus* and others, he perceiued how they bought & sold the voyces of the people when the Consuls were chosen: whereupon he made an Oration, & sharply tooke them vp for this detestable marchãdise, and after his Oration ended, solemnly protested by oth that he would accuse him, and bewray his name, which had giuen money to be chosen Cõsul. Howbeit he spake nothing of *Syllanus*, whose sister, *Seruilia*, he had maried: but he flatly accused *Lucius Murena*, that had obtained to be Cõsul with *Syllanus*, by meanes of his money. Now a law being prouided, that the party accused might haue a keeper or spiall to follow the accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with, that he might the better be able to defend himselfe, knowing what should be obiected against him: *Murena* hauing one for him to wait vpon *Cato*, to consider throughly what course he tooke, when he saw that he went not maliciously to worke, but tooke a plaine common way of a iust accuser: he had so great confidence in *Catoes* vpright mind and integritie, that not regarding the narrow sifting of him otherwise, he did one day aske him himselfe in the market place, (or at home in his owne house) if that day he were determined to prosecute any matter against him touching his accusation. If *Cato* answered him that he did not: thẽ he went his way and simply beleeued him. When the day came indeed that his cause was to be heard, & pleaded vnto: *Cicero* being Consull that yeare, defending *Murena*, played so pleasantly with the Stoicke Philosophers, and their strange opinions, that he made all the Iudges laugh: in so much as *Cato* himselfe smiling at him, told them that were by him: see, we haue a pleasant Consull that makes men laugh thus. So *Murena* being discharged by this iudgement, did neuer after malice *Cato* for that, but so long as he remained Consull, he was alwayes ruled by his counsell in all his affaires, & continued euer to honour him, following his counsell in all things touching his office. Hereof *Cato* himself was cause, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counsell, and in his orations before the people, for the maintenance onely of equitie and iustice: for otherwise, he was very ciuil & curteous to all mẽ. But before he entred into his Tribuneship, *Cicero* being yet Consull, he did helpe him in many things touching his office, but specially, in bringing *Catilins* conspiracie to good end; which was a noble act done of him. For *Catilin* did practise a generall commocion and sturre in the common wealth, to ouerthrow the whole state of Rome, by ciuill discord within Rome, and open warres abroad: who being discouered and ouercome by *Cicero*, he was driuen in the end to flie Rome. But *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other of the complices of this conspiracie, blamed *Catilin* for his faint and cowardly proceeding in it. For their parts, they had determined to burne the whole citie of Rome, and to put all the Empire thereof in vprore, by straunge warres, and rebellions of forreine nations and prouinces. Howbeit this treason being discouered, as appeareth more largely in the life of *Cicero*, the matter was referred vnto the iudgement of the Senate, to determine what was to be done therein. *Syllanus* being the first who was asked his opinion therein, sayd, that he thought good

The office and authoritie of the Tribune, what it is.

Catoes Tribuneship.

Cicero defended Murena against his accuser Cato.

The conspiracie of Catilin against Rome.

good they ſhould ſuffer cruell paines: and after him alſo, all the reſt ſaid the like, vntill it came to *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* being an excellent ſpoken man, & that rather deſired to nouriſh then to quench any ſuch ſturres or ſeditions in the common wealth, being fit for his purpoſe lōg determined & made an Oration full of ſweet pleaſant wordes, declaring vnto them, that to put ſuch men as them to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether vnreaſonable, and rather that they ſhould do better to keepe them in priſon. This Oration of *Cæſar* ſo altered all the reſt of the Senators minds, for that they were affrayd of the people: that *Syllanus* ſelfe mended his opinion againe, & ſayd, that he meant not they ſhould put them to death, but keepe thē fast in priſon, becauſe that to be a priſoner, was the greateſt paine a ROMAINE Citizen could abide. Thus, the Senators minds being ſo ſodainly chaunged, & bent to a more fauourable ſentence: *Cato* riſing vp to ſay his opinion, began very angrily with maruellous eloquence, grieuouſly to reproue *Syllanus* for changing his mind, & ſharply to take vp *Cæſar*, that vnder a popular ſemblance, & maske of ſweet ſuggred words, he ſought vnder hand to deſtroy the common wealth, and alſo to terrifie and make the Senate affrayed: where he himſelfe ſhould haue » *Catoes oration againſt Cæſar, touching Catilins conſpiracie.*
beene affrayd, and thinke himſelfe happy, if he could ſcape from being ſuſpected, giuing ſuch » apparant cauſe of ſuſpition as he did, going about ſo openly to take the enemies and traitours » of the common wealth out of the hands of iuſtice, ſeeming to haue no pitie nor compaſsion of » his naturall citie, of ſuch nobilitie and fame, being euen brought in maner to vtter deſtruction, » not rather to lament the fortune of theſe wicked men, that it was pity they were euer borne, & » whoſe death preſerued ROME from a thouſand murthers & miſchiefs. Of all the Orations that » euer *Cato* made, that onely was kept: for *Cicero* the Conſull, that day had diſperſed diuers pen » men in ſundry places of the Senate houſe, which had maruellous ſwift hands, and had further taught them how to make briefe notes and abridgements, which in few lines ſhewed many words. For vntill that time, writers were not knowen that could by figures & ciphers expreſſe a whole ſentence and word, as afterwardes they could: being then the firſt time that euer they were found out. So *Cato* at that time preuailed againſt *Cæſar*, and made them all chaunge their mindes againe, that theſe men were put to death. But that we may not leaue out a iot of his maners, as the very pattern and impreſsion of his mind: It is reported, that when *Cato* that day was ſo hot, and vehement againſt *Cæſar*, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them both: a letter was deliuered *Cæſar*, ſent him into the houſe. *Cato* began preſently to ſuſpect it, and ſo earneſtly miſliked of it, that many of the Senatours being offended, commaunded his letter ſhould be ſeene & read openly. *Cæſar* thereupon reached his letter vnto *Cato*, that ſate not farre from him. When *Cato* had read it, & found that it was a loue letter which his ſiſter *Seruilia* had written vnto *Cæſar*, whō ſhe loued, & had knowen: he caſt it againe to *Cæſar*, & ſaid: *Cicero taught them how to write briefly, by notes and figures.*
Fie, drunkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begun before. In, deed it ſeemeth that *Cato* was very vnfortunate in his wiues: for this *Seruilia*, as we haue ſayd, had an ill name by *Cæſar*. And the other *Seruilia* alſo, which was his ſiſter, was worſe defamed. For ſhe being maried vnto *Lucullus*, one of the greateſt men of ROME, by whom ſhe had a ſonne was in the end put away frō him, for her naughty life. But worſt of all, his own wife *Atilia* alſo was not altogether cleare without ſuſpitiō: For though he had two ſonnes by her, yet he was driuen to be diuorced from her, ſhe was ſo naught and common. After that, he maried *Martia*, the daughter of *Philip*, which by report ſeemed to be a very honeſt gentlewoman. It is ſtrange that is ſo famous among the ROMAINES. For in the life of *Cato*, this place (as a fable or comedie) is diſputable, and hard to be iudged. For thus it was, as *Thraſeas* writeth: who referreth all to the report and credit of one *Munatius*, *Catoes* very familiar friend. Among many other loued *Catoes* vertues, & had them in admiration, ſome of them did ſhew him more what he was, then other ſome did: amongeſt the which, was *Q. Hortenſius*, a man of great honeſtie and authoritie. He, deſiring not onely to be *Catoes* friend and familiar, but alſo to ioyne with him in alliance, and by affinitie to make both their houſes one: was not abaſhed to moue him, to let him haue his daughter *Porcia* in mariage, (which was *Bibulus* wife, & had brought him two children) that he might alſo caſt abroad the ſeede of goodly children, in that pleaſant ferre ground. And though to men this might ſeeme a ſtraunge minde and deſire, yet that in reſpect of nature, it was both honeſt and profitable to the common wealth, not to ſuffer a young *Cato vnfortunate in his wiues.* *Martia Catos wife.*

woman in the prime of her youth, to loſe the frute of her wombe, being apt to beare children: nor alſo that he ſhould impouerish his ſonne in law with moe children, then one houſeheded. And further, that communicating women in this ſort from one to an other, ſpecially being beſtowed vpon worthy and vertuous men: that vertue ſhould thereby be increaſed the more, being ſo diſperſed in diuers families, and the citie likewiſe ſhould be the ſtronger, by making alliances in this ſort together. And if it be ſo, quoth he, that *Bibulus* do loue his wife ſo dearely, that he will not depart from her altogether, then that he would reſtore her to him againe, when he had a child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendſhip to him, by meanes of this communication of children with *Bibulus* ſelfe, and with him. *Cato* anſwered him, that he loued *Hortenſius* well, and liked of his alliance howbeit that he marueiled he would ſpeake to him to let him haue his daughter to get children of, ſith he knew that ſhe was maried to an other. The *Hortenſius* altering his tale, ſtucke not to tell him his mind plainly, & to deſire his wife of him, the which was yet a yong woman, & *Cato* had childrē enough. But a man can not tell whether *Hortenſius* made this ſute, becauſe he ſaw *Cato* make no reckoning of *Martia*, for that ſhe was then with child by him. In fine, *Cato* ſeeing the earneſt deſire of *Hortēſius*, he did not deny him her, but told him, that he muſt alſo get *Philips* good will, the father of *Martia*. He knowing that *Cato* had graunted his good will, would not therefore let him haue his daughter, before that *Cato* himſelfe by his preſence did confirme the contract and mariage with him. Though theſe things were done long after, yet hauing occaſion to talke of *Catoes* wiues, I thought it not amiſſe to anticipate the time. Now *Lentulus*, & his cōſorts of *Catilines* conſpiracie being put to death: *Cæſar*, to cloke the accuſations wherewith *Cato* charged him in opē Senate, did put himſelfe into the peoples hands, and gathering the rakehels & ſeditious perſons together, which ſought to ſet all at ſix & ſeuen, he did further encourage them in their miſchieuous intent and practiſes. Whereupon, *Cato* fearing leaſt ſuch a rabble of people ſhould put all the commō wealth in vproare & daunger: he perſwaded the Senat to winne the poore needy people that had nothing, by diſtributing of corne amongſt them, the which was done: For the charge thereof amounted yearely vnto twelue hundred and fiftie talents. This liberalitie did manifeſtly drinke vp and quench all thoſe troubles which they ſtood in feare of. But on the other ſide, *Metellus* entring into his Tribuneſhip, made certaine ſeditious Orations and aſſemblies, & preferred a law to the people, that *Pompey* the great ſhould preſently be called into ITALIE with his army, that he ſhould keepe the citie by his comming, from the preſent daunger of *Catilins* conſpiracie. Theſe were but wordes ſpoken for faſhions ſake, but indeede the law had a ſecret meaning, to put the whole cōmon wealth & Empire of ROME into *Pompeys* hands. Hereupō the Senate aſſembled, wherein *Cato* at his firſt comming, ſpake ſomwhat gently, and not too vehemētly againſt *Metellus*, as his manner was to be ſharpe vnto them that were againſt him: but modeſtly perſwaded him, and fell to intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his houſe, for that they had alwayes taken part with the Senate and nobilitie. But *Metellus* therewith tooke ſuch pride & conceit of himſelf, that he began to deſpiſe *Cato*, thinking he had vſed that mildneſſe, as though he had bene affrayde of him: in ſomuch as he gaue out proud ſpeaches againſt him, and cruell threats, that in deſpight of the Senate he would do that which he had vndertaken. Then *Cato* chaunging his countenance, his voyce and ſpeach, after he had ſpoken very ſharply againſt him; in the end he roughly proteſted, that while he liued he would neuer ſuffer *Pompey* to come into ROME with his armie. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their wits, but that *Metellus* doings was a furie, which proceeding of a cancred ſtomacke and extreme malice, would put all in hazard: & that which *Cato* did, was a rauiſhment and extacie of his vertue, that made him beſide himſelfe, contending for iuſtice and equitie. When the day came that this law ſhould paſſe by voyces of the people, *Metellus* failed not to be in the market place with a world of ſtraungers, ſlaues, and fenſers, armed, and ſet in battell ray, beſides a number of the common people that were deſirous to ſee *Pompeys* returne, hoping after chaunge. Beſides all thoſe, *Cæſar* then being Prætor gaue aide likewiſe with his men, in the behalfe of *Metellus*. On the contrary part alſo, the nobler men & Senators of the citie were as angry as *Cato*, and ſayd it was a horrible ſhame: howbeit they were his friendes, rather in miſliking the matter, then in defending the common wealth.

Platoes felowſhip and communitie of women.

Cato perſwaded corne to be diſtributed vnto the people.

Cato reſiſteth Metellus, Tribune of the people.

Iulius Cæſar Prætor.

Where

Whereupon, all his friendes at home, and his whole family, were maruellously perplexed and sorowfull, that they both refused their meate, and also could take no rest in the night for feare of *Cato*. But he, as one without feare, hauing a good hart with him, did comfort his people, and bad them not sorow for him: and after he had supped, as he commonly vsed to do, he went to bed, and slept soundly all night, till the morning that *Minutius Thermus*, his collegue & fellow Tribune, came and called him. So they both went together into the market place, accompanied with a very few after them: Whereupon diuers of their friends came and met them by the way, & bad them take heede vnto themselues. When they were come into the market place, and that *Cato* saw the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* full of armed men, and the degrees or steps kept by sword players and fensers, and *Metellus* on the top of them set by *Cæsar*: turning to his friends he sayd, see I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked, & vnarmed. Therewithall he straight went forward with his companion *Thermus* vnto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of themselues to let him passe, but they would let no other go vp but himselfe: But *Cato* with much ado, taking *Minutius* by the hand, got him vp with him, and when he was come vp, he sate him downe betwixt *Metellus* and *Cæsar*, to keepe them asunder, that they should not whisper one in an others eare. Neither of them both could tell what to say to him. Whereupon the noble men that considered *Catoes* countenaunce and boldnes, wondring to see it, drew neare and by their cryes willed him not to be affrayd, but encouraged one an other to sticke by him, that stood for defence of their libertie. So, there was a seruaunt that tooke the written law in his hand, and would haue read it to the people: but *Cato* would not let him. Then *Metellus* tooke it himselfe in his handes to read it: but *Cato* also snatched it out of his handes. *Metellus* notwithstanding, hauing it perfect without booke, would needes declare the effect of it by hart. But *Thermus* clapped his hand before his mouth to keepe him that he should not speake. *Metellus* seeing these two men bent by all meanes to keepe this law from passing, and that the people did leane on their side: he beckned to his men to go for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terrour and cries to make them affrayd, and so they did. The people thereupon were dispersed here and there for feare, that *Cato* was left alone in the market place, and they threw stones at him from beneath. But then *Murena*, who had before accused *Cato* for buying of the Consulship, forsooke him not in that daunger, but holding his long gowne before him, cryed out vnto them beneath, that threw at *Cato*, to leaue. So shewing him the daunger he had brought himselfe vnto, holding him still by the armes, he brought him into the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. Then *Metellus* seeing the pulpit for Orations voided, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the gole: Whereupon commaunding his souldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to passe his law. But his enemies that fled for feare, being gathered againe together in the market place, began a fresh to cry out against *Metellus*, with greater boldnesse and courage then before. Then *Metellus* and his adherents being affrayd and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were prouided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for Orations. So when *Metellus* and his company were gone, *Cato* came againe to the pulpit for Orations, and greatly commended the people for the good will they had shewed, and perswaded them to continue in their well doing. Whereupon the common people were then against *Metellus*, and the Senate also being assembled gaue order, that *Cato* should haue better ayde then he had before, and that by all meanes possible they should resist *Metellus* law, which onely tended to moue sedition and ciuill warre in ROME. For *Metellus* selfe, he was yet vehemently bent to follow his attempt and enterprise: but perceiuing that his friendes were maruellously affrayed of *Cato*, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he sodainly came into the market place, and assembling the people, told them many reasons in his Oration, supposing to bring *Cato* in disgrace with the people, and amongest other things he sayd, that he would withdraw himselfe out of this tyrannicall power of *Catoes*, and his conspiracie against *Pompey*, the which peraduenture the citie before it were long, should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so noble a man. After that, he presently departed ROME, and went into ASIA to informe *Pompey* of all this

Catoes noble courage and constancie.

matter. *Cato* on the other side was greatly esteemed for his doings, for that he had freed the cõmon wealth from the great trouble of such a fooliſh Tribune, and by ouerthrowing *Metellus*, he had also suppressed the power of *Pompey*. But he was yet much more commended, when he was against the Senate, who would haue noted *Metellus* of infamie, and depriued him of his office, the which he would not suffer them to do. The common people thought him of a curteous and gentle nature, because he would not tread his enemie vnder his foote, when he had the vpper hand of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him: but wise men iudged it otherwise, that it was wisely done of him not to prouoke *Pompey*. About this time returned *Lucullus* frõ the warre, of the which it seemed that *Pompey* had taken the honor & glory from him for the ending of it, & was likely also to haue bene put frõ his honour of triumph, for that *Caius Memmius* was his aduersary, who layd many accusations against him before the people, rather to please *Pompey*, then for any malice else he had towards him. But *Cato*, both for that *Lucullus* was his brother in law, and had maried his owne sister *Seruilia*, as also for that he saw they did him wrong: resisted this *Memmius*, & defended many accusatiõs against him. So that in the end, though *Memmius* had laboured that *Cato* should be depriued of his office, as from a tyrannicall power: yet *Cato* compelled *Memmius* at the last to leaue off his accusations, and to prosecute law no more against him. Thus *Lucullus* hauing obteined honor of triumph, did embrace *Catoes* friendship more then before, taking him for a sure bulwarck and defence against the power of *Pompey* the great. But *Pompey* shortly after returning home againe, with great honour from his conquests, trusting that for respect of his welcome he should be denyed nothing at the peoples hands when he came home: sent before vnto the Senate, to pray them for his sake to deferre the election of the Consuls, vntill he came to ROME, that being present he might fauour *Pisoes* sute, suing to be Consull. Thereunto the most part of the Senate gaue their consent, but *Cato* on the other side was against it, not that the deferring of time was a matter of such importance, but to cut all hope from *Pompey* to go about to attempt any new deuises, insomuch that he made the Senate chaunge opinion againe, and *Pompeys* request was denied. *Pompey* being maruellously troubled withall, & perceiuing that *Cato* would be against him in all things if he found not some deuise to winne him: he sent for his friend *Munatius*, by his meanes to demaund *Catoes* two neeces of him which were mariable: the eldest for himselfe, & the yongest for his sonne. Others say also, that they were not his neeces, but his own daughters. *Munatius* did *Pompeys* message, & brake the matter vnto him, his wife, & to his sisters, who maruellously desired *Pompeys* alliance, for the greatnesse & dignitie of his person. But *Cato* making no farther delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleased with the motion, answered him presently. *Munatius*, go thy way vnto *Pompey* againe, and tell him that *Cato* is not to be wonne by women, though otherwise I mislike not of his friendship: and withall, that so long as he shall deale vprightly in all causes, & none otherwise, that he shall finde him more assuredly his friend, then by any alliance of mariage: and yet, that to satisfie *Pompeys* pleasure and will against his country, he will neuer giue him such pledges. The women & his friends at that time were angry with his aunswer & refusall, saying, it was too stately and vncurteous. But afterwardes it chaunced, that *Pompey* suing to haue one of his friendes made Consull, he sent a great summe of money to bribe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, & spoken of, because the money was told in *Pompeys* own garden. Then did *Cato* tell the women of his house, that if he had now bene bound by alliance of mariage vnto *Pompey*, he should then haue bene driuen to haue bene partaker of *Pompeys* shamefull acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confessed then that he was wiser to refuse such alliance, then they were that wished and desired it. And yet, if men should iudge of wisedome, by the successe and euent of things: I must needes say, that *Cato* was in great fault for refusing of this alliance. For thereby he was the cause of *Pompeys* matching with *Cæsar*, who ioyning both their powers together, was the whole destruction of the Empire of ROME: Whereas peraduenture it had not fallen out so, if *Cato* fearing *Pompeys* light faultes, had not caused him by increasing his power with an other, to commit farre greater faultes. Howbeit those things were yet to come. Furthermore, *Pompey* being at iarre with *Lucullus*, touching certain ordinãces which he had made in the Realme of PONTVS, because both the one & the other would haue their ordinances to take

Catoes doings for Lucullus.

Cato resisteth Pompey.

Cato refuseth allyance with Pompey.

take place: *Cato* fauoured *Lucullus*, who had open wrong. *Pompey* therefore seeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, tooke part with the people, and put forth the law for diuiding of the landes amongest the souldiers. But *Cato* stoutly resisting that law againe, he put it by, and made *Pompey* thereby in a rage to acquaint himselfe with *Publius Clodius*, the most seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made allyance euen at that time with *Cæsar*, whereof *Cato* himselfe was the onely Authour. *Cæsar* returning out of SPAYNE from his Prætorship, required the honour of triumphe, and withall made sute to be Consull. But being a law to the contrary, that they that sued to be Consuls should be present themselues in the citie, and such also as desired honour of triumphe, should be without the citie: he earnestly required the Senate, that he might sue for the Consulship by his friendes. The most part of the Senate were willing vnto it, but *Cato* was flatly against it. He perceiuing that the other Senatours were willing to gratifie *Cæsar*, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he spent all the whole day in his Oration, and by this pollicie preuented the Senate, that they could not conclude any thing. Then *Cæsar* letting fall his triumphe, made sute to be Consull; and entring the citie, ioyned friendship with *Pompey*. Hereupon he was chosen Consull, and immediatly after maried his daughter *Iulia* vnto *Pompey*: and so hauing made in manner a conspiracie against the common wealth betweene themselues, *Cæsar* preferred the law Agraria, for distributing the landes vnto the Citizens, and *Pompey* was present to mainteine the publication thereof. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* on the other side taking part with *Bibulus* the other Consull, did what they could against it, but specially *Cato*: who fearing much this alliance of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, that it was a pact and conspiracie to ouerthrow the common wealth, sayd, that he cared not so much for this law Agraria, as he feared the reward they looked for, who by such meanes did intise and please the common people. Therewithall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people besides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his part: maruelling much, and also being offended with *Cæsars* great vnreasonablenesse and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Consulship did preferre such things, as the most seditiousest Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to do, to currie fauour with the people, and by such vile meanes sought to make them at his commaundement. Wherefore, *Cæsar* and his friends fearing so great enemies, fell to open force. For to begin withall, as the Consull *Bibulus* was going to the market place, there was a basket of dung powred vpon his head: and furthermore, the Officers roddes were broken in their handes, which they caried before him. In fine, dartes were throwen at them out of euery corner, and many of them being hurt, they all at length were driuen to flye, and leaue the market place. But *Cato*, he came last of all, keeping his wonted pace, and often cast backe his head, and cursed such Citizens. So, they did not onely passe this law Agraria by voyces of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that the Senate should be sworne to stablish that law, and be bounde to defende the same, (if any attempted the alteration thereof) vpon great penalties and fines to be set on his head, that should refuse the othe. All the other Senatours sware against their wils, remembring the example of the mischiefe that chanced vnto the old *Metellus*, who was banished out of ITALIE, because he would not sweare to such a like law. Whereupon, the women that were in *Catoes* house, besought him with the teares in their eyes, that he would yeeld and take the othe: and so did also diuers of his friendes besides. Howbeit, he that most inforced and brought *Cato* to sweare, was *Cicero* the Oratour: who perswaded him, that peraduenture he would be thought vnreasonable, that being but one man, he should seeme to mislike that, which all other had thought meete and reasonable: and that it were a fonde part of him wilfully to put himselfe in so great daunger, thinking to hinder a matter already past remedie. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconuenience would happen, if he forsooke his country (for whose sake he did all these things) and left it a prey vnto them, which sought the vtter subuersion of the same, as if he were glad to be ridde from the trouble of defending the common wealth. For (sayd he) though *Cato* haue no neede of ROME, yet ROME hath neede of *Cato*, and so haue all his friends: of the which, *Cicero* sayd he was the chiefe, and was most maliced of *Publius Clodius* the Tri-

Lex agraria.

The allyance and friendship betwixt Cæsar and Pompey.

Cicero by his oration brake Catoes stifnes.

bune, who sought to driue him out of the country. It is sayd that *Cato* being wonne by these like wordes and persuasions at home, and openly in the market place, they so softened him, that he came to take his othe last of all men, but one *Phaonius*, a very friend of his. *Cæsars* hart being then lift vp, for that he had brought his first purpose to passe: began now to preferre an other law, to diuide all CAMPANIA, and the country called TERRA DI LAVORO, (the land of labour) vnto the poore needy people of ROME, and no man stood against him but *Cato*. Whereupon *Cæsar* made his officers to take him from the pulpit for Orations, to carie him to prison. All this made not *Cato* stoupe, nor leaue his francke speach, but as he went he still spake against this edict, and perswaded the people to beware of them that preferred such lawes. All the Senate, and the best sort of Citizens followed *Cato* with heauie hartes, shewing by their silence that they were offended and angry for the iniurie they did vnto him, being so worthy a man. In somuch as *Cæsars* selfe perceiued that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition and stomacke, he looked alwayes when *Cato* would haue appealed vnto the people. So when he saw that *Cato* meant no such matter, at length ouercome with shame and dishonour, he himselfe procured one of the Tribunes to take *Cato* from the Sergeaunts. In fine, all *Cæsars* practise tended to this end, that when he had wonne the peoples fauour by such lawes: they should then graunt him the gouernement of all the GAVLES, (aswell on this side, as beyond the mountaines) and all ILLYRIA, with an armie of foure legions, for the space of fiue yeares, notwithstanding that *Cato* told the people before, that they themselues with their owne voyces did set vp a tyrant, that one day would cut their thoats. They did also chuse *Publius Clodius* Tribune of the people, which was of a noble house: a thing directly contrary to the law. But this *Clodius* had promised them, so that they would helpe him to banish *Cicero* out of ROME, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made *Calphurnius* Piso (*Cæsars* wiues father) and *Gabinius Paulus*, (a man wholly at *Pompeys* commaundement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Consuls the next yeare following. Now, notwithstanding they had the rule of the common wealth in their owne handes, and that they had wonne part of the citie with bribes, and the other part also with feare: yet they were both affrayed of *Cato*, when they considered what trouble they had to ouercome him, which they did very hardly notwithstanding, and to their great shame, being driuen to vse force, and yet thought they should neuer haue done it. Furthermore, *Clodius* vtterly dispaired that he could possiblie banish *Cicero*, so long as *Cato* was there. So deuising wayes how to do it, when he had taken possession of his office, he sent for *Cato*, and began to tell him, that he thought him the honestest and iustest man of ROME, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deede. For, where many made sute vnto him to be sent into CYPRVS, to make warre with king *Ptolomie*: he thought none so worthy as himselfe, and therefore for the good will he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleasure. *Cato* straight cryed out with open mouth, that this was a deuise to intrappe him, not to pleasure him. Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely aunswered him, well, seeing thou wilt not go with good will, thou shalt go then against thy will: and so he did. For at the first assembly of the citie, he caused the people to graunt his commission for his iourney thither: but they neither appointed him shippes, nor souldiers, nor any Ministers to go with him, sauing two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very villaine and arrant theefe, and the other, one of *Clodius* followers. Besides all this, as if they had appointed him but litle to do in CYPRVS against *Ptolomie*, he made them commaunde him after that, to go and restore the outlawes and banished men of the citie of BYZANTIVM, vnto their country and goodes againe, of purpose onely to keepe *Cato* farre enough from ROME, whilest he continued Tribune. *Cato* being driuen by necessitie to obey, he counselled *Cicero* (whom *Clodius* pursued) to beware that he made no sturre against him, for feare of bringing ROME into ciuill warre and murther for his sake: but rather, to absent himselfe, that he might an other tyme preserue his countrey. After that, he sent his friend *Canidius* before into CYPRVS, vnto *Ptolomie*, to perswade him to be quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he should neither lacke honour nor riches, for the ROMAINES would graunt him the Priesthood of *Venus* in the citie of PAPHOS. *Cato* in the meane

Cato committed to prison by Cæsar.

P. Clodius, Tribune of the people.

The craftie iuggling betwixt Cæsar and Pompey with P. Clodius.

Cato sent Ambassadour into Cyprus.

meane tyme remained in the Ile of Rhodes, preparing himselfe there, and abiding his aunswere. In the time of these sturres *Ptolomie* king of Ægypt, for a certaine offence and discorde with his subiectes, departing out of Alexandria, sayled towardes Rome, hoping that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* with a great armie would restore him to his crowne and kingdome againe. He being desirous to see *Cato*, sent vnto him, supposing he would come at his sending for. *Cato* by chaunce was occupied at that tyme about some businesse, and bad the messenger will *Ptolomie* to come to him, if he would see him. So when *Ptolomie* came, he neither went to meete him, nor rose vp vnto him, but onely welcomed him, and bad him sit downe. It amazed the king at the first, to see vnder so simple and meane a trayne, such a statelinesse and maiestie in *Catoes* behauiour. But he heard him boldly talke with him of his affaires, and such graue talke come from him, reprouing his follie he had committed, to forsake such princely pleasure and wealth, to go and subiect himselfe vnto such dishonour, such extreme paynes, and such passing great giftes and presents, as he should throw away, to satisfie the couetousnesse of the rulers at Rome, the which was so vnsatiable, that if all the Realme of Ægypt were conuerted into siluer to giue among them, it would scarce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counselled him to returne backe with his nauie, and to reconcile himselfe againe with his subiectes, offering himselfe also to go with him, to helpe to make his peace. Then *Ptolomy* comming to himselfe, and repenting him of his follie, knowing that *Cato* told him truly, and wisely: he determined to follow his counsell, had not his friendes turned his minde to the contrarie. So when *Ptolomie* came to Rome, and was driuen to wait at the gates of the Magistrates that were in authoritie: he sighed then, and repented his follie, for that he had not onely despised the counsell of a wise man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other *Ptolomie* that was in Cyprvs (a happie turne for *Cato*) poysoned himselfe. *Cato* being also informed that he left a wonderfull summe of money behind him, he determined to go himselfe vnto Byzantivm, and sent his nephew *Brutus* into Cyprvs, because he durst not truste *Canidius* so farre. Then hauing restored the banished men vnto the peoples fauour againe, setting agreement betwixt them, he returned into Cyprvs. There he founde a maruellous great treasure, and plate both of gold and siluer, tables, precious stones, hangings, and purple silkes, all the which he was to make ready money of. There he tooke great care and paynes to raise all things to the vtmost and deerest pryces that could be, and he himselfe was present at all, to keepe reckoning of the last peny. Wherefore, to bring this to passe, he would not stand to the common vse of the sale of the cryer, but suspected them all, both cryers, prayers, and his owne friendes, and therefore talked himselfe with the prayers, and made them set high prises vpon euery thing that was to be sold. And thus were the most part of the goodes sold and caryed away, at the deerest prices. This did maruellously offende the most of his friendes, when they saw that he did mistrust them: but *Munatius* specially, his deerest friend, tooke it so inwardly, that he thought neuer to be friendes with him againe. In somuch as in the booke *Cæsar* wrote against *Cato*, in this place he forceth most the accusation against him. *Munatius* notwithstanding writeth, that he was not angry so much with *Cato* for that he mistrusted him, but for a certaine disdaine he had himselfe of *Cato*, and for the emulation betwixt him and *Canidius*. For *Munatius* wrote a booke of *Catoes* deeds and sayings, whom *Thraseas* in his history chiefly followed. In this booke he sheweth that he came late into Cyprvs, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore also, that when he would haue come into *Catoes* house, they kept him out of the gates, for that *Cato* was busie, doing some thing with *Canidius*. He modestly complaining of it vnto *Cato*, had this churlish aunswer: ouermuch loue, saith *Theophrastus*, oftentimes causeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who ouerlouing me, doest thinke that I esteeme thee not as thou deseruest, & therfore art angry with me. And for *Canidius*, I must tell thee truely, I do rather employ him for his skill and faithfulnesse in things, then any man else: for that he hath bene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was neuer bribed, but cleane handed still. These wordes *Cato* told *Munatius* secretly betweene them two but afterwardes he knew that he had also reported them vnto *Canidius*. When he saw that, he would no more go and sup with *Cato* as he was wont, and when he was also called to coun-

Ptolomie king of Ægypt, goeth vnto Cato.

Catoes diligẽce about money in Cyprus.

The enuie betwixt Cato and Munatius.

Too much loue oftẽtimes causeth hate.

sell, he would not come there neither. Wherfore *Cato* threatned him, that he would seaze vpon all his goods and cariage, as they vse to handle them that are disobedient vnto iustice. This notwithstanding, *Munatius* cared not for it, but tooke sea, and returned againe to Rome, bearing *Cato* grudge a long time. Then *Martia*, being at that time *Catoes* wife, spake with him, & were both bidden to supper together, vnto a friend of theirs, called *Barca*. Thereupon *Cato* so arriued, and came thither, when they were all set at supper, and asked where he should sit. *Barca* told him againe, where it pleased him. Then casting his eyes about, he sayd he would sit by *Munatius*: and so fetching a compasse about the bord, he went and sate by him, but offered him no friendship and familiaritie all supper tyme. Afterwardes notwithstanding, at the request of *Martia*, that was earnestly in hand with *Cato* for him: he wrote vnto him, & willed him to come and speake with him. *Munatius* went to *Catoes* house in the morning, where *Martia* stayed him, and kept him companie, vntill all the rest that came to salute *Cato*, were departed. Then *Cato* comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made very much of him. We haue the willinglier dilated this matter at length, because mens natures and manners might be discerned euen in these small matters of friendship priuately, as otherwise in the greatest publicke causes. Now touching *Catoes* commission, he got together litle lesse then seuen thousand siluer talents. Furthermore, fearing the farrenesse of the iourney he had to go by sea, he made diuers litle cofers, and put into euery one of them two talents, and fiue hundred Drachmas, and tyed vnto eache of them a long rope, and a great peece of corcke: because that if the shippe should fortune to miscarie, those corckes might shew where the chestes with money lay in the bottome of the sea. Thus was all the money saued, sauing a litle, & brought safely to Rome. *Cato* hauing made two bookes wherin he had noted all things done in his iourney, he could neither saue the one nor the other of the. For one of his bondmen made free, called *Philargyrus*, tooke the one away: who taking ship at the hauen of Cenchrees, was himselfe drowned, and the booke he had also, lost with him. The other booke which he himselfe had kept, vntill he came vnto Corfov: he lying in the market place of the citie in his tents, which he caused to be set vp: the Mariners being very cold in the night, made so great a fire, that it burnt the tents, stuffe, booke and all. Notwithstanding, he brought certaine of the late king *Ptolomies* slaues with him, who while he liued, had the charge and custodie of all his treasure and riches, the which he brought as witnesses, to stoppe the mouthes of his malitious enemies, that would haue accused him in any thing. But yet the losse of them did grieue him, not so much for the great care and paynes he had taken in setting downe the account of his charge, for the iustification and proofe of his fidelitie and good seruice: but also, for that they might haue serued for a good memoriall and example vnto all others, to haue bene a like carefull in their charge, as himselfe. But the goddes denyed him this good hap. Newes being brought that he was come to Rome by water, when they vnderstood that he was at hand, by and by all the Magistrates, the Priestes, the Senate, & the most part of the people also went out to meete him by the riuers side: so that both sides of the riuer of Tyber were full of people, & the receiuing of him in, seemed not inferiour to the entry of a triumphe. Notwithstanding, some thought him very presumptuous, that the Consuls and Prætors comming out to meete him, he did not stay his gally, but rowed still vp the streame (being in a kings galley of six owers to euery bancke) and neuer stayed, vntill all his fleete arriued in the hauen. This notwithstanding, when the cofers with money were caried through the market place into the treasure chamber, the people wondred to see so great a quantitie of it. And thereupon the Senate being assembled, with great and honourable words they gaue *Cato* an extraordinary Prætorship, and priuiledge also, at any common sports to weare a purple gowne. *Cato* refused all these honours, and onely besought the Senate to make *Nicias* a free man, Steward of the late deceased king *Ptolomy*, being a witnesse of his faith and great paines he had taken in this seruice. *Philip* the father of *Martia*, was that yeare Consull, so that after a sort, the authoritie of the Consull was in *Cato*: because *Lentulus*, collegue and fellow Consull with *Philip*, did no lesse reuerence *Cato* for his vertues, then *Philip* did for his allyance with him. Furthermore, when *Cicero* was restored againe from his banishment, the which *Publius Clodius* (being then Tribune of the people) had put vpon him, and being

Money gotten together by Cato in Cyprus.

Cato receiued into Rome with great honour, of the people.

againe growen to great credit: he went one day into the Capitoll, in the absence of *Clodius*, by force to take away the tables which *Clodius* had consecrated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the time he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being assembled, *Clodius* did accuse *Cicero* of this violent fact. *Cicero* answered him againe: that because *Clodius* was chosen Tribune, directly against the law, therefore all his doings were voyde, and of no validitie. Then stood vp *Cato*, and sayd: he knew that all that which *Clodius* did when he was Tribune, was scantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man should vndo all that he had passed by that authoritie: then all that he himselfe had done likewise in CYPRVS, must of necessitie be reuoked. For the commission that was graunted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many things) should be vnlawfull: because the Tribune also that did graunt it him, was not lawfully chosen. And therefore, that *Publius Clodius* was not made Tribune against the law, who by consent of the law was taken out from a noble house, and made a popular person: howbeit, if he had behaued himselfe vndutifully in his office, as other men that happely had offended, then he was to be accused, to make him mend his fault, and not to destroy the authoritie of the officer, which in it selfe was lawfull. After that, there fell misliking betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, for this counter buffe he had giuen him: and *Cicero* continued a long time after, before he did shew him any countenaunce of friendship as he had at other times done. But afterwardes they were reconciled together againe, by this occasion. *Pompey* and *Crassus* hauing bene with *Cæsar* to talke with him (who for that purpose came out of GAVLE beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demaund the second Consulship together, and when they had it, then to proroge *Cæsars* gouernement for fiue yeares more, & also they would haue the best prouinces & greatest, for themselues, with great armies, & money enough to pay the with. This was indeed a plaine conspiracie to deuide the Empire of ROME betweene them, & vtterly to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. At that time there were many noble men, which came to make sute for the Consulship. But when they saw *Pompey* and *Crassus* offer to make sute for it, all the rest gaue ouer, but *Lucius Domitius* that had maried *Porcia*, *Catoes* sister: through whose perswasion he would not relinquish his sute, considering that it was not the office onely of the Consulship that was the chiefest matter of importance, but the libertie of the Senate and people. Straight there ranne a rumour through the most part of the people, that they were not to suffer *Pompeys* power to be ioyned with *Crassus*, by meanes of this office: for then his authoritie would be too great and strong, and therefore, that of necessitie one of these two were to be denied. For this cause therefore, the good men tooke *Domitius* part, and did encourage him to go on with his sute, assuring him of ayde vnder hand of diuers, which durst not be seene openly for feare of those two great men, who at the day of the election would procure him voyces in his fauour. *Pompey* and *Crassus* mistrusting this, made *Domitius* be set vpon, going with torch light before day into the field of *Mars*, where the election was alwayes made: and first striking the torch bearer that went before him, they hurt him so sore, that he fell downe dead at his feete, Then they layed at the rest in like case, who finding themselues cruelly hurt, ranne away euery man of them, and left *Domitius* and *Cato* post alone. But *Cato*, notwithstanding he was hurt in one of his armes, still held *Domitius* fast, and prayed him to tary, and not to leaue to defend the libertie of their country, against tyrants, which plainly shewed after what manner they would gouerne, sith by such wicked meanes they aspired to tyrannicall gouernement. All this notwithstanding, *Domitius* would tary no longer, but betooke him to his legges, and ranne home. Thus were *Crassus* and *Pompey* without deniall proclaimed Consuls. *Cato* neuer yeelded therefore, but came and sued to be Prætor, because that thereby he might yet make it some strength and countenaunce to him against their Consulship, that being no priuate person, he should haue some better authoritie to resist them that were the chiefest persons. But they fearing, that the Prætorship by the estimation of *Cato*, would come to equall their authoritie of the Consulship: first assembled the Senate (the most part of the Senatours not hearing of it) and in that assembly caused the Senate to decree: that all such as were chosen Prætors, should presently go to their charge, not attending the time and libertie appointed by the law, during which time men might accuse

Why Cato sued to be Prator.

those which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then hauing by this colour and decree set ill doers at libertie, without feare of punishment, they pretending to vse corruption, did preferre some of their owne Ministers to make sute for the Prætorship, themselues giuing money to corrupt the people, and being present also at the election. But notwithstanding all these practises, the vertue and reputation of *Cato* ouercame them. For the people had him in so great reuerence, that they thought it too shamefull a part to sell Cato's voyces, who deserued rather to be hyred to take the Prætorship vpon him. Then the first Tribe being called to giue their voyces, declared him Prætor. *Pompey* seeing that, straight brake off the assemblie, making a shamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the ROMAINES do maruellously detest, and will conclude nothing when it thundereth. Howbeit afterwardes they gaue more money, then they had done before, and thereby drew away the chiefest men out of the field of *Mars*, and by practise obtained, that *Vatinius* was chosen Prætor for *Cato*. And the report went, that they that had so wickedly giuen their voyces, feeling themselues pricked in conscience, fled immediatly out of the field; and the honest men that remained, were both very sory and angry, for the iniurie they had offered *Cato*. At that tyme one of the Tribunes keeping an assemblie of the citie, *Cato* stood vp, and told (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what would happen to the common weale by these practisers, and stirred vp the people against *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, saying: that they were giltie of those things, and therefore procured them to be done, because they were affrayed that if *Cato* had bene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue sifted out their deuises. In fine, *Cato* going home to his house, had more companie to waite vpon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had bene chosen. When *Caius Trebonius*, Tribune of the people, had preferred a law for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the new Consuls, SPAYNE and AFRICKE vnto the one, and ÆGYPT & SYRIA vnto the other, with full power to make warre as they thought good both by sea and land: all other men hauing no hope to keepe it backe, did let it alone, and spake nothing to contrary it. Then *Cato* getting vp into the pulpit for Orations, before the people began to giue their voyces, could hardly haue two houres space to speake: but at length, they perceiuing that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would suffer him to speake no longer, but sent a Sergeaunt to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cryed out notwithstanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Sergeaunt went to him againe, and tooke him, and caryed him out of the market place. Howbeit the officer had no sooner left him, but he went straight towardes the pulpit for Orations, and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye to ayde the libertie of their commō wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentimes together did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being mad withall, commaunded his Sergeaunt to cary him to prison. The people followed him hard notwithstanding, to heare what he sayd vnto them. Whereupon *Trebonius* fearing some sturre, was forced to commaund his Sergeaunt to let *Cato* go. So *Cato* draue off all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithstanding, the contrary faction hauing partly put the ROMAINS in feare, and wonne the other part also by fayre wordes and money, and by force of armes likewise kept *Aquilius*, one of the Tribunes, from comming out of the Senate, and after they had also violently driuen *Cato* out of the market place, for saying that it thundred, and hauing hurt many men, and also slayne some out of hand in the market place: in the end they forcibly passed the decree by voyces of the people. Many being offended therewith, went a company of them together to plucke downe *Pompeys* images: but *Cato* would not suffer them. And afterwardes also, when they preferred an other law for the prorogation of the prouinces & armies which *Cæsar* demaunded: *Cato* would speake no more to the people to hinder it, but protested vnto *Pompey* himself, that he saw not how he plucked *Cæsar* vpon him, and that he should feele the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither suffer nor remedy it, he would euen cast his burthen and himselfe vpon the common wealth, and too late would remember *Catoes* warnings, which were priuatly as profitable for *Pompey*, as openly iust and reasonable for the cōmon wealth. *Cato* vsed many of these perswasions sundry times vnto him, but *Pompey* neuer made account of them: for he would not be perswaded that *Cæsar* would

Cato put from the Prætorship by Pompey.

Cato was against the law for the prouinces of Pompey and Crassus.

Cato foreshewed Pompey the things which happened vnto him, by Cæsar.

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her change in that sort, and besides he trusted too much to his owne power and prosperitie. Furthermore *Cato* was chosen Prætor for the next yeare following, in the which it appeared (though he ministred iustice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maiestie and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would sometimes go a foote barelegged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, & there giue sentence of life & death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And some report, that he would giue audience when he had dyned, and drunke wine: but that is vntrue. Now *Cato* perceiuing that the citizens of ROME were marred by bribes & gifts of those which aspired vnto offices, and that the people made it an art and faculty to gaine by: to roote this vice altogether out of the common wealth, he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that such as hereafter should be chosen Consuls or Prætors, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer them selues before the iudges, and taking their oath, should truely declare what meanes they had vsed to attaine to their office. This offended the suters for the offices, but much more the mercenarie multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cryed out vpon him, reuiled him & threw stones at him: insomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, & himselfe also was driuen out of the place by the preasse of people, and had much a doe to get to the pulpit for orations, where standing on his feete, he presently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldnesse and constancie of his countenance only. Then when all was pacified by the present perswasions he vsed, aptly spoken to purpose for the instant, they giuing attentiue eare, without murre or vprore. The Senate giuing him great commendation therefore, he told them roundly & plainly: but I haue no cause to praise you, to leaue a Prætor in such daunger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the suters for the offices, they were in a maruellous case: for one way, they were afraide to giue money to buy the peoples voices, and on the other side, they were affraid also if any other did it, that they should go without their sute. So they were all agreed together, euery man to put downe twelue Myriades and a halfe a peece, and then they should make their sute iustly and vprightly: and whosoeuer were taken faultie, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the money he had laid downe. This agreement being concluded betweene them, they chose *Cato* (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the same money. This match was made in *Catoes* house, where they all did put in caution or sureties to answere the mony: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, *Cato* assisting the Tribune that gouerned the election, & carefully marking how they did giue their voices: he spied one of the suters for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the rest. But they greatly cõmending his iustice and integritie, forgaue the forfeiture, thinking it punishment enough vnto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by *Cato*. But thereby *Cato* procured himselfe the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he seemed therein to take vpon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honor and credite doth procure more enuy, than iustice doth: because the people doe commonly respect and reuerence that more than any other. For they doe not honor them as they doe valiant men, nor haue them in admiration, as they do wise men: but they loue and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are affraide of, and the other they distrust: beside, they suppose that valiancie and wisedome commeth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choice, esteeming wisedome as a readines of conceit: and fortitude, a presence & courage of the mind. For euery man may be iust that will, and therefore iniustice is of all other vices most shamefull: for it is a wilfull and malicious default, and therefore can not be excused. Lo this was the cause why all the noble men in manner were against *Cato*, as though he only had ouercome them. *Pompey*, he thought that the estimation of *Cato* was altogether the discountenãce of his power and greatnesse, and therefore did daily raise vp many railers against him. Of them *Publius Clodius* that seditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in friendship with *Pompey*: he accused *Cato* and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common wealth of a wonderfull treasure, by his commission in CYPRVS: and that he was enemy vnto *Pompey*, because he did refuse to marry his daughter. *Cato* thereto made answere, that he had brought more golde and siluer out of

Cato chosen Prator.

Cato preferred a law for vnlawfull bribing

The power of iustice.

CYPRVS, into the treasure of ROME, without the allowance of either horse or souldier: the *Pompey* had done with all his triumphes and warres, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreouer, that he did neuer seeke alliance with *Pompey*, not that he thought him vnworthie of it, but because he saw he delt not as vprightly in the common wealth as he himselfe did. I, said he, haue refused a prouince offred me when I came out of my Prætorship but *Pompey* hath taken some by force, and giuen away vnto others. And to conclude, he *Cæsar* not long since, an armie of sixe thousand men to serue him in the warres in GAVLE which he neuer required of vs, nor *Pompey* graunted them him by our consent. But wee that so many armies, armors and weapon, so many men and horses by common pleasures our priuate citizens, giuen and lent at our charge. And *Pompey* himselfe reseruing onely name of Emperour, and Lieutenant generall, assigneth ouer his armies and prouinces the gouernement of others, whilest he himselfe besiegeth here the walles of the citie, with ditious & tumultuous election of officers, craftily vnderminding thereby the state of the com mon wealth, to bring all to confusion, that he himselfe might be absolute Prince, and rule lone. Thus was he reuenged of *Pompey*. Among *Catoes* friends, he had one called *Marcus Fa nius*, such a one as *Apollodorus* PHALERIAN was said to be in old time, vnto *Socrates*, who counterfaite to be an other himselfe, in doing all things as he did. This man would be out of reason, and passionate in his talke, storming like a drunkard. He one yeare made sute be Ædilis, but he was reiected. Howbeit *Cato* that furthered his sute, marked, that the table wherein the voices were written, were all one hande. So, he finding out the falsehoode, pealed thereupon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voyde for that time. After *Faonius* was created Ædilis, *Cato* did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his office, specially in setting foorth playes in the Theater, which are customably done at the commi in of euery such new officer, to giue the people pastime: and gaue vnto the common playe and dauncers in those playes, no golden crownes, as other Ædiles did, but crownes of wil oliue twigges, as they commonly vse in GRECE at the Olympian games. And where othe gaue vnto the poore rich giftes, he gaue the GRECIANS leekes, lettises, radishes, and peares and vnto the ROMAINES, they had earthen pots full of wine, porke, figges, cowcombers, an fagots of wood of small value. Insomuch as some thought scorne of them they were so meane others were very glad of them, seeing that *Cato* which was seuere and hard of nature, had doing in them, and by litle and litle they turned this austeritie of his into pleasure. In fine, *Fa onius* himselfe sitting downe amongst the people, which looked vpon the players, clappe his handes for ioy at *Cato*: and cried out to him, that he should giue them good rewards played well, alluring them also about him to doe the like, and told them that he had made C *to* the whole ruler of those sportes. At the selfe same time, *Curio*, *Faonius* colleague and com panion in the office of Ædilis, had likewise goodly playes in an other Theater: but all the pe ple forsooke his, and went to see *Faonius* playes, who sate among them like a priuate man, a *Cato* as the maister of the playes. *Cato* did this in scorne and mockerie of vaine charge and e pences, which men are wont to bestow in such trifles, shewing thereby, that whosoeuer wi make any playes, he should make the charge but a sport also, furnishing it onely with a conue nient grace, but with no vaine expence or charge about such a trifle. Shortly after, when Sc *pio*, *Hypseus* and *Milo*, sued all three together to be Consuls, not only by briberie of money common fault then in suing for any of the offices in the common wealth) but by plaine force of armes, slaying and killing as in a ciuill warre, they were so desperate and insolent: some pro ferred a lawe, that they should make *Pompey* Præsident in these elections, because men be moue their sute after a lawfull sort. But *Cato* straight was against it, saying, that the law cou haue no safetie by *Pompey*, but *Pompey* might haue safetie by the law. Notwithstanding, wh he saw this trouble continue of a long time, without any Consuls in ROME, and that dail there were three campes in the market place, that it was almost impossible to preuent t mischiefe at hand, and to stay that it should goe no further: then he thought it better, that t Senate of their owne good willes, rather then by compulsion, should put the gouernment the state into *Pompeys* hands alone, choosing the lesser euill, to withstand the greater, and so yeeld to the absolute gouernment without constraint, which the sedition would bring it

M. Faonius, Catoes friend.

Cato doth set forth the playes for Faonius Ædilis.

Catoes wise counsell for playes.

There

Therefore *Bibulus* Catoes friend and kinſeman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would choose *Pompey* ſole Conſull. For, ſaid he, either the common wealth ſhall be well gouerned by him, or elſe ROME ſhall ſerue an ill Lord. *Cato* then riſing vp, beyonde all mens expectation confirmed *Bibulus* opinion, and ſaid: that the citie were better to haue one ſoueraigne Magiſtrate then none, and that he hoped *Pompey* could giue preſent order for the pacifying of this confuſion, and that he would be carefull to preſerue the citie, when he ſawe that they truſted him with the gouernment thereof. Thus was *Pompey* by Catoes meanes choſen ſole Conſull. *Pompey was created ſole Conſull, by Catoes ſentence.* Then he ſent for *Cato* to come to his gardens to him, which were in the ſuburbes of the citie. *Cato* went thither, and was receiued with as great honor & courteſie of *Pompey* as could be deuiſed: and in the end, after he had giuen him great thankes for the honors he had done him, he prayed him to afford him his aduiſe and counſell in his gouernment. *Cato* anſwered him thus, that he had not ſpoken any thing before that time in reſpect of any ill will he bare him, neither that he deliuered this laſt opinion of his in reſpect of his friendſhippe, but wholly for the common wealthes ſake: howbeit otherwiſe, that for his owne priuate affaires, if he thought good to vſe his aduiſe, whenſoeuer it pleaſed him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the beſt he could. But for common cauſes, that he would alwaies tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him: and in fine, he performed all he ſaid. For firſt of all, when *Pompey* did ſet ſeuerous penalties & new fines vpon their heades, which had bought the peoples voyces for money: *Cato* counſelled him to prouide for things to come, and to let that alone which was already paſt. For, ſaid he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man ſhould ſeeke to reforme the faults that are paſt: and furthermore, if the puniſhmentes appoinſted were newer then the offences committed, then they ſhould doe wrong vnto them that were already accuſed, to puniſh them by a new law which they had not offended. Afterwards for certaine men of good calling (*Pompeys* friends) being accuſed, *Cato* perceiuing that *Pompey* grew remiſſe, and yeelded in many things: he ſharpely reproued, and reformed him. Furthermore, where *Pompey* had by law taken away the praiſes which were wont to be ſpoken of the offenders that were accuſed: he himſelfe notwithſtanding hauing written an oration in the praiſe of *Munatius Plancus*, ſent it vnto the Iudges, whileſt his cauſe was a hearing. *Cato* being one of the Iudges at that time, ſtopped his eares with both his hands, and would not haue heard. Wherefore *Plancus* refuſed him for one of his Iudges, after his cauſe was pleaded vnto: howbeit he was condemned notwithſtanding. To conclude, *Cato* was ſuch a griefe and trouble vnto them that were accuſed, that they could not tell well howe to deale with him. For, once they durſt not let him be any of their Iudges, neither could they well alſo refuſe him. For there were many that were condemned, which refuſing *Cato*, ſeemed vnto others that they were guiltie: & many alſo were ſhamefully reproued, becauſe they would not accept *Cato* for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Things proceeding in this ſort at ROME, *Ceſar* remained in GAVLE with his armie, where he made warres: neuertheleſſe he wanne many friends ſtill in ROME, by gifts and money, and made himſelfe very ſtrong. Now appeared *Catoes* predictions & forewarnings true vnto *Pompey*, and began to quicken his ſpirits which had ſlept ſo long, and made him then to conſider of the daunger, the which before he could not be perſwaded to beleeue. But perceiuing his ſlacknes and feare withall, doubting how to proceede to preuent *Ceſars* practiſes, *Cato* determined to ſue to be Conſul, with intent either to make him leaue his army, or elſe to find out the practiſe he entended. *Catoes* competitors, *Cato ſued to be Conſull to reſiſt Ceſar.* they were both of the very honeſt men alſo, of the which, *Sulpitius* had receiued great honor and preferrement by *Catoes* credite and authoritie: in reſpect wherof, many thought that it was not honeſtly done of *Sulpitius*, to ſhew himſelfe ſo vnthankful, as to ſtand againſt *Cato* in this ſuit. Howbeit *Cato* neuer complained of the matter, but ſaid, that it was no maruell he would giue place to no man in that, ſith it was the greateſt good happe that euer came vnto him. Yet notwithſtanding he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that from thence forth, ſuch as ſued for any office, they ſhould themſelues be ſuters to the people, and not preferre their ſute to others. This cauſed the people to be more offended with him, then before, becauſe therebye he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voices in elections: but tooke from them the meanes they had alſo to pleaſure many, bringing them now

Cato was denied the Consulship.

into pouertie and contempt. He therefore hauing no face to flatter the people and to cun
fauour with them, but rather sticking to his graue maner and modest life, then to seeke the di
nitie of a Consull by such meanes: made sute himselfe in person, and would not suffer h
friends to take the ordinarie course which might win the peoples harts, wherupon he was p
from his Consulshippe. This denyall was wont not only to haue made the parties refused, v
ry sorrowfull, but their friends and kinsemen also greatly ashamed a long time after. How
Cato made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with
friendes in the field of *Mars*, and after he had dyned, walked againe in the market place, a
maner was, without shooes on his feete, and coate. But *Cicero* blamed him much for that
cause the common wealth requiring then such a Consull as he, he had not carefully endeav
red himselfe by courtesie and gentle meanes to winne the fauour of the people, neither wou
euer after make sute for it, although at an other time he sued to be Prætor. Thereunto *Ca*
answered, that for the Prætorshippe he was not denyed it by the good will of the people, b
rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Consuls, wher
there was no deceit vsed, he knew plainly he went without it, for his maners which the peopl
misliked: the which he thought were no wise mans part to chaunge for any mans pleasure,
nor yet by making the like sute againe to hazard the refusall. Furthermore, *Cæsar* making wa
with very stout nations, & hauing with no small danger and trauell subdued them: and hauing
also set vpon the GERMAINES, with whom the ROMAINES were at peace, & also slaine three
hundred thousand persons: his friends made sute that the people should do solemne sacrifice to
giue thankes vnto the gods. But *Cato* in open Senate was of opinion, that they should deliver
Cæsar into their handes, whom he had iniured, to receiue such punishment as they thought
good: to the end the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be cast vpon him, that the
citie might be no partaker of it, sith they could not do withall. Neuertheleſſe, said he, we are
to doe sacrifices vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes, for that they turned not the reuenge
of the furie and rashnes of the Captaine, vpon our poore souldiers which were in no fault, but
haue pardoned the common wealth. *Cæsar* being aduertised thereof, wrote a letter vnto the
Senate, containing many accusations against *Cato*. The letter being read, *Cato* rose, not as a
man put in a chafe with choller, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had
long before premeditated what he would say) declared that the accusations which *Cæsar* heaped against him in his letters, were but pretie mockes and sleights which he had gathered together to make the people merry withall. But on the other side, when he beganne to vntwine
whole intents and practises from the beginning, not as if he had beene his enemie, but rather
a confederate with him in his conspiracy, declaring that they were not the GERMAINES, nor
the GAVLES, which they were to be affraid of, but of himselfe, if they were wise: hereupon so offended the Senate, and made such sturre among them, that *Cæsars* friends repented
them they had caused his letters to be read in the Senate, giuing *Cato* thereby occasion iustly to
complaine of *Cæsar*, & to alleage much good matter against him. At that time therefore there
was nothing decreed in the Senate against *Cæsar*, but this was saide onely, that it were good
reason to let him haue a successor. Then *Cæsars* friendes made sute that *Pompey* should put away his army, and resigne vp the prouinces he kept, or else that they should compell *Cæsar* no
more then him to doe it. Then *Cato* opened his mouth, and said, the thing was now come to
passe, which he had euer told them of, and that *Cæsar* came to oppresse the common wealth,
openly turning the armie against it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the same. All this
preuailed not, neither could he thereby winne any thing of the Senate, because the people fa-
uoured *Cæsar*, and would alwaies haue him great: for the Senate did beleeue all that he said,
but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that *Cæsar* had wonne the
citie of ARIMINVM, and was comming on with his armie towards ROME: then euery man
looked vpon *Cato*, and the people and *Pompey* confessed, that he only from the beginning had
found out the marke *Cæsar* shot at, and had hit the white of his slie deuise. Then said *Cato* vnto
them, if you would haue beleued me, my Lordes, and followed my counsell: you should not
now haue bene affraid of one man alone, neither should you also haue put your onely hope in
one man. *Pompey* aunswered thereunto, that *Cato* in deede had gessed more truely, howbeit

Cicero blameth Cato.

Catoes opinion against Cæsar.

Cato inueyeth against Cæsar.

Cato prognosticated Cæsars tyrannie.

that

that he also had dealt more friendly. Thereupon *Cato* gaue counsell that the Senate should refer all vnto *Pompeys* order: for, said he, they that can do great mischiefe, know also how to helpe it. *Pompey* perceiuing that he had no armie conuenient about him to tarie *Cæsars* comming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint hearted: he forsooke the citie. *Cato* being determined to go with him, sent his younger sonne before vnto *Munatius*, which lay in the countrie of the BRVTIANS, & tooke his eldest sonne with him. Now, because he was to prouide a stay and gouernor of his house and daughters, he tooke *Martia* againe, which was left a widow and very rich, for that *Hortensius* dying, made her his heire of all that he had. Therein *Cæsar* vpbrayeth *Cato* much, reprouing his couetousnes to marry for goods. For, saide he, if he had neede of a wife, why then did he before graunt her vnto an other? If he had no neede of a woman, why then did he take her afterwardes againe? Vnlesse she were before a baite vnto *Hortensius*, to keepe her whilest shee was young, that he might haue her againe when she was rich. But against that me thinkes it is sufficient to recite these verses of *Euripides*:

Vnlikelihoods first I will disproue. For why? what man can say,
That euer feare made Hercules to turne his face away?

For I take it to be all one, to reproue *Hercules* cowardlines, and *Catoes* couetousnes. But if his marriage be to be reproued, peraduenture it is in an other sort. For so soone as he had maried *Martia* againe, he left his house and his daughters to her gouernment, and followed *Pompey*. But after that time, men report that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented, and bewailed in his heart, the miserie and calamitie of his countrie, whether they had victorie, or were ouercome. So hauing the prouince of SICILE allotted to him, he went vnto SYRACVSA. There vnderstanding that *Asinius Pollio* was arriued at MESSINA, with men of warre from his enemies: *Cato* sent vnto him, to know wherefore he came thither. *Pollio* againe asked of him, who was the causer of all this warre. Againe, when *Cato* was aduertised that *Pompey* had forsaken ITALIE, & that he lay in campe beyond the sea by the citie of DYRRACHIVM, then he said, he saw a marueilous great chaunge and incertaintie in the prouidence of the goddes: that when *Pompey* did all things beyond reason, and out of course, he was inuincible: and now that he sought to preserue his country, he saw he lacked his former good happe. Now he knewe he was strong enough at that time to driue *Asinius Pollio* out of SICILE if he would: but because there came a greater aide vnto him, he would not plague that Iland, with the miserie of warre. Then after he had aduised the SYRACVSANS to take the stronger part, and to looke to their safetie: he tooke the sea & went towards *Pompey*. When he was come vnto him, he did alwaies coũsel him to prolong the war, hoping still of some treatie of peace: & would in no case they should come to fight any battell, where the weaker part should of necessitie be put to the sword, by the stronger. Therefore he perswaded *Pompey* and the counsellers about him, to establish certaine lawes to this effect. That they should sacke no citie in this warre, the which belonged vnto the Empire of ROME: and also, that they should kill no citizen of ROME, but in furie of battell, when their swordes were in their hands. Thereby he wanne himselfe great honor, and brought many men to take *Pompeys* part, by the lenitie and clemencie he vsed vnto them that were taken. Thereupon *Cato* being sent into ASIA, to aide them that had commission to presse ships and men of warre, he tooke his sister *Seruilia* with him, and the boy which *Lucullus* had by her: for all the time of her widowhood, she had followed *Cato*, and thereby had worne out her ill name she had before, sith they saw she had so willingly giuen her selfe to follow him in his flying, and contented her self with this straight maner of life. This notwithstãding, *Cæsar* did not let to shame her to *Cato*. *Pompeys* Captaines had no neede of *Cato* any where but at the RHODES. For he wanne the people there with his courteous vsage & perswasion, leauing with them *Seruilia* & her litle sonne, and went from thence to *Pompeys* campe, who had leuied a great armie both by sea and land. There did *Pompey* most of all discouer his minde and intent. For first he ment to haue giuen *Cato* the charge of the armie by sea, which were aboue fiue hundred shippes of warre, besides an infinite number of foystes & pinases, & such small bottomes vncouered: but finally cõsidering better of it (or possibly being informed by some of his friends, that al *Catoes* regard & counsell in matters of gouernment was, to deliuer ROME from tyranny, & that if he

Cato followeth Pompey.

Cæsar reproueth Catoes couetousnes.

Cato is sent into Sicile.

Cato leaueth Sicile.

Catoes lawes in Pompeys army

Why Pompey chaunged his minde for the gouernment of the armie by sea.

had so great a charge vnder him, *Cæsar* being once ouercome, he would also force *Pompey* to leaue his armie, & so make him subiect to the law) he changed his minde, notwithstanding he had already moued it to *Cato*, & leauing him, gaue *Bibulus* the charge of al his army by sea. But *Cato* therefore shewed no lesse good will vnto *Pompey*, then before. For it is reported, that in a certaine skirmish & conflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, *Pompey* encouraging his souldiers, & commanding euery Captaine also to do the like in his quarter: the souldiers gaue but faint eare vnto them, & made no manner of shew of men whose hearts had beene any whit the more encouraged thereby. But when *Cato* after them all came and told them (as the time serued) the reason of Philosophie, and the effect of libertie, manhoode, death, and honor, and that with a great vehement affection: and last of all ending his oration, calling vpon the gods, framing his speech vnto them, as if they had bene present to haue seene how valiantly the souldiers fought for the libertie of their countrie: they gaue such a lustie cry, & had such a braue conceite & vehement desire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope, and so led them to battell, where they gaue such a cruell charge and fierce onset vpon their enemies, that they ouerthrewe them, and put them that day to flight. Howbeit *Cæsars* good fortune tooke the finall ende of this victorie from *Pompey*, by his ouergreat feare and mistrust: who could not tell how to take the benefite of his victorie, as we haue written more amply in his life. But when all the rest reioyced that they had done so noble an exploite, and made their vaunts of the great aduantage they had of their enemies: *Cato* to the contrarie bewailed the calamitie of his country, and lamented that cursed ambition which caused so many good and valiant citizens of one selfe citie, so to kill and murther one an other. After this ouerthrowe, *Cæsar* taking his way into THESSALIE, *Pompey* raised his campe to follow him, and leauing great power at DYRRACHIVM, of men, armor, munition and friends: he gaue *Cato* the charge of them all, and fifteene ensignes of footemen besides. The which he did for the feare and mistrust he had of him, being assured, that if by ill fortune he should lose the battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a trustier man then he: but on the other side if he wanne the victory, he doubted sore that he could not command as he would, where *Cato* was.

Why Pompey left Cato at Dyrrachium.

There were also many other noble men, as a man would say, cast away, and left at DYRRACHIVM, with *Cato*. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battel at Pharsalia being blowen abroad, *Cato* resolued with himselfe if *Pompey* were dead, that he would passe ouer all his men into ITALY, and then like a banished man would himselfe alone wander as farre as he could from the tyrannie: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his armie together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he passed ouer the sea into the Ile of COS, where *Pompeys* armie by sea lay. There *Cato* finding *Cicero*, he would haue surrendered vp his charge vnto him, as to a man of greater dignitie, for that he had bene Consull, and *Cato* only but Prætor. Howbeit *Cicero* would in no wise receiue it, but returned immediatly into ITALY.

Cato saueth Ciceroes life, from Pompeys sonne.

Cato then perceiuing that *Pompey* the younger (sonne vnto *Pompey* the great) of a rash & hastie minde, would haue punished all them that went into ITALIE, and left the army by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with *Cicero*: *Cato* reproued him priuately for it, so that he certainly saued *Ciceroes* life, and many other moe besides. Now *Cato* supposing that *Pompey* the great had saued himselfe in ÆGYPT, or in AFRICKE, he determined to take the seas, to meete him with all his men: but before he tooke shippe, he gaue all men leaue to depart that were not willing to follow him. *Cato* being arriued in AFRICK, sailing vp & down the coast there, he met with *Sextus*, the youngest sonne of *Pompey*, who first told him, that his father was slaine in ÆGYPT: when the souldiers heard it, they tooke it very heauily, and not one of them after the death of *Pompey* the great, would serue vnder any other Captaine then *Cato*. He therupon being ashamed, & thinking it pity also to leaue so many noble & good men that had serued so faithfully vnder him, without a Captaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whither to goe: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first vnto the citie of CYRENES, where not many daies before, the citizens had shut the gates against *Labienus*. Being there, it was told him that *Scipio*, *Pompeys* father in law, was gotten vnto king *Iuba*, who had receiued him: and that *Actius Varus*, vnto whom *Pompey* had giuen the charge of the prouince of AFRICKE, was in their company with an army, and determined to goe

Cato went into Africke.

ie ioyne with them. So he went by land in the winter time, and had gotten a marueilous
mber of asses together, to cary water and victuals, which followed him with a great num-
of carts besides, and of those men, which the AFRICANES call PSYLLES, for they that
heale the stinging of serpents, and do sucke out the poison with their mouths, and doe fur-
rmore charme and enchaunt the snakes, that they haue no power to doe any hurt. Hee ran
ten dayes together marching continually, and went a foote as a guide vnto his men, with-
the helpe of horse or beast. From that day foorth, on the which he vnderstoode of the battell
at Pharsalia, he neuer supped, but sitting, * and added that vnto the rest of his sorrow, that
neuer layed him downe, but when he went to bedde for all night. *Cato* hauing passed the
inter in LYBIA, he brought his souldiers into the fielde, which were about tenne thousand
ions. The affaires on their side had but hard successe, for the contention and variance be-
twixt *Scipio*, and *Varus*, for the which, they both flattered king *Iuba* to winne his fauour: be-
ng a marueilous proud man for his greatnes and riches: as he shewed the first time hee spake
with *Cato*. For when *Cato* came, he caused his owne chaire to be set betwixt *Scipio* and *Cato*, to
ake the honour to be in the middest. But *Cato* perceiuing it, tooke vp his owne chaire, and
t on the other side by *Scipio* to put him in the middest, notwithstanding that he was his e-
emy, and had written a shamefull booke against him. Many make no accompt of this fact
Cato, but reproue him, because that walking one day with *Philostratus* in SICILIA, he gaue
im the vpper hand, honoring him for his Philosophy. Thus *Cato* did pull downe the pride
f the king at that time, who before had vsed *Scipio*, and *Varus*, as his noble men and subiects.
owbeit *Cato* did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the company pray-
him to take charge of the whole army, and that *Scipio* himselfe, and *Varus* both, did first
giue him place, and willingly resigned vnto him the honour to command the whole campe.
e answered them, he would not offend the law, sith he made warre onely to preserue the
thority and priuiledge thereof, neither would take vppon him to commaund all, him-
lfe being but Vicepraetor, where there was a Viceconsull present. For *Scipio* was created
Viceconsull, and furthermore, the people had a certaine confidence that their affaires would
prosper the better, if they had but the name of a *Scipio* to leade them in AFRICK. Now when
Scipio was Generall ouer them, he would straight, for *Iubaes* sake, haue put all the inhabitants
f the city of VTICA (without respect of age) vnto the sword, and haue rased the houses to the
ground as those that had taken *Caesars* part. Howbeit *Cato* would not suffer him, but prote-
ing vnto them that were present, and calling the goddes to witnesse in open councill, with
great difficulty he saued the poore people of VTICA from that cruell tragedy and slaughter.
fterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at *Scipioes* instance, *Cato* tooke
pon him to keepe the city, fearing least by treason, or against their wils, it should come into
Caesars hands: because it was a strong place of situation, and well replenished with all things
ecessary for him that should keepe it. *Cato* did both furnish it, & also fortifie it. For he brought
great store of corne, he repaired the rampers of the walles, made great high towers, and cast
eepe trenches round about the city, paling them in: and betwixt the trenches and the towne,
e lodged all the young men of VTICA, and compelled them to deliuer vp their armour and
eapon and kept all the rest within the city it selfe, carefully prouiding, that neuer a man of
em should be hurt by the ROMAINS; and besides, did also send corn, armor, munition & mo-
y vnto the campe: so that the city of VTICA was the staple & storehouse of the wars. More-
er, as he had before counselled *Pompey* not to come to battell, the like counsell he now gaue
lso vnto *Scipio*: not to hazard battell against a man of great skill and experience in wars, but to
ke time, whereby, by litle and litle, he should consume the power and strength of *Caesars* ty-
anny. But *Scipio* was so stout, that he regarded not *Catoes* counsell, but wrote otherwhile vn-
o him, twitting him with his cowardlines in this maner: that it was enough for him to be safe
in a good city compassed about with wals, though otherwise hee sought not to hinder men to
be valiant, to execute any enterprise as occasion was offered. *Cato* wrote againe vnto him, that
he was ready to goe into ITALY with his footemen and horsmen which he had brought into
AFRICKE to draw *Caesar* from them, and to turne him against him. *Scipio* made but a sport
at it. Then *Cato* shewed plainly, that he did repent him hee had giuen him the preferment to

Psilles, be men which heale the stinging of serpents.

* Men in old time bathed and washed them selues, and then laied them downe in their bed to sleepe.

The modest and noble mind of Cato.

Cato ioyneth with Scipio in Africke.

Cato was made Gouernour of the city of Vtica.

Scipio despiseth Catoes counsell.

be generall of the army, because he saw he would but fondly prosecute this warre: and also, if he chaunced to ouercome, he could not moderatly vse the victory against his countrey men. Then he began to mistrust the good successe of this warre (and so he told his friendes) by the Generals hastinesse and vnskilfulnesse: and yet if beyond expectation it fell out well, that *Cæsar* were ouerthrowen, he would neuer dwell at ROME any more, but would flie the crielty and bitternesse of *Scipio*, who euen at that present time did proudly threaten many, in the end, that fell out sooner then looked for. For a poste came to him late that night, but three dayes before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was lost, by great battell, by the city of THAPSVS, which *Cæsar* had wonne: that hee had taken both campes, that *Scipio* and king *Iuba* were fled with a few men, and that all the rest of their army was slaine. These nowes did put the citizens in such a feare and maze, (and specially being the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could scant keepe themselues within the walles of their city. But *Cato* meeting with them, stayed them that ranne vp and down crying in the streetes, and did comfort them the best he could. Yet he tooke not all their feare from them, though he brought them againe vnto themselues from the extasie they were in, declaring vnto them, that the losse was nothing so great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge such newes with wordes enough. By these perswasions, he somewhat pacified the tumult and vproare, and the next morning by breake of day, he made proclamation, that the three hundred men which he had chosen for his counsellers, should come and assemble in the temple of *Iupiter*, they all being citizens of ROME, which for traffick and marchandise lay in AFRICKE, and all the ROMAINE Senators and their children also. Now whilest they gathered them selues together, *Cato* him selfe went very gravely with a setled countenaunce, as if no such matter had happened, hauing a litle booke in his hand which he read as he went. This booke contayned the store and preparation of munition that he had made for this warre, as corne, armor, weapons, bowes, slings and footemen. When they were all assembled, he began greatly to commend the good loue and faithfulnes of these three hundred ROMAINS, which had profitably serued their country with their persons, money, and counsell, and did counsell them not to depart one from an other, as men hauing no hope, otherwise seeking to saue them selues scatteringly. For remaining together, *Cæsar* would not despise them, if they would make warre against him: and would also sooner pardon them, if they craued mercy of him. Therefore he counselled them to determine what they would do, and for his owne part, he sayed he would not mislike whatsoeuer they determined of: for if their mindes followed their fortune, he would thinke this chaunge to proceede of the enuie sitie of time. But if they were resolued to withstand their misfortune, and to hazard themselues to defend their liberty: he then would not only commend them, but hauing their noble corage in admiration, would him selfe be their chieftaine and companion, euen to proue the fortune of their countrey to the vttermost. The which was not VTICA, nor ADRYMETVM, but the city selfe of ROME: the which oftentimes through her greatnesse, had raised her selfe from greater daungers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many waies to saue themselues, and the greatest meane of all was this: that they should make warre with a man, who by reason of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For SPAINE of the one side was vp against him, and tooke part with the younger *Pompey*: and the city of ROME also not being vsed to be bridled with the snaffle of such insolency, could not abide it, but would rather rise with any other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refuse any danger, but to take example of their enemy: who, to worke his mischieuous intent, spareth not his person in any daunger. And contrarily also, that vnto them, the incertainety of the war, if victory followed, would make them happy, as also in being ouerthrowen, their death would turne to immortall glory. Notwithstanding, they were to thinke of the matter among thē selues, & to make their prayers to the gods, that in recompence of their vertue & good seruice which they had shewed thither-vnto, they would grant them grace to determine for the best. After *Cato* had ended his oration, there were diuers of thē that were stirred vp by his liuely perswasions, but the most part of thē were incoraged by his constancy & noble mind, and also by his kindnes: so that they presently forgat the danger they were in, & praid him to command their persons, goods, and weapons,

Catoes constancy in extremity

Catoes oration to the Romains at Vtica.

he thought good, taking him for their only inuincible Captaine, of whom fortune had no power, thinking it better to die obeying his counsell, then to saue them selues, forsaking so valiant & worthy a man. Then, when one of the assembly made a motion that they should make their bondmen free, and that diuers also did confirme it, *Cato* sayd he would by no meanes suffer it, because it was neither meet nor lawful: howbeit if their masters would manumisse them, that he was contented to receiue them for souldiers, that could weare any weapon. Diuers proffered him to do it: and *Cato* commaunded their names should be enrolled that would, and so went his way. Immediatly after, letters were brought him frō king *Iuba*, & *Scipio* of the which, king *Iuba* was hidde in a moūtain with few men with him, who sent vnto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he ment to forsake VTICA, he would tary him there: and if otherwise he determined to keep VTICA, then that he would come & helpe him with an army. *Scipio* on the other side riding at anker, at a point of the land not far from VTICA, staid for the like aunswere. Then *Cato* thought it best to stay the messengers which had brought him their letters, till he saw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROME, were very glad men, and did presently make their bondmen free, & gaue them weapons. But the other thre hundred which were marchant venturers, and that liued by vsury and exchange, who had the most part of their goods in slaues and bondmen, did not long follow *Catoes* counsell: but like men, whose bodies soone receiue heat, and are soone cold againe; when they are once gone from the fire: euen so those marchants, while *Cato* was present amōg them, had some good prety wil & desire: but when by them selues they had cast their account, the feare they had of *Cæsar*, made them forget the reuerence they bare vnto *Cato*, & vnto their duty. For, said they, what are we, and what is he whom we disdain to obey? Is it not *Cæsar* him self, who at this day is Lord & Emperor of ROME? Neuer a one of vs is *Scipio*, *Pompey*, nor *Cato*: and yet now, when al men for feare (and in maner compelled) do yeeld and submit thē selues, we will needs take vpon vs within the wals of VTICA to fight for the liberty of ROME against him, for whom, *Cato* flying with *Pompey*, forsooke ITALY: & we now make our bondmen free to fight with *Cæsar*, hauing no better liberty our selues, then it pleaseth him to giue vs. Let vs therefore now know our selues whilest we haue time, and craue mercy at his hands that is the stronger, & send vnto him, to pray him to pardon vs. The greatest & wisest men of those three hundred marchants, had this speache. But the most part of them sought meanes how to entrap the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at *Cæsars* hand, if they did deliuer them vnto him. *Cato* did looke for this change in them, but yet vttered not that he thought, and returned the messengers backe againe vnto king *Iuba*, and *Scipio*, and wrote vnto them: that they should beware they came not near VTICA, because he did mistrust these three hūdred marchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had escaped from the battel, who comming towards VTICA, sent three of their company vnto *Cato*, the which brought him not one selfe determination from all the company. For some of them went to go vnto king *Iuba*, others also to ioyne with *Cato*, and part of them were afrayd to come into VTICA. These things being thus reported vnto *Cato*, he commaunded *Marcus Rubrius* to take care of these three hundred men, & to receiue the names of the bondmē which they willingly manumisséd, without compelling of any man. In the mean time, *Cato* with all the Senators went out of VTICA to meete with these horsemen, & there he spake to the Captains, & praid them that they would not forsake so many noblemen & Senators of ROME as were there: & that they would not haue king *Iuba* for their captaine before *Cato*, but to come into VTICA: where they might saue thē selues the city was of such strength, and besides, so well armed and victualed for many yeares. The like request did the Senators also make vnto them, with the teares running downe their cheekes. Thereupon the Captaines went & spake with their souldiers. *Cato* in the meane time sate him downe on a litle hill, with the Senators, tarying for aunswere. But then on the sodaine came *Rubrius* vnto him in great hast, complaining of the tumult of these three hundred marchants, which went about to make the city to rebell: whereupon, the rest their harts failing them, fell to bewaile their miserable fortune. But *Cato* sought to comfort them, and then sent vnto the three hundred marchauntes, to pray them to haue a litle patience. So the Captaines returned againe with vnreasonable demaundes of the horsemen. For they sayed, that they cared not for

The equity of Cato.

Cato forsaken of three hundred Romains marchants at Vtica.

Cato spiey and regard vnto the Senators.

king *Iubaes* pay, neither were they afrayed of *Cæsars* malice, so that they had *Cato* for their generall: yet to be pend vp within the wals of a city with AFRICANES, that were PHOENICIANS, and a traiterous nation as could be: that grieued them most of all. For, sayed they, though now they sturre not, and be quiet: yet when *Cæsar* comes, they will be the first that will betray vs, and cut our throates. And therefore, if *Cato* would haue them to ioyne with him in this warre: that he should either kill or driue away all the VTICANS out of the city, and then they would come into it, when it was cleare of all those barbarous people their enemies. *Cato* thought this a cruell and barbarous condition, neuertheless he told them that he would talke with the three hundred: and so returning againe into VTICA, he spake vnto them. But they then not regarding the reuerence vnto *Cato*, dissembling no longer, said openly, that they would not like of him whatsoeuer he were, that should compell them o make war with *Cæsar*, both because they would not, nor could not doe it. Further, there were some of them that mumbled to themselues, that the Senators should be kept there, till *Cæsar* came. *Cato* ouerheard them, for in deede his hearing was not very quicke. At that very instant one came to him, and told him, that the horsemen were going their way. *Cato* therefore fearing least these three hundred marchants would lay hands vpon the Senators: he went vnto them him selfe with his friends, and perceiuing they were gone a great way off, he tooke his horse and rode after them. They reioycing to see him come, receiued him among them, and prayed him to saue himselfe with them. But *Cato* prayed them againe to saue the Senators, and that with such affection, as it forced teares in him, besides, he held vp his hands vnto them, tooke their horses by the bridles, and them selues by their weapons, that at length hee obtained of them, that they would remaine there one day at the least, to helpe the Senatours to saue them selues. So *Cato* returning with them into the city, he appointed some of them to ward at the gates, and put others also in garison into the castell: so that the three hundred marchants quaked for fear, least he would haue bene reuenged of them, because of their returne with him. Thereuppon they sent vnto *Cato*, humbly to pray him to come vnto them in any case. But the Senatours flocking about him, would not suffer him to goe, & said, that they would not cast away their sauior and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doubtles, al that were within VTICA, plainly saw the vertue and simplicity of *Cato*, and found that there was no fraud nor deceite in him: who hauing long time resolued to kill himselfe, he only tooke that extreame pains and care for others that their liues being saued, he might then rid himself of his own. For men might easily see, though he dissembled it, that he was resolued to die. Whereupon, hauing comforted the Senators, he yeelded vnto the requests of the three hundred marchants, & went him selfe alone vnto them. Then they thanked him much for his comming, and praied him to command them, & boldly to trust them: so that he would pardon them if they could not be all *Catoes*, and would take pity of their faint harts, though they were not so constant & noble minded as he. For they were determined to send vnto *Cæsar*, specially to intreat him for him: and if that they could not obtaine pardon for him, then they were assured they could haue none for them selues, and therefore would fight for the safety of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. *Cato* thanking them for their good wils, aunswered: that they should send quickely to craue pardon for them selues, but to aske none for him. For sayd he, men that be ouercome, and haue offended, it standeth them vpon to make humble sute, and to craue pardon: but for him selfe, he was neuer ouercome in his life, and yet had ouercome as much as he desired, and had alwayes beene better then *Cæsar* in iustice, who only (not him selfe) was now taken and ouercome: the thing being apparantly proued in sight against him, which he had alwaies denied to haue practised against his country. When he had made this answere vnto the three hundred marchants, he departed from them. Newes being brought that *Cæsar* was in his way with all his army, comming towards VTICA: O goddes, sayd he, then he commeth against vs, as against men. Then turning vnto the Senatours, he gaue them counsell quickely to saue them selues, whilest the horsemen were yet in the city. So shutting all the gates of the city, sauing that towardes the hauen: he appointed shippes for them all, and set euery thing at a stay, without tumult or disorder, no man hauing iniury offered him, and gaue euery one money to make way for their safety. When *Marcus Octauius*) who came with two legions, & camped hard by VTICA, sent vnto *Cato* to

Cato an earnest suter for the Senators.

The sincerity of Cato.

Catos minde vnconquerable

determine

determine which of them two should be Generall: he made no answere, but turning to his friends said: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wracke with vs, sith there is such ambition amongst vs for the gouernment, euen now, when we are at the last cast? In the mean time word was brought him, how the horsmen going their way were spoiling of the citizens goods, as a lawfull prey in warre. He straight ran thither him selfe, and the first he met withall, he tooke from them that they had gotten. The rest, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, and hanging downe their heads for shame, they went their way, and said nothing. Then *Cato* calling all the citizens of VTICA together, praied them not to incense nor moue *Cæsar* against the three hundred, but rather to craue of him pardon for the all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there imbracing his friends, & taking his leaue of them all, he brought them to their ships. Now for his sonne, he did not counsell him to goe, neither did he thinke it meete to vrge him to forsake his father. Furthermore, there was one *Statilius* a young man in his company, of a noble corage, that was determined to follow the inuincible constancy of *Cato*: who counselled him to take the sea, and to saile away with the rest, because he knew he was *Cæsars* mortall enemy. *Statilius* said he would not go. Then *Cato* turning him vnto *Apollonides* a Stoick Philosopher, & vnto *Demetrius* a Peripatetick Philosopher, said: you must take this stout young man, to perswade him to obey vnto necessity. *Cato* him selfe in the meane time sent away the rest, and did minister iustice vnto them that required it: spending all that night, and the next day, about those matters. Then *Lucius Cæsar*, the kinsman of *Iulius Cæsar* the conqueror, being chosen by the three hundred, to go and make sute vnto him for them all, came and praied *Cato* to helpe him to make his oration, which he should say vnto *Cæsar* for them all: and as for thee, *Cato*, said he, I will kisse his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreat him for thee. Nay said *Cato*, thou shalt not do so. For if I would saue my life by *Cæsars* grace, I could do it, if I would but go vnto him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyrant for iniustice. For it is an iniustice in him to take vpon him, as a Lord & soueraign to saue a mans life, when him selfe hath no authority to command. But yet let vs consider if thou wilt, what thou shalt say, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together considering the matter, and in fine, *Lucius Cæsar* being ready to depart, *Cato* recommended his sonne and friends vnto him, and imbracing him, tooke his leaue of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his sonne and friends before him, and talking of many matters: among others he charged his sonne in no case to meddle in the affairs of the common wealth. For sayd he, to deale vprightly like *Catoes* sonne, the corruption of the time and state will not abide it: and contrarily, obseruing the time, thou canst not do like an honest man. Towards euening he went into his bath to wash him selfe, and as he was a bathing, thinking vpon *Statilius*, he cried out aloud: well *Apollonides*, thou hast at length yet perswaded *Statilius*, to goe his way and pulled downe his stout courage he had: and is he gone without bidding vs farewell? How, gone said *Apollonides*? Nay, his heart is now more stout and coragious then euer it was, notwithstanding all the perswasions we could vse vnto him: for he is determined to tary, & to take such part as thou doest. After he had bathed him selfe, he went to supper, and sate at his meate, as he had alwaies vsed after the battell of Pharsalia, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed. So he had all his frends, & the chiefe Magistrats of VTICA to supper with him. After supper, they fell into graue talke and matters of Philosophy: till at length they came vnto the straunge opinion of the Stoicke Philosophers, which was this: that onely the good man is free, and all the euill be slaues. The Peripateticke Philosopher that was present there, was straight against it. But *Cato* was very earnest against the Peripateticke, and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement speach and contention: insomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to end his life, and to rid him him selfe out of all those troubles. But then when he had end: d his argument, and saw that euery man held his peace, and looked sadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the suspition of his death out of their heades: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and seemed to be carefull of them, as though he hadde bene afrayed least some misfortune were come vnto them vppon the sea, or vnto them that were gone by land, because they passed through deserts, where there was no water to be had. Now when supper was done, and the straungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his

Cato reprouith the ambition of men.

Statilius, a follower of Cato.

Cato would not haue pardon begged of Cæsar for him.

Cato forbad his sonne to meddle with matters of State in a corrupt time.

The Paradoxes of the Stoicks.

friendes,and hauing taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of seruice,as the time required:going into his chamber he embraced his son and his frends more louingly then he was wont to do,whereby he made them againe suspect the execution of his determination.

Platoes dialogues of the soule.

When he was come into his chamber and laied in his bed,he tooke *Platoes* dialogues in hand treating of the soule, and red the most part of it. Then looking by his beds side,and missing his sword(which his son had taken from him when he was at supper)he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him,and asked him who had taken his sword away: his man made him no answer,and he fell again to read his booke. Then a prety while after,not seeming to be importunate,or ouerhasty of the matter,but as though he would only know what became of it: hee willed them to bring him his sword againe. They taried long,& he had red ouer al the booke, but yet his sword was not brought him againe. Whereupon he called for all his men one after an other,and very angrily asked them his sword, and gaue one of them such a blow in the face,that his nose fell a bleeding,and his hand was all bloudy withall, and cried out that his son and his seruants would deliuer him naked into the hands of his enemy: vntil his son and frends at length ranne vnto him,and falling downe on their knees, lamented,and besought him to be contented. *Cato* then rising out of his bed, looked grimly vppon them, and saied vnto them: O gods,who euer saw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reason perswade me,if they see me out of the way:and not to keep me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doest not thou bind thy father (my sonne) his hands behinde him, that when *Cæsar* commeth,he may find me in case not to defend my selfe? I do not desire my sword to hurt my selfe, for if I had any such minde, I neede but hold my breath a litle,or giue but a knocke of my head against the wall onely,and dispatch my selfe quickly. When he had sayd thus, his sonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his friendes also, no man remaining with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, vnto whom he spake more gently, and reasoned in this sort. What, do you thinke to keepe an old man as I am, aliue by force? And haue you taried behind but to sit staring vpon me, & say nothing vnto me? If otherwise els,by reason you come to perswade me,that it shall be no shame for *Cato*, dispairing of the safety of his life, to seeke it by the grace and mercy of his enemy: why then doe you not now tell me your reasons to perswade me,that forsaking all other fancies and determinations which hitherunto we haue holden for good, being on a sodaine become wiser by *Cæsars* meanes, wee should be bound the more therefore to giue him thanks? I do not tell you this that I haue determined any thing of my life,but that it is in my power(if I list)to put the thing in execution I haue determined: but yet I will consult with you,when I am so determined,to heare the reasons & opinion of your books,which your selues do vse in discourse and argument together. Go your way therfore hardily vnto my son,and tell him,that he must not thinke to cõpell his father vnto that,which he cannot proue good vnto him by reason. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted,weeping,departed out of his chamber. Then his sworde was brought him by a litle boy. When he had it, he drew it out,& looked whether the point and edge of his sword was sharp and would cut: when he saw it was well,O,said he,now I am where I would be,and so laying down the sword naked by him,he tooke his booke againe in his hand,and red it ouer(as they say)twise together. Then hee slept so soundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him snort againe. About midnight,he called for two of his freemen, *Cleanthes* his Phisitian, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in his waightest affaires of the common wealth. So hee sent him vnto the hauen to see, if all his men that were imbarked were vnder saile:and gaue his hand to the Phisitian to be bound vp,because it was swollen with the blowe he gaue one of his slaues when he hit him on the face. All his seruants were glad to hear of that, hoping then that he desired to liue. Soone after came *Butas* backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but *Crassus*, who stayed about some busines he had,and yet that he was going to take shippe: howbeit that the sea was very roughe, and wind exceeding great. *Cato* hearing this,sighed,being sory for them that were vpon the sea: and sent *Butas* backe againe to the hauen, to see if any man came backe for any matter they had to say vnto him. The litle birdes began to chirpe,and *Cato* fell againe in a litle slumber. But thereupon *Butas* returned,and brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen,& there was no stur. Then

Catoes last words vnto the Philosophers his friends.

Cato considered his sword wherewith he killed himselfe.

Cato

Cato, bad him goe his way, and shut to the dore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had ment to haue slept out all the rest of the night. *But as* backe was no sooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked sword in his hand, thrust it into his breast: howbeit the swelling of his hand made the blow so weake, that it killed him not presently, but drawing on to his latter ende, he fell downe vpon his bedde, and made such a noyse with his fall (ouerthrowing a litle table of geometrie hard by his bedde, that his seruantes hearing the noise, gaue a great shreeke for feare. Thereupon his sonne and his friendes ranne into the chamber, and founde him all of a gore blood, and the most part of his bowels comming out of his bodie, himselfe being yet aliue and seing them. They were all striken with such sorrow to behold it, that at the first they were so amased, as they could not tell what to say to it. His Phisitiã comming to him, he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not perished, and to sow vp his woũd. But *Cato* comming to himselfe, thrust backe the Phisitian, and tore his bowels with his owne hands, and made his wound very great, and immediately gaue vp the ghost. Whereupon the three hundred ROMAINS (in lesse time then a man would haue thought *Catoes* own houshold seruantes could haue knowen of his death) were at his dores, and immediatly after, all the people of VTICA also came thither, and with one voice called *Cato* their benefactor and sauior, and sayed he onely was a free man, and had an inuincible mind: and this was done, when they hard say that *Cæsar* was not farre from VTICA. Furthermore, neither feare of the present danger, nor the desire to flatter the Conqueror, neither any priuate quarrell amongst them selues, could keepe them from honoring *Catoes* funerals. For, sumptuously setting out his bodie, and honorably accompanying his funerals as might be, they buried him by the sea side, where at this present time is to be seene his image, holding a sworde in his hande. After that they made their best way to saue themselues and their citie. Nowe *Cæsar* being aduertised by them that came vnto him, how *Cato* flurred not from VTICA, nor fled not, but sent all others away, sauing himselfe and his sonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being affraid of nothing: he could not deuise what he ment by it. Therefore esteeming *Cato* much, he made haste with all the speede he could with his armie, to come thither. But when he vnderstoode that *Cato* had slaine himselfe, writers doe report he saide thus: O *Cato*, I enuie thy death, sith thou hast enuied mine honour to saue thy life. For indeede, had *Cato* beene contented *Cæsar* should haue saued his life, he had not so much impaired his owne honor, as he had augmented *Cæsars* glorie. And yet what *Cæsar* would haue done, men make it doubtfull, sauing that they coniecture well of *Cæsars* clemency. *Cato* died when he was but eight and forty yeare old. For his sonne, *Cæsar* neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him, that he was very idlely giuen, and lasciuious besides. For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in a noble mans house of the kings bloud, called *Maphradates*, who had a faire woman to his wife: he taried longer there then he might well with honestie, whereuppon he fell to be a laughing stocke to the people, and in mockery they sayd, *Cato* will goe to morrow, a thirty dayes hence. And further, that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* are two good friends, but they haue but one minde. And the reason was because *Maphradates* wife was called *Psyche*, which in the Greeke signifieth, minde: and *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death did stoppe this infamous speech. For he valiantly fighting against *Augustus*, and *Antonius*, at the battell of *Philippes*, for the liberty of his country: their army being ouerthrowen and fled, he would neither flie nor hide him selfe, but running in amongest his enemies, he made them know what hee was, by incoraging those of his side, which yet did defend them selues, till he was slaine in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, *Porcia*, the Daughter of *Cato*, gaue no place vnto her father, neither for chastity, nor greatnes of mind. For she being maried vnto *Brutus*, who slue *Cæsar*, was of the conspiracie, and slue her selfe as couragiously as became the vertue and nobility of her bloud from whence shee came, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Brutus*. *Statilius* also, who had sayd he would runne *Catoes* fortune (as we haue told you before) was kept from killing of him selfe by the Philosophers, *Demetrius*, and *Apollonides*. But after that time hauing shewed him selfe very faithfull and seruiceable vnto *Brutus* in all his affaires, he was slaine in the field also at the battell of *Philippes*.

The death of Cato.

Catoes funerals

Cæsars saying vnto Cato the dead.

The sonne of Cato what conditions he had.

Psyche, signifieth minde.

The death of Porcia, the daughter of Cato the younger, and wife of Brutus.

The death of Statilius.

The end of Catoes life.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

The fable of Ixion against ambitious persons.

TRuely the fable of *Ixion* was not il deuiſed againſt ambitious perſons who imbracing a cloud for the goddeſſe *Iuno*, begot (as it is ſaid) the CENTAVRI. For euen ſo ambitious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, doe neuer any act that is good nor perfect: but being caried away with diuers fancies, and following others humors with deſire to pleaſe the people, they may as the herdmen in the tragedie of *Sophocles* (ſpeaking of their cattell) ſay:

VVe waite vpon their beaſtes, though we their maſters be,
And whereſoeuer they become, there alſo follow we.

Such in deede are they compared to, that gouerne common weales, after peoples luſt and fancie: who doubtleſſe are as their ſeruants obedient at call, becauſe they onely may enioy the glorious title and name of an Officer. For like as in a ſhippe the Mariners that ſtande in the prowe, doe better ſee before them, then the Pilots that ſteere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwaies backe vnto them to ſee what they commaunde: euen ſo, they that gouerne in the cõmon wealth for honors ſake, are no better then honorable ſlaues of the people, hauing no more but the bare name of a gouernour. But in deede, the perfect good and honeſt man ſhould neuer couet outwarde glory, but as a meane to bring him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credite of his doings. And for a young man that coueteth honor by vertue, giue him leaue a litle to glory in his well doing: for as *Theophraſtus* ſayeth, vertue buddeth and floriſheth in youth, and taketh faſt roote by praiſes giuen, as wit & corage groweth in them. But ouermuch praiſe is dangerous in euery perſon, but chiefly in ambitious gouernors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many deſperate parts: for they will not allow that honor proceedes of vertue, but that honor is vertue it ſelfe. But in deed they ſhould ſay as *Phocion* did vnto *Antipater*, that requeſted an vnlawful matter of him: Thou canſt not, ſaied he, haue *Phocion* a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be ſayd vnto the people: you can not both haue one, a Maiſter and a ſeruaunt, that can commaund and obey together. Or els the miſchiefe ſpoken of in the tale of the Dragon muſt needes happen, which was: the taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, ſaying, it would another while go before, & would not alwaies come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out verie ill for it, not knowing how to guide the head, and beſides that the head thereby was tormented euery way, being compelled againſt nature to follow that part and member, which could neither heare, nor ſee how to guid it. The like matter haue we ſeene happen vnto many, which in the adminiſtration of the common wealth, did ſeeke to pleaſe the humors of the multitude. For when they haue once put their heads vnder their girdles to pleaſe the common people, which without cauſe and reaſon doe ſoone rebell: they can by no poſſible meanes

Theophraſtus for the praiſe of vertue. Immoderate praiſe very dangerous.

Phocions ſaying.

The fable of the Dragons head and taile.

afterwards

afterwards bridle their furie & insolency. Now the reason that made vs to enter into discourse against the ambition and vaine glorie amongst the people: was the consideration I had of their great power, remembring the misfortunes of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*: both of the which comming of a noble house, and hauing bene maruellous wel brought vp, & managing also the affaires of the common wealth with a good desire, were notwithstanding in the ende cast away: not so much through couetousnes of glory, as for feare of dishonor, which came also of no base mind. For they hauing receiued great pleasures and friendships of the people, were ashamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earnestly sought to exceede the people in good will, by new decrees and deuises, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their partes contended to honor them the more, by how much they striued to shewe themselues thankefull. So with like strife on either side, they to gratifie the common people, and the people also to honor them, were so vnwares entangled with publike causes, that they could no more follow the common prouerbe, which sayeth: *Plutarch excuseth the Gracchi.*

Although our deedes dissent from equitie
Yet can we not desist with honestie

This thou shalt easily finde by the declaration of the historie. With these we doe compare two other popular men, both kings of LACEDÆMON, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they as the *Gracchi*, seeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the iust and honest gouernment again of the common wealth of LACEDÆMON, which of long time had bene out of vse: did in like manner purchase the hate of the nobilitie, which were loth to lose any part of their wonted couetousnes. In deed these two LACONIANS were no brethrē borne but yet did both follow one selfe course & forme of gouernment, which had beginning in this sort. After that couetousnes of gold and siluer crept againe into the citie of SPARTA, and with riches, couetousnes also and miserie, and by vse, voluptuousnes and licentious life: SPARTA then was voide of all honor and goodnes, and was long time drowned in shame & dishonor, vntill king *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to raigne there. *Agis* was of the house of the *Eurytiontides*, the sonne of *Eudamedas*, the sixt of lineall descent after *Agesilaus*, who had bene the greatest Prince of all GREECE in his time. This *Agesilaus* had a sonne slain in ITALY by the MESSAPIANS, called *Archidamus*, before the citie of MANDONIVM. *Archidamus* had issue two sonnes, *Agis* & *Eudamidas* that was king, who succeeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* slew before the city of MEGALOPOLIS, & left no childrē behind him. *Eudamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Eudamidas*: which *Eudamidas* also begat *Agis*, whose life we now write of. *Leonidas* also, the sonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other familie of the *Agiades*, the right of succession after *Pausanias*, who slew *Mardonius*, the kings Lieutenant general of PERSIA, in a battell fought before the citie of PLATEES. This *Pausanias* had a sonne called *Plistonax*, and *Plistonax* also an other, called *Pausanias*: who flying from SPARTA vnto the citie of TIGEA, his eldest son *Agesipolis* was made king in his fathers roome, who dying without issue, his yonger brother *Cleombrotus* succeeded him in the kingdom. *Cleombrotus* had two sons, *Agesipolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which, *Agesipolis* raigned not long king, and died without issue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother, who was king after him, had two sonnes, *Acrotatus* the elder, that died in his fathers life time: and *Cleonymus* the yonger which suruiued him, & was not king, but one *Areus* his Nephew, the sonne of *Acrotatus*. This *Areus* died before the city of CORINTH: who hauing an other *Acrotatus* to his sonne, he succeeded him in the kingdom. He also died at a battell before the city of MEGALIPOLIS, and was slaine there by the tyrant *Aristodemus*, leauing his wife great with childe. Shee being brought to bedde after his death of a sonne, whom *Leonidas* the sonne of *Cleonymus* taught and brought vp: the childe dying verie young, the crowne by his death was cast vpon *Leonidas* himselfe. Howbeit his maners & conditions neuer liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the cōmon wealth, and cleane out of order: yet *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming most the auncient LACONIAN life: because he had bene long time brought vp in Princes houses, & followed also *Seleucus* Court, from whence hee had brought all the pride and pompe of those Courts into GREECE, where law and reason ruleth. *Agis* on the contrary part did not only far excell *Leonidas*, in honor and magnanimity of mind: but all other almost also which had raig-

The lynage of Agis.

The lynage of Leonidas.

Aristodemus, tyrant of Megalipolis.

Leonidas brought superfluity and excesse into Sparta.

The continency of Agis.

ned in SPARTA from the time of *Ageſilaus* the great. So that when *Agis* was not yet twentie yeare old, and being daintily brought vp with the finenes of two women, his mother *Agiſtrata*, and *Archidamia* his grandmother, which had more gold and ſiluer, then all the LACEDÆMONIANS elſe, he began to ſpurn againſt theſe womaniſh delights & pleaſures, in making him ſelfe fayer to be the better beliked, and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to caſt vpon him a plaine Spaniſh cape, taking pleaſure in the diet, bathes, and manner of the ancient LACONIAN life: and openly boaſted beſides, that he would not deſire to be king, but onely for the hope he had to reſtore the ancient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the ſtate of LACEDÆMON firſt to be corrupted, and to leaue her ancient diſcipline, when the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing ſubdued the empire of the ATHENIANS, ſtored themſelues & coūtrie both, with plenty of gold & ſiluer. But yet reſeruing ſtill the lands left vnto them by ſucceſſion from their fathers, according vnto *Lycurgus* firſt ordinance and inſtitution, for diuiſion of lands amongſt them: which ordinance, and equalitie being inuiolably kept amongſt them, did yet preſerue the common wealth from defamation of diuerſe other notorious crimes: vntill the time of the authoritie of *Epitadeus*, one of the Ephores, a ſeditious man, and of proud conditions: who bitterly falling out with his owne ſon, preferred a law, that euery man might lawfully giue his lands and goods whileſt he liued, or after his death by teſtament, vnto any man whom he liked or thought well of. Thus this mā made this law to ſatiſfie his anger, & others alſo did confirme it for couetouſneſſe ſake, and ſo ouerthrew a noble ordinance. For the rich men then began to buy lands of numbers, and ſo transferred it from the right & lawfull heires: whereby a few men in ſhort time being made very rich, immediatly after there fell out great pouertie in the citie of SPARTA, which made all honeſt ſciences to ceaſe, & brought in thereupon vnlawfull occupations, who enuyed them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not aboue ſeuen hundred naturall citizens of SPARTA in all, & of them, not aboue a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the reſt were poore people in the citie, and were of no countenance nor calling, & beſides that, went vnwillingly to the warres againſt their enemies, looking euery day for ſturre and change in the citie. *Agis* therefore thinking it a notable good act (as in deede it was) to repleniſh the citie of SPARTA againe, and to bring in the old equalitie, he moued the matter vnto the citizens. He found the youth (againſt all hope) to giue good eare vnto him, and very well giuen vnto vertue, eaſily changing their garments & life, to recouer their libertie againe. But the oldeſt men, which were now euen rotten with couetouſneſſe and corruption, they were affraide to returne againe to the ſtraight ordinances of *Lycurgus*, as a ſlaue and runnagate from his Maſter, that trembleth when he is brought back againe vnto him. Therfore they reproued *Agis*, when he did lament before them their preſent miſerable eſtate, and wiſh alſo for the former auncient honour and true dignitie of SPARTA. Howbeit *Lyſander* the ſonne of *Lybis*, and *Mandroclidas* the ſonne of *Ecphanes*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, greatly commended his noble deſire, and perſwaded him to goe forward withall. This *Lyſander* was of great authority and eſtimation amongeſt them in the city, *Mandroclidas* was alſo very wiſe, and carefull about any matter of counſell, and with his wiſdome and policy, very valiant: *Ageſilaus* in like manner, the kings Vncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couetous, and yet prickt forward to giue his furtheraunce to this attempt as it appeared, by his ſonne *Hippomedon*, who was a noble good ſouldier, and could doe very much, by meanes of the loue and good will the young men did beare him. But in deede, the ſecrete cauſe that brought *Ageſilaus* to conſent vnto this practiſe, was the greatneſſe of his debt which he ought, of the which he hoped to be diſcharged by chaunging of the ſtate and common wealth. Now when *Agis* had wonne him, he ſought by his meanes to draw his mother alſo vnto the matter, which was *Ageſilaus* ſiſter. Shee could doe very much by the number of her friendes, followers, and debters in the city, by whoſe meanes ſhee ruled the moſt part of the affaires of the city after her owne pleaſure. But the young man *Hippomedon* making her priuie vnto it, at the firſt ſhe was amazed withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wiſe, and not meddle in matters vnpoſſible & vnprofitable. But when *Ageſilaus* had told her what a notable act it would be, and how eaſily it might be brought to paſſe, with maruellous great profit: and that king *Agis* beganne alſo to ſtraine her with great intreaty, that ſhe ſhould willingly depart with

The beginning of the Lacedæmonians fall, from their ancient diſcipline

Lycurgus diuiſion of lands, broken by Epitadeus law.

Epitadeus law for deuiſe of lands by will.

Agis goeth about to reduce the common wealth to her ancient eſtate.

with her goods to win her ſonne honor and glorie: who though he could not in money and riches come to be like vnto other kings (becauſe the ſlaues and factors onely of the kings *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, had more money then all the kings of SPARTA had together that euer raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftines, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe vnto equalitie: that then indeede he ſhould be counted a noble king. Theſe women being ſtirred vp with ambition by theſe perſwaſions of the young man, ſeing him ſo nobly bent, as if by the gods their mindes had ſecretly bene inflamed with the loue of vertue: did preſently alter their mindes in ſuch ſort, that they themſelues did pricke forward *Agis*, and ſent for their friends to pray and intreate them to fauor his enterpriſe: and furthermore they brought on other women alſo, knowing that the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer heare and beleue their wiues, ſuffering them to vnderſtand more of the affayres of the ſtate, then they themſelues did of their priuate eſtate at home. Herein is to be conſidered, that the moſt part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the hands of the women, and therefore they were againſt it, not only becauſe thereby they were cut off from their fineſſe and exceſſe, in the which being ignorant of the true good indeede, they put all their felicitie: but alſo becauſe they ſawe their honour and authoritie which they had by their riches, cleane troden vnder foote. Therefore they comming to *Leonidas*, they did perſwade him to reproue *Agis*, becauſe he was elder man than he, and to let that this enterpriſe went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in fauour of the rich, but fearing the common people, who deſired nothing but alteration, he durſt not openly ſpeake againſt him, but ſecretly he did the beſt he could to hinder *Agis* practiſe, talking with the Magiſtrates of the citie, and accuſing *Agis* vnto them, he told them how he did offer the rich mens goods vnto the poore, the diuiſion of their landes, and the aboliſhing of all debts, for reward to put the tyrannie into his handes, and that thereby he got him a ſtrong guard vnto himſelfe, but not many citizens vnto SPARTA. This notwithſtanding, king *Agis* hauing procured *Lyſander* to be choſen one of the Ephores, he preſently perferred his lawe vnto the councell. The articles whereof were theſe: That ſuch as were in debt, ſhould be cleered of all their debts, and that the landes alſo ſhould be diuided into equall partes: ſo that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taygetus, and vnto the cities of MALEA and SELASIA, there ſhould be foure thouſand fiue hundred partes, and without thoſe boundes, there ſhould be in all the reſt, fifteene thouſand partes, the which ſhould be diſtributed vnto their neighbours meete to carie weapon: and the reſt vnto the naturall SPARTANS. The number of them ſhould be repleniſhed with their neigbors and ſtrangers in like manner, which ſhould be very well brought vp, and be able men beſides to ſerue the common wealth: all the which afterwardes ſhould be deuided into fifteene companies, of the which, ſome ſhould receiue two hundred, & others foure hundred men, & ſhould liue according to the old auncient inſtitution obſerued by their auncestors. This lawe being preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grew to diuerſe opinions vppon it. Whereupon *Lyſander* him ſelfe aſſembled the great councell of all the people, and there ſpake vnto them him ſelfe, and *Mandroclidas*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, praying them not to ſuffer the honor of SPARTA to be troden vnder foote, for the vanitie of a few: but that they would remember the auncient oracles of the goddes, warning them to beware of auatice, as of the plague and deſtruction of the common wealth: and of the late oracle alſo brought vnto them, from the temple of *Paſiphaé*. The temple and oracle of *Paſiphaé*, was famous at the city of THALAMES: and ſome ſay, that *Paſiphaé* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with child by *Iupiter*, and was deliuered of a ſon called *Hammon*. Other think that it was *Caſſandra*, one of king *Priamus* Daughters that died there, which was ſurnamed *Paſiphaé*, becauſe ſhe gaue all the anſwers and oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Daphné* the Daughter of *Amycla*, flying from *Apollo* that would haue rauiſhed her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by *Apollo* with the gift of propecy. So, they ſaid that this oracle of the god commaunded them, that the SPARTANS ſhould againe returne vnto their former auncient equality, ſtabliſhed firſt by *Lycurgus* law. When euery man els had ſpoken, king *Agis* riſing vp, briefly ſpeaking vnto the people, ſayed: that he would beſtow great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which hee was deſirous to reſtore againe. For firſt of all, he would make common

How louing the Lacedæmonians were vnto their wiues.

Agis law.

Paſiphaé, the Daughter of Atlas.

Agis maketh his goods cõmõ.

all his arable and pasture he had, and besides that, he would ad to sixe hundreth talents in ready money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinsmen and friends, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in SPARTA. When the people heard what he sayd, they maruelled much at the noble minde of this young king, and were very glad of it, saying: that for three hundreth yeres space together, the city of SPARTA had not so worthy a king as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily assayed with all his power he could to resist him, thinking with himselfe, that if king *Agis* purpose tooke place, he should also be compelled to doe as he did, and yet he should haue no thankes, but king *Agis:* because that all the SPARTANS indifferently should be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor should be his onely that first began it. So he asked *Agis*, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had bene a good and iust man or not. *Agis* answered, that he had bene. Then replyed *Leonidas*, did you euer see that he had taken away and abolished any debts, or had receiued strangers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily thought his common wealth vnperfect, if all strangers were not banished the citie. *Agis* againe aunswered him: that he maruelled not that *Leonidas* being brought vp in a strange coũtrie, and also maried there in a noblemans house, he should be ignorant of *Lycurgus* lawes, who banishing gold and siluer out of his citie, did therewithall exile debt and lending. And for straungers he hated them that would not conforme themselues vnto the maners and fashions of life which he instituted, and those they were which he banished: not for any ill will he bare vnto their persons, but because he feared their manners of life, least that mingling them with the citizens, they should make them runne after vanitie and courtousnes to be rich. For otherwise, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all strangers, were maruellously reuerenced and honored in SPARTA in olde time, because they did sing in their writings, the selfe same things which *Lycurgus* had established in his lawes. And thou thy selfe also doest commend *Ecprepes*, being one of the Ephores, because he did cut with a hatchet the two strings which *Phrynis* the Musitian had added vnto the Citherne, more then the seuen common strings, and those also which did the like vnto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reproues me, because I go about to roote out all excesse and pride out of SPARTA, as though those men did not farre off, preuent that these superfluous strings of the musicke, delighting the citizens mindes too much with their songs, should not cause them fall vnto such trade and maner of life, as should make the citie at discorde with it selfe. After this contention, the common people did sticke vnto king *Agis*, and the rich men followed *Lemias*, praying and perswading him not to forsake them: and further, they did so intreate the Senators, in whom consisteth the chiefe authoritie, to determine and disgest all matters before they be propounded vnto the people, that they ouerthrew the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore *Lysander*, who was yet in office, attempted to accuse *Leonidas* by an auncient law, forbidding that none of the race of *Hercules* should marry with any strange woman, nor beget children of her: and sayed further, that no man vppon paine of death should dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When hee had instructed others to obiect these things against *Leonidas*, he with other of his colleagues obserued a signe in the element, the ceremony whereof was in this sorte: Euery nineth yeare, the Ephori choosing a bright night without moone-light, did sit downe in some open place, and behelde the starres in the element, to see if they saw any starre shoote from one place to an other: if they did, then they accused their kings that they had offended the goddes, and did depriue them of their kingdome, vntill some oracle came from DELPHOS or *Olympus*, or restore them againe. *Lysander* then declaring that he had seene a starre flie in the element, did therefore accuse king *Leonidas* and brought forth witnesses against him: how he had maried a woman of ASIA, the which one of king *Seleucus* Lieutenants had giuen him in martage, and that he had two children by her: and afterwardes being forsaken of his wife that refused him, he returned againe into his country against his will, & so had possessed the kingdom for lack of a lawful heir. So following his accusation in this manner against him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his son in law, being also of the kings bloud, to make title to the crowne. *Leonidas* being afraied of the successe hereof, tooke sanctuary in the temple of *Iuno*, surnamed *Chalceecos*, & his daughter with him, who forsooke her husband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appeare in person, & making default, they deposed him, and made *Cleombrotus*

Leonidas resisteth king Agis

King Leonidas accused by Lysander.

Leonidas deprived of his kingdome.

Cleombrotus king. In the meantime *Lysanders* office expired, & the new Ephori which succeded him, did deliuer *Leonidas* again, and accused *Lysander* & *Mandroclidas*, because against the law, they had abolished all debts, & had againe made new diuision of lands. When they sawe they were openly accused, they incensed both the kings, that ioyning together, they should make the Ephores ordinances of no effect: declaring that their authoritie was onely erected for the discord of the two kings, because they should giue their voices vnto that king that had the best iudgment & reason, whē the other would wilfully withstand both right & reason: & therfore, they two agreing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controlment of any person: & that to resist the kings, was a breaking of the law, sith that by right the Ephori had no other priuiledge & authority, but to be iudges & arbitrators betwene thē, whē there was any cause of iarre or controuersie. Both the kings being caried away by this persuasion, went into the market place accōpanied with their frends, plucked the Ephores from their seats, & put others in their roomes, of the which *Agesilaus* was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of yong men, & opening the prisons, did set the prisoners at liberty: the which made their aduersaries afraid of thē doubting some great murther would haue followed vpon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For *Agesilaus* being bent to kill *Leonidas*, who fled to the city of TEGEA, & hauing also layd men in wait for him by the way: king *Agis* hearing of it, sent thither other friends of his in whō he put great confidence & they did accōpany *Leonidas*, & brought him safely vnto the city of TEGEA. Thus their purpose taking effect, & no man cōtraying thē: one man only *Agesilaus* ouerthrew all, & dashed a noble LACONIAN law by a shamefull vice, which was couetousnes. For he being a great landed man, & hauing the best lands of any man in the coūtry, & owing a great summe of mony besides: would neither pay his debts nor let go his land. Wherfore he persuaded king *Agis*, that if he went about to stablish both together, he should raise a great vprore in the city, and withall, if he did first win them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting off of dets only: then that they would easily & willingly also accept the law of partitiō of lands: *Lysander* was also of this opiniō: wherby king *Agis* and he both were deceiued by *Agesilaus* subtilty. So they cōmanded al the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bils of det (which the LACEDÆMONIANS do call Clania) into the market place, & there laying them on a heape together, they did set fire on them. Whē the vsurers & creditors saw their writings obligatory a fire, they departed thence with heauie harts: But *Agesilaus* mocking thē said he neuer saw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands also should be presently deuided, & the kings likewise cōmanding it; *Agesilaus* still interposing some cause of let, delayed time, vntill oportunity serued, that king *Agis* should go to the warres, for that the ACHAIANS their confederats had praied aid of LACEDÆMON, being bound therunto by the league confirmed betwene them, because they looked daily that the ÆTOLIANS cōming through the coūtry of MEGARA, would inuade PELOPONNESVS. *Aratus* general of the ACHAIANS had leuied a great army to withstād their inuasion, & had also written vnto the Ephores, that they should send thē aide. Whereupon they presently sent king *Agis*, perceiuing also the readines and good wil of the soldiers which were appointed to go with him: for the most of them were yong men & needy, who seing thēselues discharged of the feare of their dets, & hoping also at their return, that the lāds likewise should be deuided among thē: they went with glad harts, and were obedient to king *Agis*. So that the cities where through they passed, wondred how they came through PELOPONNESVS, from the one side to the other, very quietly, without noyse or offence to any man. Likewise many GRECIANS calling to mind the ancient times, told one another, that it was a noble sight thē to see the army of LACEDÆMON, whē they were led by *Agesilaus*, *Lysāder*, & *Leonidas*, famous captains: sith now they saw so great obedience vnto *Agis* by his souldiers, who was in manner the yōgest man of al his camp: who also glorying to be contēt with litle, to away with paines, & not to be more costly apparelled, & armed thē any priuat souldier he had: he wan himselfe therby a maruelous loue of the people. Howbeit the rich men liked not this change, & were afraid lest *Agis* should giue other people example to rise also, & to doe the like with theirs, as he had done. *Agis* meting with *Aratus* by the city of CORINTH, euen as he was consulting whether he should fight with his enemy or not: shewed himself in his counsel, then no rash, but a re-

Leonidas flyeth vnto Tegea.

King Agis deceiued by Agesilaus.

New lawes stablished by the Lacademonians.

Aratus general of the Achaians.

King Agis iorney into Achaia

King Agis gaue place vnto Aratus.

solute & valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, & not to suffer the war to come any farther, leauing the entry into PELOPONNESVS free to their enemy: neuertheles, that he would do what *Aratus* thought good, because he was the elder, and generall also of the ACHAIANS, whom he came not to cõmand, but to aide thẽ. But *Baton* SINOPIAN writeth that king *Agis* would not fight, though *Aratus* was willing: howbeit he had not read that which *Aratus* had writtẽ for his excuse & iustificatiõ, aleaging there that the farmers & husbandmẽ hauing brought al the corn into their barnes, he thought it better to suffer the enemies to come farther into their coũtrie, rather then to hazard battell, to the losse of the whole coũtry of PELOPONNESVS, & that therfore he licenced al the confederats to depart & brake vp his army. So king *Agis* returned home again, greatly honored of them that serued with him in his iorney, finding the citie of SPARTA then in great broile and trouble. For *Agesilaus* at that time being one of the Ephores, finding himselfe rid of the feare which before kept him vnder: cared not what iniurie or mischiefe he did vnto any citizen, so he might get money. For amongst other things, that very yeare he made them paye beyond all reason the tillages and taxes due vnto the cõmon wealth for thirteene moneths, adding to the thirteenth moneth aboue the ordinarie time of the yeare. Wherefore perceiuing euerie manne hated him, and being afrayd of them he had offended: he kept souldiers about him, armed with their swords, and so came downe into the market place among them. And for the two kings, he made no account of the one: but of the other that was *Agis*, he seemed outwardly to make good account, rather for kindreds sake, then for his dignitie of a king, and furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next yere following. Wherupon, his enemies speedely to preuent the danger gathered force together, & openly brought king *Leonidas* from TEGEA, to restore him again to his kingdom. The people were glad to see that,

King Leonidas returneth from exile into Sparta.

because they were angry they had bene mocked in that sort, for that the lands were not deuided according vnto promise. Furthermore *Hippomedon* was so wel beloued for his valiantnes of euery man, that intreating the people for his father *Agesilaus*, he saued his life, and got him out of the citie. But for the two kings, *Agis* tooke sanctuarie in the temple of *Iuno Chalceecos*. And *Cleombrotus* the other king fled into the temple of *Neptune*: for it seemed that *Leonidas* being much more offended with him, did let king *Agis* alone, and went against him with certen souldiers armed. Then he sharpely taunted him, that being his sonne in law, he had conspired against him to depriue him of his kingdom, and had driuen him out of his countrie. But then *Cleombrotus* not hauing a word to say, sate still, and made him no aunswer. Whereupon, his wife *Chelonis*, the daughter of *Leonidas*, who before was offended for the iniurie they did her father, and had left her husband *Cleombrotus*, that had vsurped the kingom from him, to serue her father in his aduersity, & while he was in sanctuarie tooke part with him also of his misery, & afterwards when he went vnto the citie of TEGEA, wore blacks for sorrow, being offended with her husband: she contrarily then changing her anger with her husbands fortune and miserie, became also an humble suter with him, sitting downe by him, and imbracing him, hauing her two litle sonnes on either side of them. All men wondering, and weeping for pitie to see the goodnes and naturall loue of this Ladie, who shewing her mourning apparell, & haire of her head flaring about her eyes, bareheaded: she spake in this manner vnto her father. O father mine, this sorowfull garment and countenance is not for pitie of *Cleombrotus*, but hath long remained with mee, lamenting sore your former misery and exile: but nowe, which of the two should I rather choose, either to continue a mourner in this pitifull state, seeing you

The naturall loue of Chelonis Leonidas daughter, vnto her father and husband.

The oration of Chelonis the daughter of Leonidas.

„ againe restored to your kingdome, hauing ouercome your enemies: or else putting on
„ my princely apparell, to see my husband slaine, vnto whom you maried me a mayde? who if
„ he cannot moue you to take compassion on him, and to obtaine mercie, by the teares of his
„ wife and children: he shall then abide more bitter paine of his euill counsell, then that which
„ you intend to make him suffer. For he shall see his wife dye before him, whom he loueth more
„ deerely then any thing in the world. Also, with what face can I look vpon other Ladies, when
„ I could neuer bring my father to pity by any intercessiõ I could make for my husband, neither
„ my husband, intreate him for my father: and that my hap is to be borne, a daughter and wife
„ alwaies most vnfortunate, and despised of mine owne? And for my husband, if he had any

reason

reason to doe that he did, I then tooke it from him, by taking your parte, and protesting against him: and contrarily, your selfe doth giue him honest colour to excuse his fault, when he seeth in you the desire of the kingdome so great, that for the loue thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your sons in law, and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her sake. *Chelonis* pitifully complaining in this sorte, putting her face vpon *Cleombrotus* head, cast her swollen and blubbering eyes vpon the standers by. Wherefore *Leonidas* after he had talked a litle with his friends, he commanded *Cleombrotus* to get him thence and to leaue the citie as an exile: & prayed his daughter for his sake to remain with him, and not to forsake her father, that did so dearely loue her, as for her sake he had saued her husbands life. This notwithstanding, she would not yeld to his request, but rising vp with her husband, gaue him one of his sons & her self took the other in her armes: & then making her prayer before the alter of the goddesse, she went as a banished woman away with her husband. And truely the example of her vertue was so famous, that if *Cleombrotus* mind had not bene too much blinded with vaine glorie, he had cause to thinke his exile farre more happie, to enioy the loue of so noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdom which he possessed without her. Then *Leonidas* hauing banished king *Cleombrotus* out of the citie, and remouing the first Ephores, had substituted other in their place: he presently bethought him howe he might craftily come by king *Agis*. First, he perswaded him to come out of the sanctuarie, and to gouerne the kingdom safely with him, declaring vnto him that his citizens had forgiuen him all that was past, because they knew he was deceiued, and subtilly circumuented by *Agesilaus* craft being a young man, ambitious of honor. *Agis* would not leaue the sanctuarie for *Leonidas* cunning perswasion, but mistrusted all that he sayed vnto him. Wherefore *Leonidas* would no more beguile him with faier words. But *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Arcesilaus*, did often times go to visit king *Agis*, and otherwhile also they got him out of the sanctuarie with them vnto the bath, and brought him backe againe into the temple, when he had bathed. But *Amphares* hauing borrowed not long before, certain rich apparel & plate of *Agesistrata*, because he would not redeliuer them againe, he determined to betray king *Agis*, his mother and grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefely did serue *Leonidas* turne, and prouoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) against *Agis*. Now therfore, *Agis* keping all the rest of his time within the temple, sauing whē he went vpon occasion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way, and to take him when he was out of the sanctuarie. So they watched him one day when he came and bathed and came & saluted him as their maner was, & seemed to accompany him, sporting, and being merry with him, as with a young man their familiar. But when they came to the turning of a street that went towards the prison, *Amphares* laying hold on him, being one of the Ephores, said vnto him: I arrest thee *Agis*, and will bring thee before the Ephores, to giue account of thy doings in the cōmon wealth. Then *Demochares*, which was a great mightie man cast his gown ouer his eares, & pulled him forward: others also thrusted him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being nere them to helpe *Agis*, they got him into prison. Then came *Leonidas* incontinently with a great number of souldiers that were strangers, and beset the prison round about. The Ephores went into the prison, and sent vnto some of the Senate to come vnto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they cōmanded *Agis*, as if it had bene iudicially, to giue account of the alteration he had made in the common wealth. The young man laughed at their hypocrisie. But *Amphares* told him that it was no laughing sport, & that he should pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores seeming to deale more honorably with him, & to shew him a way, how he might escape the condēnation for his fault: asked him if he had not bene intised vnto it by *Agesilaus* and *Lysander*. *Agis* answered, that no man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the steppes of the ancient *Lycurgus*, to bring the common wealth vnto the former estate of his graue ordinance and institution. Then the same Senator asked him againe, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The young man boldly answered him, that he would neuer repent him of so wise and vertuous an enterprise, though he ventured his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commanded the Sergeants to carie him into the Decade, which was a place in the prison where they were strangled, that were condemned to die. *Demochares* perceiuing the Sergeantes durst not laye

The banishmēt of king Cleombrotus.

The great vertue and loue of Chelonis, to her husband Cleombrotus.

Amphares betrayeth king Agis.

King Agis caried to prison.

Note the reuerent regard of the heathē vnto the person of a king, abhorring to lay violent hands vpon him.

hold of him, and likewise that the souldiers which were strangers, did abhor to commit such a fact contrarie to the law of god and man, to lay violent hands vpon the person of a king: he threatned and reuiled them, and dragged *Agis* perforce into that place called the Decade. Now the rumor ranne straight through the citie, that king *Agis* was taken, & a multitude of people were at the prison dores with lights & torches. Thither came also king *Agis* mother & grandmother shreeking out & praying that the king of SPARTA might yet be heard and iudged by the people. For this cause they hastened his death the sooner, and were afraid besides, least the people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people thither. Thus king *Agis* being led to his death, spied a sargeant lamenting & weping for him, vnto whom he sayed: good fellow I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am honester man than they that so shamefully put me to death, & with those words he willingly put his hed into the halter. *Amphares* then going out of the prison into the street, found *Agesistrata* there king *Agis* mother, who straight fell downe at his feete: but he taking her vp againe, in old familiar manner, as being her very friend, told her that they should do king *Agis* no hurte, & that she might if she would, go & see him. Then she prayed, that they would also let her mother in with her. *Amphares* sayed, with a good will: and so put them both into the prison house, and made the dores be shut after them. But when they were within, he first gaue *Archidamia* vnto the sergeants to be put to death, who was a maruellous olde woman, and had liued more honorably vnto that age, then any Ladie or Matrone beside her in the citie. She being executed, he commanded *Agesistrata* also to come in. Who when she sawe the bodie of her dead sonne layd on the ground, & her mother also hanging on the gallowes: she did her selfe helpe the hangman to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her sonnes. Then hauing couered her in decent manner, she layed her downe on the ground by the corps of her sonne *Agis*, and kissing his cheeke sayd: out alas my sonne, thy great modestie, goodnes, and clemencie, brought thee and vs vnto this death. Then *Amphares* peeping in at the dore to see what was done, hearing what she sayed, came in withall in a great rage, and sayed: I perceiue that thou hast also bene of councell with thy sonne, and sithence it is so, thou shalt also followe him. Then she rising also to be strangled, sayed: the goddes graunt yet that this may profit SPARTA. This horrible murther being blowen abroade in the citie, and the three dead bodies also brought out of prison: the feare though it were great amongst the people, could not keep them backe from apparant shew of griefe, and manifest hate against *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, thinking that there was neuer a more wicked and crueller fact committed in SPARTA, since the DORIANS came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies themselues in battell, would not willingly lay hands vpō the kings of LACEDÆMON, but did forbeare as much as they could possible, both for feare & reuerence they bare vnto their maiestie. For in many great battels & conflicts which the LACEDÆMONIANS had against the GRECIANS, there was neuer any king of LACEDÆMON slain, before *Philips* time, but *Cleōbrotus* only, who was slaine with a dart at the battell of LEVCTRES. Some write also that the MESSENIANS holde opinion, that their *Aristomenes* slue *Theopompus*: howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS sayed, that he was but hurt not slaine. But hereof there are diuerse opinions: but it is certaine that *Agis* was the first king who the Ephores euer put to death: for that he had layed a plot of a noble deuise, and worthy of SPARTA, being of that age when men doe easily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accused of his friends & enemies, because he had saued *Leonidas* life, and had trusted other men, as the best natured young man that could be.

King Agis his mother, and grandmother, all three strangled.

The enemies did not willingly kill any king of Lacedamon.

Here beginneth Cleomenes life. Cleomenes the sonne of Leonidas Agiatis the daughter of Gylippus, and wife of king Agis. Agiatis king Agis wife, maried vnto Cleomenes.

Now *Agis* hauing suffered in this sort, *Leonidas* was not quicke enough to take *Archidamus* his brother also, for he fled presently. Yet he brought *Agis* wife out of her house by force, with a litle boy she had by him, and maried her vnto his sonne *Cleomenes*, who was yet vnder age to marie: fearing least this young Ladye should be bestowed elsewhere, being indeede a great heire, and of a rich house, and the daughter of *Gylippus*, called by her name *Agiatis*, besides that she was the faireſt woman at that time in all GREECE, and the vertuousest, and best conditioned. Wherfore for diuers respectes she prayed she might not be forced to it. But now being at length maried with *Cleomenes*, she euer hated *Leonidas* to the death, and yet was a good and louing wife vnto her young husband: who immediatly after he was maried vnto her, fell greatly

greatly in fancie with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the loue she bare vnto her first husbande, and for the louing remembraunce she had of him: insomuch as he himselfe many times would fall in talke of it, and woulde be inquisitiue howe things had passed, taking great pleasure to heare of *Agis* wife counsell and purpose. For *Cleomenes* was as desirous of honor, and had as noble a minde as *Agis*, and was borne also to temperancie, and moderation of life, as *Agis* in like manner was: howbeit, he had not, that shamefast modestie and lenitie, which the other had, but was somewhat more sturring of nature, & readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it great honestie, to bring the Citizens if that he could, to be contented to liue after an honest sorte: but contrarily, he thought it no dishonestie to bring them vnto good life, by compulsion also. Furthermore the manners of the Citizens of SPARTA, giuing themselues ouer to idlenes and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did suffer the common wealth to be ruled as they listed, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: insomuch, no man regarding the profit of the common wealth, euery man was for himselfe, and his family. And contrarily it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperancie, and for the restoring againe of equalitie of life, the preferment whereof was, the only cause of the late death of *Agis*. They say also, that *Cleomenes* being a young stripling, had heard some disputation of Philosophie, when the Philosopher *Sphærus*, of the coūtry of BORYSTHENES came to LACEDÆMON, and louingly stayed there to teache young men and children. He was one of the chiefest schollers of *Zenon* CITIAN, and delghted (as it seemed) in *Cleomenes* noble minde, and had a great desire to pricke him forward vnto honor. For as it is reported, that the ancient *Leonidas* being demaunded what Poet he thought *Tyrtæus* to be, aunswered he was good to flatter young mens mindes: for he sette their hartes on fire by his verses, when they beganne to fight any battell, fearing no danger, they were so encouraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat daungerous, for the stoute and valiaut mindes, which otherwise doeth make them desperate: so when they are ioyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, first it lifteth vp his heart, and then maketh him tast the profit thereof. Nowe *Leonidas* (the father of *Cleomenes*) being deceased, and he himselfe also come vnto the crowne finding that the Citizens of SPARTA at that time were very dissolute, that the rich men followed their pleasure and profit, taking no care for the common wealth, that the poore men also for very want and neede, went with no good life and courage to the warres, neither cared for the bringing vp of their children, and that he himselfe had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the absolute authoritie to doe what they listed: at his first comming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole state and gouernement of the common wealth. Who hauing a friend called *Xenares*, that had bene his louer in his youth (which the LACEDÆMONIANS called Empnistæ, as much as inspired) he beganne to sound his opinion, as king what manner of man king *Agis* had bene, and by what reason, and whose aduise he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the commen wealth. *Xenares* at the first did not willingly reherse these things vnto him, declaring euery thing what had passed. But when he found that *Cleomenes* was affected vnto king *Agis* intent, & still desired to heare of it: then *Xenares* sharply and angrily reproued him, and tolde him he was not wise, nor well aduised, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man priuie why he abstained from comming to him but told them that asked him, he knewe a cause well enough why. *Xenares* nowe hauing thus refused him, and thinking all the rest woulde doe the like: to bring this matter to passe, he tooke this resolution with himselfe. Because he thought he might the rather doe it in warre, then in peace, he set the citie of SPARTA and the ACHAIANS at variance together: who did themselues giue the first occasion to be complained vpon. For *Aratus* being the President and chiefe of all the ACHAIANS, had practised a long time to bring all PELOPONNESVS into one bodie: and had therefore onely sustained great troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other waye to deliuer them from forraine warres. Nowe when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACEDÆMONIANS, & a fewe of the ARCHADIANS, which were subiect to the LACEDÆMONIANS. When king *Leonidas* was dead,

Sphærus a Philosopher of Boristhenes.

Cleomenes did set the Lacedæmonians and Achaians together by the eares.

Aratus begannе to inuade the ARCHADIANS, thoſe ſpecially that bordered vpon the ARGIVES: to proue how the LACEDÆMONIANS would take it, making no account of *Cleomenes*, being but a yong king, & had no experience of warres. Thereupon the Ephori ſent *Cleomenes* vnto ATHÆNIVM (a temple of *Minerua* hard by the citie of BELBINA) with an army to take it: becauſe it was a paſſage and entry into the country of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in queſtion betwixt the MEGALOPOLITANS & the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Cleomenes* got it, and fortified it. *Aratus* making no complaint otherwiſe of the matter, ſtole out one night with his armie to ſet vpon the TEGEANS, & ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to haue taken thoſe cities by treaſō. But the traitors that were of his confederacy, their harts failed them when they ſhould haue gone about it: ſo that *Aratus* returned, hauing loſt his iorney, thinking that this ſecret attempt of his was not diſcouered. But *Cleomenes* finely wrote vnto him as his frend, and asked him, whither he had led his armie by night: *Aratus* returned anſwer againe, that vnderſtanding *Cleomenes* ment to fortifie BELBINA, he went forth with his armie, thinking to haue let him. *Cleomenes* wrote againe vnto him & ſaid he did beleue that which he ſpake was true: howbeit he earneſtly requeſted him, (if it were no trouble to him) to aduertiſe him why he brought ſealing ladders and lightes after him. *Aratus* ſmiling at this mocke, asked what this yong mā was. *Democritus* LACEDÆMONIAN being a baniſhed man out of his coūtrie anſwered: if thou haſt any thing to doe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou hadſt need make haſte, before this young Cockrel, haue on his ſpurres. Then *Cleomenes* being in the field in the countrie of ARCHADIA, with a few horſemen and three hundreth footmen only: the Ephori being afraid of warres, ſent for him to returne againe. His backe was no ſooner turned, obeying their commandement: but *Aratus* ſodainly tooke the citie of CAPHYES. Thereupon, the Ephori incontinently ſent *Cleomenes* backe againe with his armie: who took the fort of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the ARGIVES. The ACHAIANS came againſt him with an armie of twentie thouſand footemen, and a thouſand horſemen led by *Ariſtomachus*. *Cleomenes* met with them by the city of PALANTIVM, & offred battell. But *Aratus* quaking at the hardines of this young man, would not ſuffer *Ariſtomachus* to hazard battell, but went his way derided by the ACHAIANS, & deſpiſed by the LACEDÆMONIANS: who in all were not aboue fiue thouſand fighting men. *Cleomenes* courage being now lift vp, & brauely ſpeaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a ſaying of one of their ancient kings, that the LACEDÆMONIANS neuer inquired what nūber their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the ACHAIANS making warre with the ELIANS, *Cleomenes* was ſent to aid them & met with the armie of the ACHAIANS by the mountain Lyceum, as they were in their return: he ſetting vpon them, gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue a great number of them, and tooke many alſo priſoners, that the rumor ranne through GREECE, how *Aratus* ſelfe was ſlaine. *Cleomenes* wiſely taking the occaſion which this victory gaue him: he went ſtraight to the city of MANTINEA, and taking it vpon a ſodaine, when no man knew of his comming, he put a ſtrong garriſon into it. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS harts failing them, & reſiſting *Cleomenes* enterpriſes, ouer wearying them with warres: he went about to ſend *Archidamus*, king *Agis* brother, being then at MESSENA, vnto whom the kingdō of right belonged by the other houſe, ſuppoſing that he ſhoulde eaſily weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authoritie of the two kings, if both of them ioyned together. Which when the murtherers of king *Agis* vnderſtoode, being afraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them, they ſecretly receiued him into the citie, and founde the means to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him ſtraight to death, whether it was vnwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainly teſtifieth) or els with his priuitie, ſuffering them to make him away, by perſwaſion of his frends. But it is a clere caſe, the citie was burdened withall, becauſe probable matter fell out that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to doe it. Neuertheleſſe, he holding ſtill his firſt determination, to alter the ſtate of the common wealth of SPARTA, as ſoone as he could poſſible: he ſo fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he ſhould make warre. He had alſo won many other citizens by the meanes of his mother *Cratiſiclea*, who furniſht him with money, that he lacked not to honor him withall: and further, maried as it is reported, (being otherwiſe not ment to marie) for her ſonnes ſake, vnto one of

Cleomenes iorney into the countrie of the Argiues.

The victory of Cleomenes againſt Aratus. The ſeying of the kings of Lacedæmon touching their enemies.

Archidamus king Agis brother ſlaine.

the wealthiest men of all the citie. So *Cleomenes* leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territory of MEGALOPOLIS, called LEVCTRA. The ACHAIANS also being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*: they straight fought a battell by the citie selfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worst on the one side of his armie. Howbeit *Aratus* would not suffer the Achaians to follow them, because of bogges and quauemyres, but sounded the retreate. But *Lysiadas* a MEGALOPOLITAN being angry withal caused the horsemen he had about him to follow the chase, who pursued so fiercely, that they came amongst vines, wals, and ditches, where he was driuen to disperse his men, and yet could not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiuing it, sent the light horsemen of the TARENTINS & CRETANS against him: of whom *Lysiadas* valiantly fighting was slaine. Then the LACEDÆMONIANS being courageous for this victorie, came with great cries, & giuing a fierce charge vpon the ACHAIANS, ouerthrew their whole armie, & slew a maruellous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their request suffered them to take vp the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For *Lysiadas* corps, he caused it to be brought vnto him, and putting a purple robe vpon it, and a crowne on his head, sent it in this array vnto the very gates of the citie of MEGALOPOLIS. It was that selfe *Lysiadas*, who giuing ouer the tyranny and gouernment of MEGALOPOLIS, made it a popular state, and free citie, and ioyned it to the ACHAIANS. After this victorie, *Cleomenes* that determined greater matters and attemptes, perswaded himselfe that if he might once come to stablish the affaires of the common wealth at SPARTA to his mind, he might then easily ouercome the ACHAIANS: he brake with his father in law *Megistonus*, & told him that it was necessarie to take away the auctoritie of the Ephores, and to make diuision of the lands among the SPARTANS, and then being brought to equalitie, to encorage them to recouer the Empire of GRECE againe vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, which their predecessors before them, held and enioyed. *Megistonus* sounding his good will and furtherance, ioyned two or three of his friends more vnto him. It chaunced at that time that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of *Pasiphaé*, had a maruellous dreame in the night. For he thought he sawe but one chaire standing where the Ephori vse to sit to giue audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that maruelling at it, he heard a voice out of the temple that said, that was the best for SPARTA. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto *Cleomenes*, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard some inckling of his intent. But when he perswaded himselfe that the other ment good faith, and lyed not vnto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpose, and taking with him vnto the campe all those SPARTANS which he suspected to be against his enterprise, hee went and tooke the cities of HERÆA & ALSEA, confederats of the ACHAIANS, & vict called OTHOMENA, and went and camped before the citie of MANTINEA. In fine, he so vexatied & harried the LACEDÆMONIANS by long iorneys, that at length they besought him he would let them remaine in ARCADIA, to repose themselues there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his strangers which he had hyred, returned againe vnto SPARTA, and imparted his intent by the way vnto them he trusted best, and marched at his owne ease, that he might take the Ephores at supper. When he came neere vnto the citie, he sent *Euryclidas* before, into the hall of the Ephores, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he sent also *Thericion* & *Phœbis*, and two other that had bene brought vp with him, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a few souldiers. Now whilest *Euryclidas* was talking with the Ephores, they also came in vpon them with their swordes drawen, and did set vpon the Ephores. *Agesilaus* was hurt first of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene slaine, but by litle & litle he crept out of the hall, and got secretly into a chappell consecrated vnto *Feare*, the which was wont euer to be kept shut, but then by chaunce was left open: when he was come in, he shut the dore fast to him. The other foure of the Ephores were slaine presently, and aboue tenne moe besides, which came to defend them. Furthermore, for them that sate still and stirred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was desirous to goe out of the citie: but moreouer, they pardoned *Agesilaus*, who came the next morning out of the chappell of *Feare*. Amongst the LACEDÆMONIANS in the citie of SPARTA, there are not onely temples of feare

Lysiadas slaine. Cleomenes victorie of the Achaians.

Lysiadas tyrant of Megalopolis, gaue ouer his tyrannie, and made it a popular state.

The dreame of one of the Ephores.

Cleomenes slew the Ephores.

Diuers temples at Sparta, of feare, death, and such other fansies.

and death, but also of laughter, and of many other such passions of the minde. They doe worshippe *Feare*, not as other spirites and deuils that are hurtfull: but because they are perswaded that nothing prefetteth a common wealth better than feare. Wherefore the Ephori (as *Aristotle* witnesseth) when they are created, doe by publicke proclamation commaunde all the SPARTANS to shaue their chinnes, and to obey the law, least they should make them feele the rigour of the law. They brought in the shauing of their chins, in my opinion, to inure young men to obey the Magistrates euen in trifles. Moreouer it seemes that men in olde time did esteeme fortitude to be no taking away of feare, but rather a feare and lothnes to incurre shame.

The valiantest men are most affraid to offend the law.

For commonly those that are most affraide to offende the lawe, are in the field most valiant against their enemie: and shunne no perill to winne fame and honest reputation. And therefore it was wisely said of one,

That feare can not be without shamefastnes.

And so *Homer* in a certaine place made *Hellen* say vnto king *Priamus*:

Of truth I doe confesse deere father in law,
You are the man of whom I stand in aw,
And reuerence most of all that euer I saw.

And in an other place, speaking of the GRECIAN souldiers, he saith thus:

For feare of their Captaines they spake not a word.

The chappell of feare ioyned to the hall of the Ephores. The oration of king Cleomenes touching the first original of the Ephores.

For men do vse to reuerence them whom they feare. And this was the cause why the chappell of *Feare* was by the hall of the Ephores, hauing in maner a princely and absolute authoritie. The next morning *Cleomenes* banished by trumpet, foure score citizens of SPARTA, and ouerthrew all the chaires of the Ephores but one onely, the which he reserued for himselfe to sit in to giue audience. Then calling the people to counsell, he gaue them an account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had ioyned the Senators with the kings, & how the citie had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithstanding, afterwards the citie hauing great wars with the MESSENIANS, the kings being alwaies employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the common wealth at home; did choose certaine of their friendes to sit in iudgement in their steades, to determine controuersies of lawe: which were called Ephores, and did gouerne long time as the kings ministers, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke vpon them absolute gouernment by themselues. And for manifest proofe hereof, you see that at this present time when the Ephori do send for the king, the first and second time, they refuse to come, but the third time

Asteropus, the first man that gaue authoritie to the Ephores.

he riseth and goeth vnto them. The first man that gaue the Ephores this authoritie, was *Asteropus*, one of the Ephores many yeares after the first institution of the kings: and yet if they had gouerned discreetely, peraduenture they might haue continued longer. But they horriblie abusing their authoritie, by suppressing the lawfull Gouernors instituted of old time, making vpon them to banish some of their kings, and putting other of them also to death, without law and iustice, and threatning others that desire to restore that noble and former blessed gouernment vnto SPARTA againe: all these things I say, are in no wise to be suffered any longer. And therefore, if it had beene possible to haue banished all these plagues of the common wealth out of SPARTA, brought from forreine nations: (I meane, pleasures, pastimes, money, debts, and vsuries, and others yet more auncient, pouertie and riches) he might then haue esteemed himselfe the happiest king that euer was, if like a good Phisitian he had cured his country in that infection, without griefe or sorrow. But in that he was constrained to begine with bloud, he followed *Lycurgus* example: who being neither king nor other Magistrate, but a priuate citizen only, taking vpon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king *Charilaus* that then raigned, so afraide, that he was driuen to take sanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a noble nature, and louing the honor of his country: tooke part with *Lycurgus*, adding to his aduise and counsell, for the alteration of the state of the gouernment of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* saw it was a hard thing to alter the common wealth without force & feare: the which he notwithstanding had vsed with as great modestie and discretion as might be possible, banishing them that were against the

profit

profit and wealth of LACEDÆMON, giuing all the lands of the country also to be equally deuided amongst them, and setting all men cleere that were in debt. And furthermore, that hee would make a choyse and proofe of the straungers, to make them free citizens of SPARTA, whom he knew to be honest men, thereby to defend their citie the better by force of armes: to the end that from henceforth we may no more see our country of LACONIA spoyled by the ÆTOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of men to defend themselues against them. Then he beganne first himselfe to make all his goods common, and after him *Megistonus* his father in law, and consequently all his other friends. Then he caused the landes also to be deuided, and ordeined euery banished man a part, whom he himselfe had exiled, promising that he would receiue them againe into the citie, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the citizens of SPARTA, with the choyceest honest men their neigbours: he made foure thousand footemen well armed, and taught them to vse their pikes with both handes, in steade of their dartes with one hande, and to carie their targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwardes he tooke order for the education of children, and to restore the auncient LACONIAN discipline againe: and did all these things in maner by the helpe of *Spherus* the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickely set vp againe schoole houses for children, and also brought them to the old order of dyet: and all, but a very fewe, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institution of life. Then because the name of one king should not offend any mã, he made his brother *Euclidas* king with him. But this was the first time that euer the two kings were of one house but then. Furthermore, vnderstanding that the ACHAIANS and *Aratus* were of opinion, that he durst not come out of LACEDÆMON, for feare to leaue it in perill of reuolting, because of the late change and alteration in the common wealth: he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his enemies see the readines and good will of his armie. Thereupon he inuaded the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and brought away a great prey and booty, after he had done great hurt vnto his enemies. Then hauing taken certaine players and minstrels that came from MESSENA, he set vp a stage within the enemies countrie, made a game of 40. Minas for the victor, and sate a whole day to looke vpon them, for no pleasure he tooke in the sight of it, but more to despight the enemies withall, in making them see how much he was stronger then they, to make such a Maygame in their owne country, in despight of them. For of al the armies otherwise of the GRECIANS, or kings in all GRECE, there was no armie onely but his, that was without players, minstrels, fooles and iugglers: for his campe onely was cleane of such rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to some exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teach them. And if they chaunced to haue any vacant time, then they would pleasantly be one merrie with an other, in giuing some pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. And what profit they got by that kinde of exercise, we haue written it at large in *Lycurgus* life. But of all these things, the king himselfe was their schoolemaster and example, shewing him selfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curiositie, no more then any priuate souldier of all his campe: the which were great helpes vnto him in his enterprises he made in GRECE. For the GRECIANS hauing cause of sute and negociation with other kings and princes, did not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhorre and detest their pride and insolencie: so disdainfully they would answere them that had to doe with them. But contrarily when they went vnto *Cleomenes*, who was a king in name and deede as they were, finding no purple robes nor stately mantles, nor rich imbrodered beddes, nor a Prince to be spoken vnto but by messengers, gentlemen vshers, and supplications, and yet with great a doo: and seeing him also come plainely apparelled vnto them, with a good countenance, and courteously answering the matters they came for: he thereby did maruellously win their hearts and good wils, that when they returned home, they saide he only was the worthy king, that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his dyet at his bord, that was very straight & LACONIAN like, keeping only three bords: and if he chaunced to feast any Ambassadors or other his friendes that came to see him, he then added to two other bords, and besides, made his men to see that his fare should be amended, not with pastrie and conserues, but with more store of meate, and some better wine then ordinarie. For he one day reproued one of his friendes, that bidding

Cleomenes reformeth the state of the common wealth of Lacedæmon.

Cleomenes inuadeth the borders of the Megalopolitans.

King Cleomenes the teacher and example of temperancie.

Cleomenes moderate dyet.

strangers to supper, he gaue them nothing but blacke broth, & browne bread only, according to the LACONIAN maner. Nay, said he, we may not vse strangers so hardly after our manner. The bord being taken vp, an other litle table was brought with three feete, whereupon they set a bolle of copper full of wine, and two siluer cuppes of a pottle a peece, and certaine other fewe siluer pots besides: so euery man dranke what they listed, and no man was forced to drinke more then he would. Furthermore, there was no sport, nor any pleasant song sung to make the companie merrie, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* selfe would entertaine them with some pretie questions or pleasant tale: whereby, as his talke was not seuere and without pleasure, so was it also pleasant without insolencie. For he was of opinion, that to winne men by gifts or money, as other kings and princes did, was but base and cloynelike: but to seeke their good wils by courteous means and pleasantnesse, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference betwixt a friend and hireling: but that the one is wonne with money, and the other with ciuility & good entertainment. The first therefore that receiued king *Cleomenes* into their citie, were the MANTINIANS, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to driue out the garrison of the ACHAIANS, they yeelded themselues vnto him. But he referring them to the vse and gouernment of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the same day, and went vnto the citie of TEGEA. Shortly after, he compassed about ARCADIA, & came vnto PHERES in ARCADIA determining one of the two, either to giue the ACHAIANS battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of fauour with the people, for that he had suffred him to spoile and destroy their country. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, but *Aratus* did beare all the sway and authoritie. Then the ACHAIANS comming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citie of DYMES, neere vnto the temple of *Hecatombæum*: *Cleomenes* going thither, lay betwixt the citie of DYMES that was against him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a very vnwise part of him. Howbeit valiantly prouoking the ACHAIANS, he procured them to the battell, ouerthrew them, made them flie, and slew a great number in the field, and tooke many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set vpon the citie of LANGON, and drue the garrison of the ACHAIANS out of it, and restored the citie againe vnto the ELIANS. The ACHAIANS being then in verie hard state, *Aratus* that of custome was wont to be their Generall (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the ACHAIANS did specially pray & intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let an other steere the rudder, in so dangerous a storme and tempest. Therefore the ACHAIANS sent Ambassadors vnto *Cleomenes* to treate peace, vnto whom it seemed he gaue a very sharpe answere. After that, he sent vnto them, and willed them only to resigne the signiorie of GREECE vnto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reasonably with them, and presently deliuer them vp their townes and prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The ACHAIANS being glad of peace with these conditions, wrote vnto *Cleomenes* that he should come vnto the citie of LERNA, where the dyet and generall assembly should be kept to consult thereupon. It chaunced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hotte, dranke cold water, and fell on such a bleeding withall, that his voice was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the ACHAIANS their chiefest prisoners home againe, prorogning the parliament till an other time, and returned backe to LACEDÆMON. It is supposed certainly, that this let of his comming to the dyet, was the onely cause of the vtter destruction of GREECE: the which otherwise was in good way to haue risen againe, and to haue bene deliuered from the present miseries, and extreame pride and couetousnes of the MACEDONIANS. For *Aratus*, either for that he trusted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was affraide of his power, or that he otherwise enuied his honor & prosperitie, to see him risen to such incredible greatnes in so short a time, and thinking it also too great shame and dishonor to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to depriue him of his great honor & power which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirtie yeares together, ruling all GREECE: first, he sought by force to terrifie the ACHAIANS, and to make them breake off from this peace. But in fine, finding that they litle regarded his threats, & that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were

Cleomenes courteous entertainment at his bord.

Cleomenes leadeth his armie against Aratus, and the Achaians.

The victorie of Cleomenes against the Achaians.

were affraide of *Cleomenes* valiantneſſe and courage, whoſe requeſt they thought reaſonable, for that he ſought but to reſtore PELOPONNESVS into her former ancient eſtate againe: he fell then into a practiſe farre vnhoneſt for a GRECIAN, very infamous for himſelfe, but moſt diſhonorable for the former noble actes he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into GRECE, & in his age filled the coũtry of PELOPONNESVS with MACEDONIANS, whom he himſelf in his youth had driuen thence, had taken from them the caſtle of CORINTHE, and had alwayes bene an enemie of the kings (but ſpecially of *Antigonus*, of whom before he had ſpoken all the ill he could, as appeareth in his writings, ſaying that he tooke maruellous paines, and did put himſelfe into many daungers, to deliuer the citie of ATHENS from the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS) and yet notwithſtanding he brought them armed with his own hands, not into his country only, but into his owne houſe, yea euen into the Ladies chambers & cloſets: diſdaining that the king of LACEDÆMON, diſcending of the bloud royal of *Hercules* (who ſetting vp againe the auncient manner of life of his country, did temper it as an inſtrument of muſicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, ancient and ſober diſcipline and DORICAN life inſtituted by *Lycurgus*) ſhould be called and written king of the SICYONIANS, and of the THESSALIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine courſe capes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that went about to take away riches (which was the chiefeſt matter they did accuſe *Cleomenes* for) and to prouide for the poore: he went and put himſelfe and all ACHAIA vnto the crowne and diadeame, the purple robe, and proude imperious commandementes of the MACEDONIANS, fearing leaſt men ſhould thinke that *Cleomenes* could commaunde him. Furthermore his follie was ſuch, that hauing garlands of flowers on his head, he did ſacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, & ſing ſongs in praiſe of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man, conſumed away. This that we haue written of *Aratus* (who was indued with many noble vertues, & a worthy GRECIAN) is not ſo much to accuſe him, as to make vs ſee the frailtie and weakeneſſe of mans nature: the which, though it haue neuer ſo excellent vertues, can not yet bring forth ſuch perfect fruite, but that it hath euer ſome mayme and bleamiſh. Now when the ACHAIANS were met againe in the citie of ARGOS, to hold the ſeſſion of their parlament before proroged, and *Cleomenes* alſo being come from TEGEA, to be at that parlament: euery man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before of the chiefeſt articles of the capitulations with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by faire wordes or force would bring the people to graunt that he deſired: ſent to let him vnderſtande, that he ſhould but come himſelfe alone into the citie, and for ſafetie of his perſon, they would giue him three hundred hoſtages: or otherwiſe, if he would not leaue his armie, that then they would giue him audience without the citie, in the place of exerciſes, called Cyllarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their anſwere, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they ſhould haue aduertiſed him of it before he had taken his iorney, and not now when he was almoſt hard at their gates, to ſende him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereuppon he wrote a letter vnto the councell of the ACHAIANS, altogether full of complaints againſt *Aratus*. On the other ſide alſo, *Aratus* in his oration to the councell, inueyed with bitter wordes againſt *Cleomenes*. Thereupon *Cleomenes* departing with ſpeede, ſent a Herauld to proclaime warres againſt the ACHAIANS, not in the city of ARGOS, but in the city of ÆGION, as *Aratus* writeth, meaning to ſet vpon them being vnprouided. Hereupon all ACHAIA was in an vprore: for diuerſe cities did preſently reuolt againſt the ACHAIANS, becauſe the common people hoped after the diuiſion of lands, and diſcharging of their debts. The noble men alſo in many places were offended with *Aratus*, becauſe he practiſed to bring the MACEDONIANS into the coũtry of PELOPONNESVS. *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all theſe reſpects, brought his armie into ACHAIA, and at his firſt comming tooke the citie of PALLENA, and draue out the garriſon of the ACHAIANS: and after that, wanne alſo the cities of PHENEVM, and PENTELIVM. Now the ACHAIANS fearing ſome treaſon in CORINTHE and SYCIONE, ſent certaine horſemen out of the citie of ARGOS, to keepe thoſe cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebration of the feaſt at the games Nemæa, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to ARGOS, he ſhould finde the citie full of people that were come to ſee the feaſtes and

Aratus treaſon to his countrie.

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Argos.

games, and that assailing them vppon the sodaine, he should put them in a maruellous feare: brought his armie in the night hard to the wals of the citie of ARGOS, and at his first coming wanne a place they call Aspis, a verie strong place aboue the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The ARGIVES were so amazed at it, that no man would take vpon him to defend the citie, but receiued *Cleomenes* garrison, and gaue him twentie hostages, promising thenceforth to be true confederates vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnder his charge and conduct. The which doubtlesse wanne him great fame, and increased his power: for that the auncient kings of LACEDÆMON, could neuer before with any policie or deuise, winne the citie of ARGOS.

King Pyrrhus slaine at the city of Argos.

For king *Pyrrhus* one of the most valiantest and warlikest Princes that euer was, entring the citie of ARGOS by force, could not keepe it, but was slaine there, and the most part of his armie: wherby euery man wondred greatly at the diligence & counsel of *Cleomenes*. And where euery man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* said that he would folow *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, in making the citizens goods common, and discharging all debts: they were then cleerely perswaded that he onely was the cause and meane of that great chaunge, which they sawe in the courage of the SPARTANS: who were before so weake and out of heart, that they hauing no courage to defend themselues, the ÆTOLIANS entring LACONIA with an armie, tooke away at one time, fiftie thousand slaues. Whereupon an old man of SPARTA pleasantly said at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleasure, to ridde their country of LACONIA of such a rabble of rascals. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient discipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* selfe had beene aliue to haue trained them vnto it: they shewed themselues very valiant, and obedient also vnto their Magistrates, whereby they recouered againe the commaundement of all GREECE, and the countrie also of PELOPONNESVS. After *Cleomenes* had taken the citie of ARGOS, the cities also of CLEONES, and PHLIVNTA, did yeelde themselues vnto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remained at CORINTHE, & there did busily accuse them which were suspected to fauor the LACIDÆMONIANS. But when newes was brought him that ARGOS was taken, & that he perceiued also the citie of CORINTHE did leane vnto *Cleomenes* part, and draue away the ACHAIANS: he then calling the people to councell in CORINTHE, secretly stale to one of the gates of the citie, and causing his horse to be brought vnto him, tooke his backe, & gallopped for life vnto the citie of SICYONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they tooke their horsebackes also striuing who should be there soonest, and posted in such haste vnto *Cleomenes* at the citie of ARGOS, that many of them (as *Aratus* writeth) killed their horses by the way: howbeit *Cleomenes* was verie much offended with them, for that they had let him scape their handes. But *Aratus* saith further, that *Megistonus* came vnto him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great summe of money to deliuer him the castle of CORINTHE, wherein there was a great garrison of the ACHAIANS. But he aunswered againe, that things were not in his power, but rather that he was subiect to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the citie of ARGOS, ouercame the TROEZENIANS, the EPIDAVRIANS, and the HERMIONIANS. After that, he came vnto CORINTH, & presently entrenched the castle there round about, and sending for *Aratus* friends and factors, commaunded them to keepe his house and goods carefully for him, and sent *Tritymallus* MESSENIAN againe vnto him, to pray him to be contented that the castle might be kept indifferently betwixt the ACHAIANS & LACEDÆMONIANS, promising him priuately to double the pencion that king *Ptolomy* gaue him. But *Aratus* refusing it, sent his sonne vnto *Antigonus* with other hostages, and perswaded the ACHAIANS to deliuer vp the castle of CORINTHE, vnto *Antigonus* handes. *Cleomenes* vnderstanding it, entred with his army into the country of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus* goods and money, of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by decree. Now *Antigonus* in the meane time, being passed the mountaine of Gerania with a great power: *Cleomenes* determined not to fortifie the Isthmus or straight of PELOPONNESVS, but the wayes of the mountaines Onienes, determining to keepe euery one of them against the MACEDONIANS, with intent to consume them rather by time, than to fight a battell with an armie, so good souldiers and well trayned as they were. *Cleomenes* following this determination, did put *Antigonus* to great trouble, because he had not in time prouided for corne: and could not win the passage also

The force of Lycurgus lawes.

also by force, for that *Cleomenes* kept it with such guarde and souldiers. Then *Antigonus* stealing secretely into the hauen of Lechæum, he was stoutly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereuppon *Cleomenes* and his men being couragious for this victory, went quietly to supper. *Antigonus* on the other side fell into dispaire, to see him selfe brought by necessitie into such hard termes. Wherefore hee determined to goe to the temple of *Iuno*, and from thence to passe his army by sea into the city of SICYONE, the which required a long time, and great preparation. But the same night there came some of *Aratus* friendes of the ARGIVES, who comming from ARGOS by sea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled against *Cleomenes*. The practiser of this rebellion, was one *Aristoteles*, who easily brought the people vnto it, that were already offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promised to passe a law for the clearing of debtes, but performed it not according to their expectation. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thousande fiue hundred men which *Antigonus* gaue him, went by sea vnto EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit *Aristoteles* taried not his comming, but taking them of the city with him, went and besieged the garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the castell, being aided by *Timoxenus*, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. *Cleomenes* receiuing aduertisement hereof, about the second watch of the night, sent for *Megistonus* in hast, and commaunded him in anger speedily to goe and aide their men that were in the city of ARGOS. For it was *Megistonus* him selfe that promised *Cleomenes* the fidelity of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driuing them out of the city, which he suspected. So sending him away forthwith with two thousand men, he attended *Antigonus*, and comforted the CORINTHIANS the best he could: aduertising them that it was but a litle mutiny of a few, that chaunced in the city of ARGOS. *Megistonus* being come to ARGOS, and slaine in battell, fighting for the LACEDÆMONIANS in garrison there (who being in great distresse, scant able to keepe the castell against the enemies) sent sundry messengers vnto *Cleomenes*, to pray him to send them immediat aide. *Cleomenes* then being affrayd that the enemies hauing taken ARGOS, would stoppe his way to returne backe into his countrey, who hauing oportunity safely to spoile LACONIA, and also to besiege the city selfe of SPARTA, that had but a few men to defend it, he departed with his armie from CORINTH. Immediatly after came *Antigonus*, and tooke it from him, and put a strong garrison into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the city of ARGOS, hee scaled the walles, and breaking the vautes and arches of the place called Aspis, entred into the city, and ioyned with his garrison there, which yet resisted the ACHAIANS: and taking other parties of the same also, assaulted the walles, and cleared the streetes in such sort, that not an enemy durst be seene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he saw *Antigonus* a farre off, comming downe the hilles into the valley with his footmen, and that his horsemen also came vppon the spurre into the city: dispayring then that he could any longer keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and safely going downe by the walles retired without losse of any man. So, when in short time he had conquered much, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESVS: in shorter space also, he lost all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his campe, some did presently forsake him: others also immediately after surrendered vp the townes vnto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* being thus oppressed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the rest of his army, newes came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON, which grieued him as much as the losse of all his conquestes: for he was aduertised of the death of his wife *Agiatis*, whom he loued so dearly, that in the middest of his chiefest prosperity and victories, he made often iournies to SPARTA to see her. It could not but be a maruellous griefe vnto *Cleomenes*, who being a young man, had lost so vertuous and faire a yong Lady, so dearely beloued of him: and yet he gaue not place vnto his sorrow, neither did griefe ouercome his noble courage, but hee vsed the selfe same voice, apparell, and countenance, that he did before. Then taking order with his priuat Captaines, about his affaires, and hauing prouided also for the safety of the TEGEANS: he went the next morning by breake of day vnto SPARTA. After hee had priuately lamented the sorrow of his wiues death, with his mother and children: he presently bent his minde againe to publicke causes. Now *Cleomenes* had sent vnto *Ptolomie* King of ÆGYPT, who had

The Argiues doe rebell against Cleomenes.

Cleomenes lost the city of Corinthe.

Cleomenes lost the city of Argos.

The death of Agiatis, king Cleomenes wife

promiſed him aide, but vppon demaund, to haue his mother and children in pledge. So he was a long time before hee would for ſhame make his mother priuy vnto it, and went often tentimes of purpoſe to lette her vnderſtand it: but when hee came he hadde not the heart to breake it to her. Shee firſt ſuſpecting a thing, asked *Cleomenes* friendes, if her ſonne had not ſomewhat to ſay vnto her, that he durſt not vtter. Whereuppon, in fine he gaue the venture and brake the matter to her. When ſhee heard it, ſhee fell a laughing, and tolde him: why how commeth it to paſſe, that thou haſt kept it thus long, and wouldeſt not tell me? Come, ſayed ſhee, put me ſtraight into a ſhippe, and ſend me whither thou wilt, that this body of mine may doe ſome good vnto my countrey, before crooked age conſume my life without profite. Then all things being prepared for their iourney, they went by land, accompanied with the army, vnto the head of Tænarus. Where *Crateſiclea* being readie to imbarke, ſhee tooke *Cleomenes* aſide into the temple of *Neptune*, and imbracing and kiſſing him, perceiuing that his heart yerned for ſorrow of her departure, ſhee ſayed vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, lette no man ſee for ſhame when we come out of the temple, that we haue wept and diſhonoured SPARTA. For that onely is in our power, as for the reſt, as it pleaſeth the goddes, ſo lette it be. When ſhee had ſpoken theſe wordes, and faſhioned her countenaunce againe: ſhee went then to take her ſhip: with a litle ſonne of *Cleomenes*, and commaunded the maiſter of the ſhippe to hoyſe ſayle. Now when ſhee was arriued in ÆGYPT and vnderſtoode that king *Ptolomy* receiued Ambaſſadours from *Antigonus*, and were in talke to make peace with him: and hearing alſo that *Cleomenes* being requeſted by the ACHAIANS to make peace with them, durſt not hearken to it, and end that warre, without king *Ptolomyes* conſent, and becauſe of his mother: ſhee wrote vnto him, that he ſhould not feare to doe any thing that ſhould be expedient for the honour of SPARTA, without feare of diſpleaſing *Ptolomy*, or for regard of an olde woman, and a young boy. Such was the noble minde of this worthie Ladie in her ſonne *Cleomenes* aduerſity. Furthermore, *Antigonus* hauing taken the citie of TEGEA, and ſacked the other cities of ORCHOMENVM, and MANTINEA: *Cleomenes* ſeeing him ſelfe brought to defend the borders onely of LACONIA, ſhee did manumiſſe all the ILOTES, (which were the ſlaues of LACEDÆMON) paying fiue Attica Minas a man. With that money he made the ſumme of fiue hundred talentes, and armed two thouſand of theſe freede ſlaues after the MACEDONIAN faſhion to fight againſt the LEVCASPIDES: (to witte, the white ſhieldes of *Antigonus*) and then there fell into his minde a maruellous great enterpriſe, vnlooked for of euery man. The city of MEGALIPOLIS that time being as great as SPARTA, and hauing the aide of the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* at hand, (whom the ACHAIANS as it ſeemed had brought in, chiefly at the requeſt of the MEGALOPOLITANS) *Cleomenes* determining to ſacke this city, and knowing that to bring it to paſſe, nothing was more requiſite then celerity: he commanded his ſouldiers to victuall themſelues for fiue dayes, and marching with the choiſe of all his army towardes SELASIA, as though he had ment to haue ſpoyled the ARGIVES, ſodainely turning from thence, he inuaded the country of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and ſupping by ROETIVM, went ſtraight by ELICVNTA vnto the city. When he was come neare vnto it, he ſent *Panteas* before with ſpeed, with two bandes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded him to take a certaine peece of the wall betweene two towers, which he knew was not kept nor garded, and he followed him alſo with the reſt of his army comming on faire and ſoftly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the wal without gard or watch which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but alſo the moſt part of that ſide without defence: he tooke ſome part of the wall at his firſt comming, and manned it, & ouerthrew an other peece of it alſo, putting them all to the ſword that did defend it, and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the city with his army, before the MEGALOPOLITANS knew of his comming. At length, the citizens vnderſtanding that the city was taken, ſome fled in haſt, conueying ſuch light things as came to hand, in ſo great a feare: and the others alſo arming themſelues, ran together to reſiſt the enemies. But though they valiantly fought to repulſe them out of the city, and yet preuayled not: they gaue them leiſure thereby to flie and ſaue themſelues, ſo that there remained not behinde, aboue a thouſand men. For all the reſt were fled with their wiues and children, into the city of MESSINA.

The noble minde of Crateſiclea, Cleomenes mother.

Cleomenes ſendeth his mother and children hoſtages vnto Ptolomy king of AEgypt.

Cleomenes wan the city of Megalipolis.

The

The most part of them also that fought with the enemies, saued them selues, and very fewe were taken, the chiefest whereof, were *Lysandridas*, and *Thearidas*, the noblest persons that were amongest the MEGALOPOLITANS: wherefore when the souldiers had taken them, they brought them vnto *Cleomenes*. *Lysandridas*, when he saw *Cleomenes* a good way off, cried out aloud vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, this day thou hast an occasion offered thee to do a more famous princely act, then that which thou hast already done, and that will make thy name also more glorious. *Cleomenes* musing what he would request: well (quoth he) what is that thou requirest? One thing I will tell thee before hand, thou shalt not make mee restore your city to you againe. Yet, quoth *Lysandridas*, lette me request thus much then, that ye doe not destroy it, but rather replenish it with friendes and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that shall you do, giuing the MEGALOPOLITANS their city againe, and preseruing such a number of people as haue forsaken it. *Cleomenes* pawsing a while, answered, it was a hard thing to beleeue that: but yet quoth he, let honor take place with vs, before profite. After that he sent a Herauld straight vnto MESSENA vnto them that were fledde thither, and told them that he was contented to offer them their city againe, so that they would become good friends and confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, forsaking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. *Philopæmen* woulde by no meanes suffer the MEGALOPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor also to leaue their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he ment not to giue them their city againe, but to take them also with their city: and therefore draue *Thearidas* and *Lysandridas* out of MESSENA, that moued this practise. It was that *Philopæmen* that afterwardes was the chiefest man of the ACHAIANS, and that wanne such fame and honor among the GRECIANS, as wee haue particularly declared in his life. This word being brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the city from spoyling vntill that time: he was then so throughly offended, that he gaue the goods in preie to the souldiers, sent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto SPARTA, and defaced the chiefest parts of the city, and then returned home againe, being afraied of *Antigonus*, and the ACHAIANS. Howbeit they sturred not, because of the parliament that was kept at that time in the city of ÆGIVM, where *Aratus* being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ailed: he answered them, MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and raséd by *Cleomenes*. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the sodainnesse of this great losse, straight brake off their parliament and assembly. But *Antigonus* thinking to aide them, sent presently for all his garrisons, who being long a comming, he willed them to stay where they were, and hee him selfe taking a few souldiers with him, went vnto the city of ARGOS. Therefore the second enterprise of *Cleomenes* seemeth at the first sight a very rash and desperate attempt: howbeit *Polybius* writeth, that it was an attempt of great wisedome and policy. For *Cleomenes* vnderstanding that the MACEDONIANS were dispersed in garrisons in diuerse places, and that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the city of ARGOS, with a certaine number of footemen that were strangers: he inuaded the countrey of the ARGIVES with his army, perswading him selfe, that either *Antigonus* would for shame come and fight with him, or if he did not, that then hee should put him in disgrace with the ARGIVES: which in deede came so to passe. The ARGIVES seeing their countrey spoyled by *Cleomenes*, were in a maruellous rage, and gathering together at *Antigonus* lodging, they cried out vnto him, either to goe into the fielde and fight with the enemy: or else if he were affrayed, to resigne his office of Generall of GREECE, vnto others that were valianter than him selfe. But *Antigonus* like a wise and excellent Captaine, thinking it a dishonour to him rashely to put him selfe in daunger, and his friendes also, though he were prouoked with many iniuries and opprobrious wordes: would not goe into the fielde, but stood constant in his first determination. Then *Cleomenes* hauing brought his army hard to the wals of the city of ARGOS, and spoyled and destroyed the countrey round about: without lette or daunger he safely returned home againe. Within a while after, *Cleomenes* being aduertised that *Antigonus* was come vnto TEGEA, with intent to inuade the country of LACONIA: he going another way with his army (vnwitting to his enemies) they wondred whē they saw him in the morning by the city of ARGOS, spoiling their country, & cutting down their

Cleomenes noble saying.

Cleomenes raséd the city of Magalipolis.

Cleomenes stratageme.

A wise Captaine should not rashly put him self in hazard.

corne, not with sickles and kniues as other do vse, but with long poles in forme of Sithes, that the souldiers as they went sporting-wise, did ouerthrow and spoile it. But when they came to the place of exercises in the suburbes, called Cyllabris, certaine of the souldiers going about to haue sette it a fire, *Cleomenes* would not suffer them, and tolde them, that what he had done at MEGALOPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honestly done. Now *Antigonus*, presently returning backe againe, being minded first to haue gone directly to the citie of ARGOS, but sodainely altering his minde, did campe vppon the toppe of hilles and mountaines. *Cleomenes* seeming not to be affrayed of him, sent Heraulds to him to desire the keye of the temple of *Iuno*, and then after he had done sacrifice, he would depart his way. Thus mocking *Antigonus*, after he had sacrificed vnto the goddesse, vnder the temple that was shut vp, he sent his army vnto PHLIVNTA, and hauing driuen away the garrison out of OLOGVNTA, he came vnto the city of ORCHOMENVM, hauing not onely incouraged his citizens, but gotten euen amongest the enemies them selues, a fame also to be a noble Captaine, and worthy to manage great affaires. For euery man iudged him to be a skillfull souldier, and a valiant Captaine, that with the power of one onely city, did maintaine warre gainst the kingdome of MACEDON, against all the people of PELOPONNESVS, and against the treasure of so great a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne countrey of LACONIA vnfoyled, but farre otherwise to hurt his enemies countries, and to take so many greate ties of theirs. But he that sayed first, that money was the sinew of all things, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the warres. *Demades* the Orator sayed on a time, when the ATHENIANS commaunded certaine gallies should be put out of the arsenall into the sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speede, though they lacked money: he that rules the prowe, must first see before him. Meaning, munition and victuals must be prouided, before the shippes be set out. And it is reported also, that the auncient *Archidamus*, when the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS at the beginning of the warre at PELOPONNESVS required, that they might be sessed at a certaine rate, aunswered: the charges of warre haue no certaine stint. For like as wrestlers that exercise their bodies continually in games, are better able to wrestle, and ouerthrowe them with time, that haue no strength, but onely Art and slight: euen so King *Antigonus*, who by the greatnesse of his kingdome did destroy the charge of this warre, did wearie and ouercome *Cleomenes* at the length, because hee lacked money both to pay the straungers that serued him, and also to maintaine his owne citizens. For otherwise doubtlesse the time serued his turne well, because the troubles that fell vppon *Antigonus* in his realm, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his absence did spoile and destroy the realme of MACEDON, and specially the ILLYRIANS of the high countrey that came downe then with a great army: whereuppon the MACEDONIANS being spoiled and harried on all sides by them, they sent poste vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come home. If these letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as they came afterwardes: *Antigonus* had gone his way, and left the ACHAIANS. But fortune, that alwayes striketh the stroke in all weightiest causes, gaue such speede and fauour vnto him: that immediatly after the battell was fought at SELASIA, (where *Cleomenes* lost his army and city) the very messengers arriued that came for *Antigonus* to come home, the which made the ouerthrow of king *Cleomenes* so much more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two dayes longer, when the MACEDONIANS had bene gone, he might haue made what peace he would with the ACHAIANS: but for lacke of money, he was driuen (as *Polybius* writeth) to giue battell, with twentie thousand men, against thirtie thousand: where hee shewed him selfe an excellent and skilfull Captaine, and where his citizens also fought like valiant men, and the straungers in like case did shew them selues good souldiers. But his onely ouerthrow was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footemen. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that treason was the cause of his ouerthrow. For *Antigonus* had appointed the ACARNANIANS, and the ILLYRIANS which he had in his army, to steale vppon the wing of his enemies army, where *Euclidas*, king *Cleomenes* brother was, to compasse him in behinde, whilest he did sette the rest of his men in battell. When *Cleomenes* was got vp vpon some hill to looke about him, to see the countenance

The moderation of Cleomenes to his enemies.

Money, the sinew of wars.

The saying of Archidamus.

Cleomenes ouercome by Antigonus, for lacke of money to pay his souldiers.

The power of fortune.

Battell betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus at Selasia.

renaunce of the enemy, and seeing none of the ACARNANIANS, nor of the ILLYRIANS: he was then affrayed of *Antigonus*, that he went about some stratageme of warre. Wherefore he called for *Demoteles*, whose charge was to take heede of stratagemes and secrete ambushes, and commaunded him to looke to the rereward of his army, and to be very circumspect all about. *Demoteles*, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, told him that all was cleare in the rereward, and bad him looke to ouerthrow his enemies before him. *Cleomenes* trusting this report, set forward against *Antigonus*, and in the end, his citizens of SPARTA which he had about him, gaue such a fierce charge vpon the squadron of the MACEDONIAN footemen, that they draue them backe fiue furlongs off. But in the meane time, *Eudidas* his brother, in the other wing of his army, being compassed in behinde, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and seeing the ouerthrow, cried out aloude: alas, good brother, thou art but slaine, yet thou diest valiantly, and honestly, and thy death shall be a worthy example vnto all posterity, and shall be sung by the praises of the women of SPARTA. So *Eudidas* and his men being slaine, the enemies came straight to sette vppon *Cleomenes* wing. *Cleomenes* then seeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no longer resist the enemy, fledde, and saued him selfe. Many of the straungers also that serued him, were slaine at this battell: and of sixe thousand SPARTANS, there were left aliue but onely two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* being returned vnto SPARTA, the citizens comming to see him, he gaue them counsell to yeeld themselues vnto *Antigonus* the conquerour: and for him selfe, if either aliue or dead he could do any thing for the honour and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly doe it. The women of the city also, comming vnto them that flying had escaped with him, when hee saw them vnarme the men, and bring them drinke to refresh them with: he also went home to his own house. Then a maide of the house, which he had taken in the city of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had entertained euer since the death of his wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refresh him comming hot from the battell: howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame dry, nor sit being very weary, but armed as he was, layed his arme a crosse vppon a pillar, and leaning his head vpon it, reposed him selfe a litle, and casting in his mind all the waies that were to be thought of, he tooke his friends with him, and went to the hauen of Gythium, and there hauing his shippes which he had appointed for the purpose, he hoysed sayle, and departed his way. Immediatly after his departure, came *Antigonus* into the city of SPARTA, and curteously intreated the citizens and inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly despise the ancient honor and dignity of SPARTA: but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernment, when he had sacrificed to the goddes for his victory, hee departed from thence the third day, newes being brought him that the war was very great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did spoile his country. Now a disease tooke him, whereof he died afterwards, which appeared a tisicke, mixt with a sore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his country, & obtaining a famous victory, with great slaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet die honorably, as in deede he did, by *Phylarchus* testimony, who sayth, that with the force of his voice, fiercely crying out in the middest of his fight, he tare his lungs and lightes, worse then they were before. Yet in the schooles it is saied, that after he had wonne the battell, he was so ioyfull of it, that crying out, O blessed day: hee brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great feuer tooke him withall, that he died of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* departing out of the Isle of CYTHERA, went and cast ancker in an other Iland, called ÆGLALIA. Then determining to saile ouer to the city of CYRENA, *Therycion*, one of *Cleomenes* friends (a man that in warres shewed him selfe very valiant, but a boaster besides of his owne doings) tooke *Cleomenes* aside, and said thus vnto him: Truely O king, we haue lost an honorable occasion to die in battell, though euery man hath heard vs vaunt and say, that *Antigonus* should neuer ouercome the king of SPARTA aliue, but dead. A second occasion yet is offered vs to die, with much lesse honour and fame notwithstanding, then the first. Whither doe we saile to no purpose? Why doe we flie the death at hand, and seeke it so farre off? If it be no shame nor dishonour for the posterity and race of *Hercules* to serue the successors of *Philip* and *Alexander*: let vs saue then our labour, and long daungerous sailing, and goe yeelde our selues vnto *Antigonus*, who in likelihood will better

The treason of Demoteles.

Cleomenes ouerthrowen by Antigonus.

Antigonus wan the city of Sparta.

The death of Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius, king of Macedon.

Cleomenes flieth out of Peloponnesus.

The oration of Therycion, vnto Cleomenes against death.

» vse vs then *Ptolomy*, because the MACEDONIANS are farre more noble persons then the Æ-
» GYPTIANS. And if we disdaine to be commaunded by them which haue ouercome vs in
» battell, why then will we make him Lord of vs, that hath not ouercome vs: in steade of one,
» to make vs inferior vnto both, flying *Antigonus*, and seruing king *Ptolomy*? Can we say that we
» goe into ÆGYPT, in respect to see your mother there? A ioyfull sight no doubt, when she
» shall shew king *Ptolomyes* wiues her son, that before was a king; a prisoner, and fugitiue now.
» Were it not better for vs, that hauing yet LACONIA our country in sight, and our swords be-
» sides in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great misery, and so doing to excuse our selues
» vnto them that are slaine at SELASIA, for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly loosing our time
» in ÆGYPT, to enquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenaunt and Gouernour in LACEDE-
Cleomenes oration of death. MON: *Thericion* ending his oration, *Cleomenes* aunswered him thus: Doest thou thinke it a
» glory for thee to seeke death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest vnto any man, that
» can be: and yet, wretch that thou art: thou fliest now more cowardly and shamefully, then
» from the battell. For diuerse valiant men, and farre better then our selues, haue often yeelded
» vnto their enemies, either by some misfortune, or compelled by greater number and multi-
» tude of men: but hee say I, that submitteth him selfe vnto paine and misery, reproach and
» praise of men, he can not but confesse that he is ouercome by his owne vnhappines. For when
willing death, must haue honorable respect a man will willingly kill him selfe, he must not do it to be rid of paines and labor, but it must
haue an honourable respect and action. For, to liue or dye for his owne respect, that can not
but be dishonourable: the which now thou perswadest me vnto, to make me flie this pre-
» sent miserie we are in, without any honour or profite in our death. And therefore, I am of opi-
» nion, that we should not yet cast off the hope, we haue to serue our country in time to come:
» but when all hope fayleth vs, then we may easily make our selues away when we list. There-
» vnto *Thericion* gaue no aunswere, but as soone as he found oportunity to slippe from *Cleo-*
Cleomenes flieth into Aegypt vnto king Ptolomy. *menes*, he went to the sea side, and flue him selfe. *Cleomenes* hoysing saile from the Ile of
ÆGIALIA, went into AFRICKE, and was brought by the kings seruauntes vnto the citie
of ALEXANDRIA. King *Ptolomy* at his first comming, gaue *Cleomenes* no speciall good, but
indifferent intertainement: but after that he had shewed him selfe to be of great wisdome and
iudgement, and that *Ptolomy* saw in the simplicity of his LACONIAN life he had also a noble
disposition and courage, nothing degenerating from the princely race and bloud of *Hercules*,
and that he yeelded not to his aduersity: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the
company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had
made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be ouerthrowen by *Antigonus*,
who through the victory of him, had maruellously enlarged his honour and power. Then he
began to comfort *Cleomenes*, & doing him as great honor as could be, promised that he would
send him with ships and money into GREECE, and put him againe into his kingdom and fur-
ther, gaue him an anuall pencion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talentes, with the
which he simply and soberly entertained him selfe and his men about him: and bestowed all
the rest vpon his coūtry men that came out of GREECE into ÆGYPT. But now, old king *Pto-*
lomy deceasing before he could performe the promise he made vnto *Cleomenes*, to send him in-
to GREECE: the realme falling then into great lasciuiousnes, drunkennes, and into the gouern-
ment of women, his case and misery was cleane forgotten. For the young king his sonne was
so giuen ouer to women and wine, that when he was most sober, and in his best wits, he most
disposed him selfe to make feastes and sacrifices, and to haue the taber playing in his Court,
to gather people together, like a stage player or iugler, whilest one *Agathoclea* his lemman, and
her mother, and *Oenanthes* a baude, did rule all the affaires of the state. But when he came to
be king, it appeared he had neede of *Cleomenes*: because he was affrayed of his brother *Magas*,
who by his mothers means, was very well esteemed of among souldiers. Wherefore he called
Cleomenes to him, & made him of his priuy counsell, where he deuised by practise, which way
to kill his brother. All other his frends that were of counsell with him, did counsell him to do
it: but *Cleomenes* onely vehemently disswaded him from it, and tolde him, that if it were pos-
sible, rather more brethren should be begotten vnto the king for the safety of his person, and
for deuiding of the affaires of the kingdome betweene them. Amongest the kings familiars
that

that was chiefeſt about him, there was one *Soſibius* that ſaid vnto *Cleomenes*: ſo long as his brother *Magas* liued, the ſouldiers that be ſtraungers, whom the king entertained, would neuer be true to him. *Cleomenes* aunſwered him, for that matter there was no daunger: for ſayth he, of thoſe hyred ſtraungers, there are three thouſand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knew at the twinckling of an eye, would be at his commaundement, to come with their armour and weapon where he would appoint them. Theſe wordes of *Cleomenes* at that time ſhewed his faith and good will he bare vnto the king, and the force he was of beſides. But afterwards, *Ptolomies* fearefulneſſe increaſing his miſtruſt: (as it commonly hapneth, that they that lacke wit, thinke it the beſt ſafetie to be fearefull of euery wagging of a ſtraw, and to miſtruſt euery man) the remembraunce of *Cleomenes* wordes made him much ſuſpected of the Courtiers, vnderſtanding that he could do ſo much with the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers: in ſomuch as ſome of them ſayd, ſee (meaning *Cleomenes*) there is a lyon amongeſt ſheepe. Indeed, conſidering his faſhions and behauiour, they might well ſay ſo of him: for he would looke through his fingers as though he ſaw nothing, and yet ſaw all what they did. In fine, he required an armie & ſhips of the king: and vnderſtanding alſo that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the ACHAIANS & ÆOLIANS were at great warres together, & that the affaires of his conntry did call him home, all PELOPONNESVS being in armes & vprore, he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But neuer a man would giue eare vnto him, and the king alſo heard nothing of it, becauſe he was continually entertained among Ladies, with banckets, daunceing, & maskes. But *Soſibius* that ruled all the realme, thought that to keepe *Cleomenes* againſt his will, were a hard thing, and alſo daungerous: and to let him go alſo, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a ſturring minde, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their gouernement: he thought that alſo no ſafe way, ſith no giftes nor preſents that could be offered him, could ſofte him. For as the holy bull (which they call in ÆGYPT Apis) that is full fed in goodly paſture, doth yet deſire to follow his naturall courſe and libertie, to runne and leape at his pleaſure, and plainly ſheweth that it is a griefe to him to be kept ſtill by the Prieſt: euen ſo the courtly pleaſures did nothing delight *Cleomenes*, but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:

Cleomenes vertue.

It irkt his noble hart to ſit at home in ſlothfull reſt,
When martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked beſt.

Now *Cleomenes* ſtanding in theſe termes, there arriued in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras* MESSENIAN, who maliced *Cleomenes* in his hart, but yet ſhewed as though he loued him. This *Nicagoras* on a time had ſold *Cleomenes* certaine land, but was not payed for it, either becauſe he had no preſent money, or elſe by occaſiõ of the warres which gaue him no leaſure to make payment. *Cleomenes* one day by chance walking vpon the ſandes, he ſaw *Nicagoras* landing out of his ſhip, being newly arriued, and knowing him, he curteouſly welcomed him, & asked what wind had brought him into ÆGYPT. *Nicagoras* gently ſaluting him againe, told him that he had brought the king excellent horſe of ſeruice. *Cleomenes* ſmiling, told him, thou haddeſt bene better haue brought him ſome curtiſans and daunſers, for they would haue pleaſed the king better. *Nicagoras* faintly laughed at his anſwer, but within few dayes after he did put him in remembraunce of the land he ſold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to money, telling him that he would not haue preſt him for it, but that he had ſuſteined loſſe by marchandiſe. *Cleomenes* aunſwered him, that all his penſion was ſpent he had of the king. *Nicagoras* being offended with this anſwer, he went & told *Soſibius* of the mocke *Cleomenes* gaue the king. *Soſibius* was glad of this occaſion, but yet deſiring further matter to make the king offended with *Cleomenes*, he perſwaded *Nicagoras* to writ a letter to the king againſt *Cleomenes*, as though he had conſpired to take the citie of CYRENA, if the king had giuẽ him ſhippes, money, and men of warre. When *Nicagoras* had written this letter, he tooke ſhippe, and hoyſed ſayle. Foure dayes after his departure, *Soſibius* brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly receiued it. The king vpõ ſight of it was ſo offended with *Cleomenes*, that he gaue preſent order he ſhould be ſhut vp in a great houſe, where he ſhould haue his ordinarie dyed allowed him, howbeit that he ſhould keepe his houſe. This grieued *Cleomenes* much, but yet he was worſe affrayd of that which was to come, by this occaſion: *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Chryſermus*, one of the kings familiars, who had ofentimes before bene very conuer-

Nicagoras Meſſenian, an enemy to Cleomenes.

Cleomenes committed to priſon in Alexandria.

sant & familiar with *Cleomenes*, and did franckly talke together in all matters: *Cleomenes* one day sent for him, to pray him to come vnto him. *Ptolomie* came at his requeſt, and familiarly diſcourſing together, went about to diſſwade him from all the ſuſpitions he had, and excuſed the king alſo for that he had done vnto him: ſo taking his leaue he left him, not thinking that *Cleomenes* followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he ſharply tooke vp the ſouldiers, ſaying, that they were very negligēt & careleſſe in looking to ſuch a fearefull beaſt as he was, and ſo ill to be taken, if he once ſcaped their handes. *Cleomenes* heard what he ſayd, and went into his lodging againe, *Ptolomy* knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very wordes againe vnto his friends. Then all the SPARTANS conuerting their good hope into anger, determined to be reuenged of the iniurie *Ptolomie* had done them, and to dye like noble SPARTANS not tarying till they ſhould be brought to the ſhambles like fat weathers, to be ſold and killed. For it would be a great ſhame & diſhonor vnto *Cleomenes*, hauing refuſed to make peace with *Antigonus*, a noble Prince and warrier: to tary the kinges pleaſure till he had left his drunckenneſſe and daunſing, and then to come and put him to death. They being fully reſolued hereof, as you haue heard: king *Ptolomie* by chance went vnto the citie of CANOBVS, & firſt they gaue out in ALEXANDRIA, that the king minded to ſet *Cleomenes* at libertie. The *Cleomenes* friends obſeruing the cuſtom of the kings of ÆGYPT, whē they meant to ſet a priſoner at libertie (which was, to ſend the priſoners meate, and preſentes before to their ſupper) did ſend vnto him ſuch manner of preſents, & ſo deceiued the ſouldiers that had the keeping of him, ſaying, that they brought thoſe preſents from the king. For *Cleomenes* himſelfe did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and ſent vnto the ſouldiers that kept him, part of thoſe preſents that were ſent vnto him, and ſupping with his friendes that night, made mery with them, euery man being crowned with garlands. Some ſay, that he made the more haſt to execute his enterpriſe, ſooner then he would haue done, by meanes of one of his men that was priuie vnto his conſpiracie: who went euery night to lye with a woman he kept, and therfore was afraid leſt he would bewray them. *Cleomenes* about noone, perceiuing the ſouldiers had take in their cuppes, and that they were a ſleepe: he put on his coate, and vnripping it on the right ſhoulder, went out of the houſe with his ſword drawen in his hand, accompanied with his friends following him in that ſort, which were thirty in all. Amongeſt them there was one called *Hippotas*, who being lame, went very liuely out with them at the firſt: but when he ſaw they went fayre & ſoftly becauſe of him, he prayed them to kill him, becauſe they ſhould not hinder their enterpriſe for a lame man, that could do them no ſeruice. Notwithſtanding, by chaunce they met with a townes man a horſe-backe, that came hard by their doore, whom they pluckt from his horſe, and caſt *Hippotas* vpon him: and then ranne through the citie, and cryed to the people, libertie, libertie. Now the people had no other courage in them, but onely commended *Cleomenes*, & wōdred at his valiantneſſe: but otherwiſe to follow him, or to further his enterpriſe, not a man of them had any hart in them. Thus running vp and downe the towne, they met with *Ptolomie* (the ſame whom we ſayd before was the ſonne of *Chryſermus*) as he came out of the Court: Whereupon three of them ſetting on him, ſlue him preſently. There was alſo an other *Ptolomie* that was gouernour and Lieutenant of the citie of ALEXANDRIA: who hearing a rumour of this ſturre, came vnto them in his coche. They went and met him, & firſt hauing driuen away his garde and ſouldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coche, and ſlue him alſo. After that they went towardes the caſtle, with intent to ſet all the priſoners there at libertie to take their part. Howbeit the iaylers that kept them had ſo ſtrongly locked vp the priſon doores, that *Cleomenes* was repulſed, and put by his purpoſe. Thus wandring vp and downe the citie, no man neither came to ioyne with him, nor to reſiſt him, for euery man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going vp and down, he turned him to his friends, and ſayd vnto them: it is no maruell though women command ſuch a cowardly people, that flye in this ſort from their libertie. Thereupon he prayed them all to dye like men, and like thoſe that were brought vp with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his ſo noble deedes. Then the firſt man that made himſelfe be ſlayne, was *Hippotas* who dyed of a wound one of the young men of his companie gaue him with a ſword at his requeſt. After him euery man ſlue themſelues, one after an other, without any feare at all, ſa-

Cleomenes practiſeth to kill king Ptolomy.

The end and death of Cleomenes and his friendes.

The courage of Panteas.

uing *Panteas*, who was the first man that entred the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a fayre young man, and had bene very well brought vp in the LACONIAN discipline, and better then any man of his yeares. *Cleomenes* did loue him dearely, and commaunded him that when he should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill himselfe last of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he searched them one after an other with the poynt of his sword, to see if there were any of them yet left aliue: and when he had pricked *Cleomenes* on the heele amongest others, and saw that he did yet knit his browes, he kissed him, & sate down by him. Then perceiuing that he had yeelded vp the ghost, imbracing him when he was dead, he also slue himselfe, and fell vpon him. Thus *Cleomenes* hauing raigned king of SPARTA sixteen yeares, being the same manner of man we haue described him to be: he ended his dayes in this sort as ye heare. Now, his death being presently bruted through the citie, *Cratesiclea* his mother, though otherwise she had a noble mind, did notwithstanding a litle forget her greatnesse, through the extreme sorow she felt for the death of her sonne: and so imbracing *Cleomenes* sonnes, she fell to bitter lamentation. But the eldest of his sonnes, (no man mistrusting any such matter) found meanes to get out of her handes, and running vp to the top of the house, cast himselfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and splitted, yet dyed not, but was taken vp crying, & angry with them, that they would not suffer him to dye. This newes being brought to king *Ptolomie*, he commaunded they should first flea *Cleomenes*, and then hang vp his body, and also, that they should put his children, his mother, and all her women wayting on her to death: among the which was *Panteas* wife, one of the fayrest & courteousest women in her time. They had not bene long maried before, when these mischeines lighted vpon them, at what time their loue was then in greatest force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit shortly after she found the meanes to get her a horse, and some money, and stale away in the night, and gallopped towardes the hauen of Tænarus, where finding a shippe ready bound for ÆGYPT, she imbarked, and went to seeke her husband, with whom she gladly and louingly led her life, forsaking her owne country, to liue in a straunge Realme. Now when the Sergeaunts came to take *Cratesiclea* to put her to death, *Panteas* wife led her by the arme, carying vp her traine, and did comfort her, although *Cratesiclea* otherwise was not affrayd to dye, but onely asked this fauour, that she might dye before her litle children. This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman first slue her children before her eyes, and then her selfe afterwardes, who in such great griefe and sorow, spyed no more but thus: Alas, my poore children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* wife also, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the slayne bodies one after an other, and wrapped them vp in such things as she could get, speaking neuer a word, nor shewing any signe or token of griefe. And in fine, hauing prepared her selfe to dye, & plucked off her attyre her selfe, without suffering any other to come neare her, or to see her, but the hangman that was appointed to strike off her head: in this sort she dyed as constantly, as the stoutest man liuing could haue done, and had so couered her body, that no man needed after her death to touch her: so carefull was she to her end, to keepe her honesty, which she had alwayes kept in her life, and in her death was mindefull of her honour, wherewith she decked her body in her life time. Thus these LACEDÆMON Ladies playing their partes in this pitifull tragedie, contending at the time of death, euen with the courage of the slaine SPARTANS their countrymen, which of them should dye most constantly: left a manifest proofe and testimony, that fortune hath no power ouer fortitude and courage. Shortly after, those that were appointed to keepe the body of king *Cleomenes* that hung vpon the crosse, they spied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, in somuch as no rauening foule durst come neare him to eate of it: whereupon the king fell into a superstitious feare, being affrayed that he had offended the goddes. Hereupon, the Ladies in his Coutt began to make many sacrifices of purification, for the clearing of this sinne: perswading themselues, that they had put a man to death, beloued of the gods, and that he had something more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRINIANS thereupon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers vnto *Cleomenes*, as vnto a demy god, calling him the sonne of the gods. Vntill that the learned men

Cleomenes hanging vpon a crosse, had a Serpent wreathed about his head.

Liuing things breeding of the corruption of dead beastes.

brought them from that errour, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead & rotten there breed bees, and of horse also come waspes, and of asses likewise bitels: euen so mens bodies, when the marow melteth and gathereth together, do bring forth Serpents. The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in old time, of all other beastes they did consecrate the Dragon to Kings and Princes, as proper vnto man.

Why the Dragon is cõsecrated vnto Princes.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.

TIBERIVS AND CAIVS *Gracchi.*

NOw that we haue declared vnto you the historie of the liues of these two GRECIANS, *Agis*, and *Cleomenes* aforesayd: we must also write the historie of two ROMAINES, the which is no lesse lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chanced vnto *Tiberius* & *Caius*, both of them the sonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*. He hauing bene twise Consull, & once Censor, & hauing had the honour of two triumphs: had notwithstanding more honour and fame onely for his valiantnesse, for the which he was thought worthy to marie with *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Scipio*, who ouercame *Hannibal* after the death of his father: though while he liued he was neuer his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that *Tiberius* on a time found two snakes in his bed, and that the Soothsayers and wisards hauing considered the signification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and also to let them both escape, but one onely: assuring him that if he killed the male, he should not liue long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife *Cornelia* should dye. *Tiberius* then louing his wife dearely, thinking it meeter for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a young woman, should dye before her: he slue the male, and let the female escape, howbeit he dyed soone after, leauing twelue children aliue, all of them begotten of *Cornelia*. *Cornelia* after the death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her house and children, led such a chast life, was so good to her children, and of so noble a minde: that euery man thought *Tiberius* a wise man for that he dyed, and left her behind him. She remaining widow, king *Ptolomie* made suite vnto her, and would haue made her his wife and Queene. But she refused, and in her widowhood lost all her children, but one daughter, (whom she bestowed vpon the younger *Scipio Affrican*) and *Tiberius*, and *Caius*, whose liues we presently write. Those she so carefully brought vp, that they being become more ciuill, and better cõditioned, then any other ROMAINES in their time: euery man iudged, that education preuailed more in them, then nature. For, as in the

The worthines of Tiberius Gracchus the father.

Tiberius Gracchus the father, maried Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africã.

The tender loue of Tiberius to his wife Cornelia.

The prayse of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

the fauours and pictures of *Castor* and *Pollux*, there is a certaine difference discerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wrestling, and the other for running: euen so betweene these two young brethren, amongst other the great likenesse betweene thē, being both happely borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithstanding great difference in their actions and doings in the common wealth: the which I thinke conuenient to declare, before I proceede any farther. First of all, for the fauour of the face, the looke and mouing of the body, *Tiberius* was much more mild and tractable, and *Caius* more hot and earnest. For the first in his orations was very modest, and kept his place: & the other of all the ROMAINES was the first, that in his oration ietted vp & downe the pulpit, & that plucked his gowne ouer his shoulders: as they write of *Cleo* ATHENIAN, that he was the first of all Oratours that opened his gown, and clapped his hand on his thigh in his oration. Furthermore, *Caius* wordes, and the vehemencie of his perswasion, were terrible and full of passion, but *Tiberius* wordes in contrary manner, were mild, moued men more to compassion, being very proper, and excellently applied, where *Caius* wordes were full of fineness and curiositie. The like difference also was between them in their fare & dyet. For *Tiberius* alwaies kept a conuenient ordinary: & *Caius* also in respect of other ROMAINES, liued very temperatly, but in respect of his brothers fare, curiously & superfluously. In somuch as *Drusus* on a time reproued him, because he had bought certaine Dolphins of siluer, to the value of a thousand two hundred and fiftie Drachmas for euery pound waight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall disposition of them both agreeing with the diuersitie of their tongues, the one being milde and plausible, and the other hot and cholleticke: in somuch that otherwhile forgetting himselfe in his Oration, against his will he would be very earnest, & strayne his voyce beyond his cōpasse, & so with great vncomelinesse confound his wordes. Yet finding his owne fault, he deuised this remedie. He had a seruaunt called *Licinius*, a good wise man, who with an instrument of Musicke he had, by the which they teach men to rise & fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he euer stood behind him: & whē he perceiued that his maisters voyce was a litle too loud, & that through choller he exceeded his ordinarie speach: he played a soft stoppe behind him, at the sound whereof *Caius* immediatly fell from his extremitie, & easily came to himselfe againe. And here was the diuersitie betweene them. Otherwise, for their hardinesse against their enemies, the iustice vnto their tenaunts, the care and paynes in their offices of charge, and also their continencie against voluptuousnesse: in all these they were both alike. For age, *Tiberius* was elder by nine yeares, by reason whereof their seuerall authoritie and doings in the common wealth fell out at sundry times. And this was one of the chiefest causes why their doings prospered not, because they had not both authoritie in one selfe time, neither could they ioyne their power together: the which if it had met at one selfe time, had bene of great force, & peraduenture inuincible. Wherefore we must write particularly of them both, but first of all we must begin with the elder. He, whē he came to mans state, had such a name and estimation, that immediatly they made him fellow, in the colledge of the Priests, which at ROME are called Augures: (being those that haue the charge to consider of signes & predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes, then for nobilitie. The same doth *Appius Clodius* witnesse vnto vs, one that hath bene both Consull and Censor, & also President of the Senate, and of greater authoritie then any man in his time. This *Appius* at a supper when all the Augures were together, after he had saluted *Tiberius*, & made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage. *Tiberius* was very glad of the offer, and there withall the mariage was presently concluded betweene them. Thereupon *Appius* comming home to his house, at the threshold of his doore he called a loude for his wife, and told her: *Antistia*, I haue bestowed our daughter *Clodia*. She wondring at it, ô gods said she, & what needed all this hast? what couldest thou haue done more, if thou haddest gottē her *Tiberius Gracchus* for her husband? I know that some referre this historie vnto *Tiberius*, father of these two men we write of, and vnto *Scipio* the AFRICAN: but the most part of writers agree with that we write at this present. And *Polybius* himselfe also writeth, that after the death of *Scipio* AFRICAN, his friends being met together, they chose *Tiberius* before all the other yong men of the citie, to marie him vnto *Cornelia*, being free, and vnpromised, or bestowed vpon a-

A true description of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi.

Tiberius made Augure.

Tiberius married Appius Clodius daughter.

Tiberius Gracchus souldier fare.

ny mã by her father. Now *Tiberius* the yonger being in the warres in AFRICKE vnder *Scipio* the second, who had maried his sister: lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble gifts of nature, to allure mens harts to desire to follow his valiantnesse. So in a short time he did excell all the young men of his time, aswell in obedience, as in the valiantnesse of his person: in somuch that he was the first man that scaled the walles of the enemies, as *Fannius* reporteth, who sayth that he scaled the walles with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterprise. So that being present, all the campe were in loue with him: and when he was absent, euery man wished for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his chaunce to go against the NVMANTINES, with *Caius Mancinus* one of the Consuls, who was an honest man, but yet had the worst lucke of any Captaine the ROMAINES had. Notwithstanding, *Tiberius* wisedome and valiantnesse, in this extreme ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glory to him, but also most wonderfull, the great obedience and reuerence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did so trouble and grieue him, that he could not tell himselfe, whether he was Captaine or not. For when he was ouerthrowen in great foughten fieldes, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The NVMANTINES hearing of it, first tooke his campe, and then ranne after them that fled, and setting vpon the rereward, slue them, and enuironned all his armie. So that they were driuen into straight and narrow places, where out they could by no meanes escape. Thereupon *Mancinus* dispayring that he could get out by force, he sent a Herauld to the enemies to treate of peace. The NVMANTINES made aunswere, that they would trust no man but *Tiberius* onely, and therefore they willed he should be sent vnto them. They desired that, partly for the loue they bare vnto the vertues of the young man, because there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly also, as remembring his father *Tiberius*, who making warres in SPAYNE, and hauing there subdued many nations, he graunted the NVMANTINES peace, the which he caused the ROMAINES afterwardes to confirme and ratifie. Hereupon *Tiberius* was sent to speake with them, and partly obteyning that he desired, and partly also graunting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby assuredly he saued the liues of twentie thousand ROMAINE Citizens, besides slaues & other stragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithstanding, the NVMANTINES tooke the spoyle of all the goods they found in the ROMAINES campe, among the which they founde *Tiberius* booke of account touching the money disbursed of the treasure in his charge. *Tiberius* being maruellous desirous to haue his booke againe, returned backe to NVMANTIA with two or three of his friends onely, though the army of the ROMAINES were gone farre on their way. So comming to the towne, he spake vnto the gouernours of the citie, and prayed them to redeliuer him his bookes of account, because his malitious enemies should not accuse him, calling him to account for his doings. The NVMANTINES were very glad of this good hap, and prayed them to come into the towne. He standing still in doubt with himselfe what to do, whether he should go into the towne or not: the gouernours of the citie came to him, and taking him by the hand, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friends, and that he would trust them. Whereupon *Tiberius* thought best to yeeld to their perswasion, being desirous also to haue his bookes againe, and the rather, for feare of offending the NVMANTINES, if he should haue denyed and mistrusted them. When he was brought into the citie, they prouided his dinner, and were very earnest with him, intreating him to dyne with them. Then they gaue him his bookes againe, and offered him moreouer to take what he would of all the spoyles they had gotten in the campe of the ROMAINES. Howbeit of all that, he would take nothing but franckensence, which he vsed, when he did any sacrifice for his country: and then taking his leaue of them, with thankes he returned. When he was returned to ROME, all this peace concluded was vtterly misliked, as dishonourable to the Maiestie of the Empire of ROME. Yet the parents and friendes of them that had serued in this warre, making the greatest part of the people: they gathered about *Tiberius*, saying that what faultes were committed in this seruice, they were to impute it vnto the Consull *Mancinus*, and not vnto *Tiberius*, who had saued such a number of ROMAINES liues. Notwithstãding, they that were offended with this dis-

Tiberius Gracchus chosen Quæstor.

Tiberius Gracchus concludeth peace with the Numantines.

dishonorable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their forefathers in the like case. For they sent backe their Captaines naked vnto their enemies, because they were contented the SAMNITS should spoyle them of that they had, to escape with life. Moreouer, they did not onely send them the Captaines and Consuls, but all those also that bare any office in the field, and had consented vnto that condition: to the end they might lay all the periurie and breach of peace vpon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the loue and good will the people did beare vnto *Tiberius*. For they gaue order, that the Consull *Mancinus* should be sent naked, and bound vnto the NVMANTINES, & for *Tiberius* sake, they pardoned all the rest. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great sway at that time in ROME, & was a man of greatest account, did helpe him at that pinch: who notwithstanding was ill thought of, because he did not also saue the Consull *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the NVMANTINES, cõsidering it was made by *Tiberius* his friend & kinsmã. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* friends, and certain learned men, which stirred him vp against *Scipio*. But, yet it fell not out to open malice betweene them, neither followed there any hurt vpon it. And surely I am perswaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into those troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio* AFRICAN had bene present, when he passed those things he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in warres at the siege of NVMANTIA, when *Tiberius* vpon this occasion passed these lawes. When the ROMAINES in old time had ouercome any of their neighbours, for raunsome they tooke oftentimes a great deale of their land from them, part whereof they sold by the cryer, for the benefite of the common wealth, and part also they reserued to their state as demeane, which afterwardes was let out to farme for a small rent yearely, to the poore Citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the rich men inhaunsed the rents, and so began to thrust out the poore men. Thereupon was an ordinance made, that no Citizen of ROME should haue aboue fiue hundred acres of land. This law for a time did bridle the couetousnesse of the rich men, and did ease the poore also that dwelt in the country, vpon the farmes they had taken vp of the common wealth, and so liued with their owne, or with that their Aunceſtors had from the beginning. But by processe of time, their rich neighbours, by names of other men, got their farmes ouer their heades, and in the end, the most of them were openly seene in it in their owne names. Whereupon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, wēt but with faint courage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp of children: So that in short time, the free men left ITALIE, and slaues and barbarous people did repleniſh it, whom the rich men made to plough those landes, which they had taken from the ROMAINES. *Caius Lælius*, one of *Scipioes* friends, gaue an attempt to reform this abuse: but because the chiefest of the citie were against him, fearing it would breake out to some vprore, he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called *Lælius* the wise. But *Tiberius* being chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforesayd, being allured vnto it (as diuers writers report) by *Diophanes* the Oratour, and *Bloßius* the Philosopher: of the which, *Diophanes* was banished from the citie of MITYLENE, & *Bloßius* the ITALIAN from the citie of CVMES, who was scholler and familiar vnto *Antipater* of TARSVS at ROME, by whom he was honored by certaine workes of Philosophy he dedicated vnto him. And some also do accuse their mother *Cornelia*, who did twit her sons in the teeth, that the ROMAINES did yet call her *Scipioes* mother in law, and not the mother of the GRACCHI. Other say it was *Spurius Posßumius*, a companion of *Tiberius* and one that contended with him in eloquence. For *Tiberius* returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputation, and well beloued of euery one: he sought to excell him by attempting this noble enterprise, and of so great expectation. His owne brother *Caius* in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the warres of NVMANTIA, passing through THVSCAN, he founde the country in manner vnhabited: and they that did follow the plough, or keepe beastes, were the most of them slaues, and barbarous people, come out of a straunge country. Whereupon euer after it ranne in his minde to bring this enterprise to passe, which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine, it was the people onely that most set his hart a fire to couet honour, and that hastened his determination: first bringing him to it by bylles set vp on euerie wall, in euerie porche, and vpon the tombes, praying him by them to cause the poore Ci-

The peace broken with the Numantines.

Why Tiberius preferred the law Agraria.

Iugera.

Why Caius Lælius was called the wise.

Tiberius Gracchus chosen Tribune of the people.

Counsellers to Tiberius for preferring the law.

tizens of ROME to haue their landes restored, which were belonging to the common wealth. This notwithstanding he himselfe made not the law alone of his owne head, but did it by the counsell and aduise of the chiefest men of ROME, for vertue and estimation: Among the which, *Crassus* the high Bishop was one, and *Mutius Scæuola* the Lawyer, that then was Consull, and *Appius Clodius* his father in law. And truely it seemeth, that neuer law was made with greater fauour, then that which he preferred against so great iniustice, and auarice. For those that should haue bene punished for transgressing the law, and should haue had the landes taken from them by force, which they vniustly kept against the law of ROME, and that should also haue bene amersed for it: he ordeined that they should be payed by the common wealth to the value of the landes, which they held vniustly, and so should leaue them to the poore Citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and relefe. Now, though the reformation established by this law, was done with such great fauour: the people notwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was past, so that they might haue no more wrong offred them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great possessions, hated the law for their auarice, and for spight and selfwill (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly foode with the Lawyer that had preferred the law, and sought by all deuise they could to dissuade the people from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this law Agraria againe, to disturbe the common wealth, and to make some alteration in the state. But they preuailed not. For *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it selfe was good and iust, with such eloquence as might haue iustified an euill cause, was inuincible: and no man was able to argue against him to confute him, when speaking in the behalfe of the poore Citizens of ROME, (the people being gathered round about the pulpit for Orations) he told them, that the wild beastes through ITALIE had their dennes & caues of abode, and that the men that fought, and were slaine for their country, had nothing else but ayre & light, & so were compelled to wander vp & down with their wiues & children, hauing no resting place nor house to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their souldiers, whē they encourage them in battell to fight valiantly for the graues, the temples, their own houses, & their predecessours. For, sayd he, of such number of poore Citizens as there be, there can not a man of them shew any auncient house or tombe of their aunce stours: because the poore men do go to the warres, & be slaine for the rich mens pleasures and wealth: besides, they falsly call them Lordes of the earth, where they haue not a handfull of ground, that is theirs. These & such other like wordes being vttered before all the people with such vehemencie and troth, did so moue the common people with all, and put them in such a rage, that there was no aduersarie of his able to withstand him. Therefore, leauing to contrary and deny the law by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in *Marcus Octauius*, colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in office, who was a graue and wise young man, and *Tiberius* very familiar friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the confirmation of this law: he prayed them to hold him excused, because *Tiberius* was his very friend. But in the end, being compelled vnto it through the great number of the riche men that were importunate with him: he did withstand *Tiberius* law, the which was enough to ouerthrow it. For if any one of the Tribunes speake against it, though all the other passe with it, he ouerthroweth it: because they all can do nothing, if one of them be against it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this first fauourable law, & in a rage preferred an other more gratefull to the common people, as also more extreme against the rich. In that law he ordeined, that whosoeuer had any landes contrary to the auncient lawes of ROME, that he should presently depart from them. But thereupon there fell out cōtinuall brawles in the pulpit for orations, against *Octauius*: in the which, though they were very earnest and vehement one against an other, yet there passed no fowle words from them, (how hot socuer they were one with an other) that should shame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth such a stay & knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleasure to make him regard his credit, both in word & deed: but in passion and anger also, and in their greatest ambition of glory. Therupon *Tiberius* finding that this law among others touched *Octauius*, because he enioyed a great deale of land that was the common wealthes: he prayed him secretly to contend no more against him, promising

Lex Agraria.

Tiberius Orations.

Marcus Octauius Tribune, did withstand Tiberius law.

The modest contention betwixt Tiberius and Octauius.

mising him to giue him of his own, the value of those lands which he should be driuen to forsake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he saw *Octauius* would not be perswaded, he then preferred a law, that all Magistrates and Officers should cease their authoritie, till the law were either past, or reiected, by voyces of the people; and thereupon he set his own seale vpō the doores of the temple of *Saturne*, where the cofers of the treasure lay, because the treasurers themselues during that time, should neither take out nor put in any thing, vpon great penalties to be forfeited by the Prætors or any other Magistrate of authoritie, that should breake this order. Hereupon, all the Magistrates fearing this penaltie, did leaue to exercise their office for the time. But then the rich men that were of great liuings, chaunged their apparell, and walked very sadly vp and downe the market place, and layed secret wait to take *Tiberius*, hauing hyred men to kill him: which caused *Tiberius* himselfe, openly before them all, to weare a short dagger vnder his long gowne, properly called in Latin, Dolon. When the day came that this law should be established, *Tiberius* called the people to giue their voyces: and the rich men on the other side, they tooke away the pots by force, wherein the papers of mens voyces were throwen, so that there was like to fall out great sturre vpon it. For the faction of *Tiberius* was the strōger side, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not bene for *Manlius* & *Fuluius*, both the which had bene Cōsuls, who went vnto him, & besought him with the teares in their eyes, & holding vp their hāds, that he would let the law alone. *Tiberius* thereupon, foreseeing the instant daunger of some great mischief, as also for the reuerence he bare vnto two such noble persons, he stayed a litle, and asked them what they would haue him to do. They made aunswere, that they were not able to counsell him in a matter of so great waight, but they prayed him notwithstanding, he would be contented to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. Thereupon he graunted them presently. But afterwards perceiuing that the Senate sate vpon it, and had determined nothing, because the rich mē were of too great authoritie: he entred into an other deuise that was neither honest nor meete, which was, to depriue *Octauius* of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to passe the law. But before he tooke that course, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with curteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to stand no more against him, and to do the people this pleasure, which required a matter iust & reasonable, & onely requested this small recompence for the great paines they tooke in seruice abroad for their countrey. *Octauius* denied him plainly. Then said *Tiberius* openly, that both of them being brethren in one selfe place and authoritie, and contrary one to an other in a matter of so great waight, this contention could not be possibly ended, without ciuill warre: & that he could see no way to remedy it, vnlesse one of them two were deposed from their office. Thereupon he bad *Octauius* begin first with him, and he would rise from the bench with a good will, and become a priuate man, if the people were so contented. *Octauius* would do nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replied, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his minde, vpon a better breath and consideration: and so dismissed the assembly for that day. The next morning the people being againe assembled, *Tiberius* going vp to his seate, attempted againe to perswade *Octauius* to leaue off. In fine, finding him still a man vnremoueable, he referred the matter to the voyce of the people, whether they were contented *Octauius* should be deposed from his office. Now there were fiue and thirtie tribes of the people, of the which seuenteen of them had already passed their voyces against *Octauius*, so that there remained but one tribe more to put him out of his office. Then *Tiberius* made them stay for proceeding any further, and prayed *Octauius* againe, imbracing him before all the people, with all the intreatie possible: that for selfewill sake he would not suffer such an open shame to be done vnto him, as to be put out of his office: neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so pitifull a deede. They say that *Octauius* at this last intreatie was somewhat moued and wonne by his perswasions, and that weeping, he stayed a long time, and made no aunswere. But when he looked vpon the rich men that stood in a great companie together, he was ashamed (I thinke) to haue their ill willes, and rather betooke himselfe to the losse of his office, and so bad *Tiberius* do what he would. Thereupon he being deprined by voyces of the people, *Tiberius* commaunded one of his infranchised bondmen to pull

Tiberius deposeth Octauius of his Tribuneship.

him out of the pulpit for Orations: for he vſed his infranchiſed bondmen in ſteed of Sergeaunts. This made the ſight ſo much more lamentable, to ſee *Octauius* thus ſhamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would haue runne vpon him, but the riche men came to reſcue him, and would not ſuffer him to do him further hurt. So *Octauius* ſaued himſelfe running away alone, after he had bene reſcued thus from the furie of the people. Moreouer, there was a faithfull ſeruaunt of *Octauius*, who ſtepping before his maiſter to ſaue him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out, againſt *Tiberius* minde, who ranne to the reſcue with all ſpeede when he heard the noyſe. After that, the law Agraria paſſed for diuiſion of landes, and three Commiſsioners were appointed to make inquirie and diſtribution thereof. The Commiſsioners appointed were theſe: *Tiberius* himſelfe: *Appius Clodius* his father in law, and *Caius Gracchus* his brother: who was not at that time in ROME, but in the campe with *Scipio* AFRICAN, at the ſiege of the citie of NVMANTIA. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly paſſed ouer theſe matters, and no man durſt withſtand him: and furthermore, he ſubſtituted in *Octauius* place no man of qualitie, but onely one of his followers, called *Mutius*. Wherewith the noble men were ſo ſore offended with him, that fearing the increaſe of his greatneſſe, they being in the Senate houſe did what they could poſsible to do him deſpight & ſhame. For when *Tiberius* demaunded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he ſhould go abroad to make diuiſion of theſe landes, as they vſually graunted vnto others, that many times went in farre meaner commiſsions: they flatly denyed him, and through the procurement of *P. Naſica* (who being a great landed man in his country, ſhewed himſelfe in this action his mortall enemie, taking it grieuouſly to be compelled to depart from his land) onely graunted him nine of their oboli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the people on the other ſide were all in an vprore againſt the rich. In ſomuch as one of *Tiberius* friendes being dead vpon the ſodaine, vpon whoſe body being dead there appeared very ill ſignes: the common people ranne ſodainly to his buriall, and cryed out that he was poyſoned. And ſo taking vp the beere whereon his body lay vpon their ſhoulders, they were preſent at the fire of his funerals, where immediatly appeared certaine ſignes to make them ſuſpect, that in deed there was vehement cauſe of preſumption he was poyſoned. For his belly burſt, whereout there iſſued ſuch aboundance of corrupt humours, that they put out the firſt fire, and made them fetch an other, the which alſo they could not make to burne, vntill that they were compelled to carie the body into ſome other place, where notwithſtanding they had much ado to make it burne. *Tiberius* ſeeing that, to make the common people mutine the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his ſonnes before them, and beſought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that diſpaired of his health and ſafetie. About that time dyed *Attalus*, ſurnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN brought his will to ROME, in the which he made the people of ROME his heires. Wherefore *Tiberius*, ſtill to encreaſe the good will of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediatly, that the ready money that came by the inheritaunce of this king ſhould be diſtributed among the poore Citizens, on whoſe lot it ſhould fall to haue any part of the diuiſion of the landes of the common wealth, to furniſh them towardes houſe, and to ſet vp their tillage. Furthermore, he ſayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to do to take any order with them, but that the people were to diſpoſe of them, and that he himſelfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, in ſomuch as there was one *Pompey* a Senator, that ſtanding vp, ſayd: that he was next neighbour vnto *Tiberius*, & that by reaſon of his neighbourhood he knew that *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN had giuen him one of king *Attalus* royall bands, with a purple gowne beſides, for a token that he ſhould one day be king of ROME. And *Quintus Metellus* alſo reproued him, for that his father being Cenſor, the ROMAINES hauing ſupped in the town, and repairing euery man home to his houſe, they did put out their torches and lights, becauſe men ſeeing them returne, they ſhould not thinke they taryed too long in companie bancketing: and that in contrary manner, the ſeditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his ſonne home, and accompany him all night long vp and downe the towne. At that time there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodneſſe nor honeſty in him, howbeit taken for a great reaſoner

Tiberius preferreth the law Agraria.

King Attalus made the people of Rome his heire.

Tiberius law, for deuiding of Attalus money.

Titus Annius a ſubtle queſtioner and aunſwerer of things.

ner, and for a ſubtill queſtioner and aunſwerer. He prouoked *Tiberius* to aunſwere him, whether he had not committed a ſhamefull fact to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the lawes of ROME ſhould haue bene holy, & vntouched. The people tooke this prouocation very angrily, and *Tiberius* alſo comming out, and hauing aſſembled the people, commaunded them to bring this *Annius* before him, that he might be endited in the market place. But he finding himſelfe farre inferiour vnto *Tiberius*, both in dignitie and eloquence, ranne to his fine ſubtill queſtions, to take a man at his word: and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceede to his accuſation, that he would firſt aunſwer him to a queſtion he would aske him. *Tiberius* bad him ſay what he would. So ſilence being made, *Annius* asked him: if thou wouldeſt defame me, and offer me iniurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he ſhould riſe to take my part, and anger thee: wouldeſt thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that *Tiberius* was ſo grauelled with this queſtion, that though he was one of the readieſt ſpeakers, and the boldeſt in his Orations of any man: yet at that time he held his peace, and had no power to ſpeake, and therefore he preſently diſmiſſed the aſſemblie. Afterwards, vnderſtanding that of all the things he did, the depoſing of *Octauius* from his office was thought (not onely of the nobilitie, but of the common people alſo) as fowle and wilfull a part as euer he played, for that thereby he had imbaſed, and vtterly ouerthrowen the dignitie of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration vntill that preſent time: to excuſe himſelfe therefore, he made an excellent Oration to the people, whereby ſhall appeare vnto you ſome ſpeciall points thereof, to diſcerne the better the force and effect of his eloquence. The tribuneſhip ſayd he, indeede was a holy and ſacred thing, as particularly conſecrated to the people, and eſtabliſhed for their benefite and ſafetie: Where contrariwiſe, if the Tribune do offer the people any wrong, he thereby miniſheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wils by voyces, beſides that he doth alſo imbaſe his owne authoritie, leauing to do the thing for the which his authoritie firſt was giuen him. Or otherwiſe we could not chooſe but ſuffer a Tribune, if it pleaſed him, to ouerthrow the Capitoll, or to ſet fire on the arſenall: and yet notwithſtanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he ſhould be Tribune of the people ſtill, though a lewde Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authoritie and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this againſt all reaſon, thinke you, that a Tribune whē he liſt, may take a Conſull, and commit him to priſon: and that the people ſhould not withſtand the authoritie of the Tribune, who gaue him the ſame, when he would vſe his authoritie to the preiudice of the people? for the people are they that do chooſe, both Conſull and Tribune. Furthermore, the kingly dignitie (becauſe in the ſame is conteined the abſolute authoritie and power of all other kindes of Magiſtrates and offices together) is conſecrated with very great and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare vnto the godhead: and yet the people expulſed king *Tarquin*, becauſe he vſed his authoritie with crueltie, and for the iniurie he offered one man onely, the moſt auncient rule and gouernement, (by the which the foundation of ROME was firſt layed) was vtterly aboliſhed. And who is there in all the citie of ROME to be reckoned ſo holy as the Veſtall Nunnes, which haue the cuſtodie and keeping of the euerlaſting fire? and yet if any of theſe be taken in fornication, ſhe is buried aliue for her offence: for when they are not holy to the goddes, they loſe the libertie they haue, in reſpect of ſeruing the goddes. Euen ſo alſo it is vnmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, ſhould for the peoples ſake be reuerenced any more: Seeing that through his owne folly he hath depriued himſelfe of that authoritie they gaue him. And if it be ſo that he was choſen Tribune by the moſt part of the tribes of the people: then by greater reaſon is he iuſtly depriued, that by all the whole tribes together is forſaken and depoſed. There is nothing more holy nor inuiolate, then things offered vp vnto the goddes: and yet it was neuer ſeene that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remoue and tranſport them from place to place, as they thought good. Euen ſo, they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offring conſecrated to the goddes. Furthermore, it is manifeſt that any Officer or Magiſtrate may lawfully depoſe himſelfe: For, it hath bene often ſeene, that men in office haue depriued themſelues, or otherwiſe haue ſued to be diſcharged. This was the effect of *Tiberius* purgation.

The Oration of Tiberius Gracchus, touching the power and authority of the Tribune.

Other lawes made by Tiberius Gracchus.

Now his friendes perceiuing the ~~threats the rich and noble~~ men gaue out against him, they wished him for the safetie of his person, to make sute to be Tribune againe the next yeare. Whereupon he began to flatter the common people againe a fresh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when euery citizen of ROME was bound to go to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull also for men to appeale from sentence of the Iudges vnto the people, and thrust in also amongst the Senatours (which then had absolute authoritie to iudge among themselues) a like number of the ROMAINE Knightes, and by this meanes sought to weaken and imbase the authoritie of the Senate, increasing also the power of the people, more of malice then any reason, or for any iustice or benefit to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voyces of the people for the confirmation of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the stronger in the assembly, because all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake vp the assembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be the first man in the market place apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, and looking heauily vpon the matter, praying the people assembled to haue compassion vpō him, saying, that he was affrayed least his enemies would come in the night, and ouerthrow his house to kill him. Thereupon the people were so moued withall, that many of them came and brought their tents, and lay about his house to watch it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickins, by signes of the which they do diuine of things to come, brought them vnto him, and cast them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one onely, and yet with much a do, shaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but onely lift vp her left wing, and put forth her legge, and so ranne into the cage againe. This signe made *Tiberius* remember an other he had had before. He had a maruellous fayre helmet and very rich, which he ware in the warres: vnder it were crept two snakes vnwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, because of the ill signes of the chickins: notwithstanding, he went out of his house, when he heard that the people were assembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote such a blow against a stone at the threshold of the doore, that he brake the nayle of his great toe, which fell in such a bleeding, that it bled through his shooe. Againe, he had not gone farre, but he saw vpon the toppe of a house on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there past a great number of people by, yet a stone which one of these rauens cast from them, came and fell hard at *Tiberius* foote. The fall therof slayed the stoutest man he had about him. But *Blossius* the Philosopher of Cumes that did accōpany him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the harts of all his followers: that *Tiberius* being the sonne of *Gracchus*, and nephew of *Scipio* the AFRICAN, and the chiefe man besides of all the peoples side, for feare of a rauen, should not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing sport of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a tricke of a tyrant that raigned in deed, and that for pride and disdaine did abuse the peoples good wils. Furthermore, diuers messengers came vnto him, and sayd that his friends that were in the Capitoll, sent to pray him to make hast, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honourably receiued: for the people seeing him comming, cried out for ioy to welcome him, and when he was gotten vp to his seate, they shewed themselues both carefull and louing towardes him, looking warely that none came neare him, but such as they knew well. While *Mutius* began againe to call the tribes of the people to giue their voyces, he could not proceede according to the accustomed order in the like case, for the great noyse the hindmost people made, thrusting forward, and being driuen backe, and one mingling with an other. In the meane time *Flauius Flaccus*, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might see him, and when he saw that his voyce could not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a signe with his hand that he had some matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* straight bad them make a lane through the prease. So, with much a do, *Flauius* came at length vnto him, and told him, that the rich men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Consull to their wils, determined themselues

Vnluckie signes vnto Tiberius.

Flauius Flaccus bewrayeth the conspiracie against Tiberius.

selues to come and kill him, hauing a great number of their friends, and bondmen armed for the purpose. *Tiberius* immediatly declared this conspiracie vnto his friends & followers: who straight girt their long gownes vnto them, and brake the sergeants iauelins which they caried in their hands to make roome among the people, and tooke the tronchions of the same to resist those that would set vpon them. The people also that stoode furdest off, maruelled at it, and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a signe to tell them the danger he was in, laid both his hands on his head, because they could not heare his voice for the great noyse they made. His enemies seeing the signe he gaue, ranne presently to the Senate, crying out, that *Tiberius* required a royall band or diadeame of the people, and that it was an euident signe, because they saw him clappe his hands vpon his head. This tale troubled all the companie. Whereupon *Nasica* besought the Consull, chiefe of the Senate, to helpe the common wealth, and to take away this tyrant. The Consull gently answered againe, that he would vse no force, neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as also he would not receiue *Tiberius*, nor protect him, if the people by his perswasion or commandement, should commit any act contrarie to the law. *Nasica* then rising in anger, sith the matter is so, said he, that the Consull regardeth not the common wealth: all you then, that will defende the authoritie of the lawe, followe me. Thereupon he cast the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, and went straight to the Capitoll. They that followed him also tooke their gownes, and wrapt them about their armes, and laid as many as they might, to make them giue way: and yet very few of the people durst meete with such states as they were to stay them, because they were the chiefest men of the citie, but euery man flying from them, they fell one on an others necke for haste. They that followed them, had brought from home great leauers and clubbes, and as they went, they tooke vp feet of trestles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowen and broken, running away, and hyed them a pace to meete with *Tiberius*, striking at them that stoode in their way: so that in short space they had dispersed all the common people, and many were slaine flying. *Tiberius* seeing that, betooke him to his legges to saue himselfe, but as he was flying, one tooke him by the gowne and stayed him: but he leauing his gowne behind him, ranne in his coat, and running fell vpon them that were downe before. So, as he was rising vp againe, the first man that strake him, and that was plainly seene strike him, was one of the Tribunes his brethren, called *Publius Satureius*: who gaue him a great rappe on the head with the foote of a chaire, and the second blow he had, was giuen him by *Lucius Rufus* that boasted of it, as if he had done a notable act. In this tumult, there were slaine aboue three hundred men, and were all killed with staues and stones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the first sedition among the citizens of ROME, that fell out with murder and bloudshead, since the expulsion of the kings. But for all other former dissentions (which were no trifles) they were easily pacified, either partie giuing place to other: the Senate for feare of the commoners, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it seemeth, that *Tiberius* himselfe would easily haue yeelded also, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perswasion, so they had ment good faith, and would haue killed no man: for at that time he had not in all, aboue 3000. men of the people about him. But surely it seemes this conspiracie was executed against him, more for verie spight and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparant cause they presupposed against him. For proofe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous crueltie they vsed to his bodie being dead. For they would not suffer his owne brother to haue his bodie to burie it by night, who made earnest sute vnto them for it: but they threw him amongst the other bodies into the riuer, and yet this was not the worst. For, some of his friends they banished without forme of law, & others they put to death, which they could meete withall. Among the which they slew *Drophanes* the Orator, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they incloſed in a pipe among snakes and serpents, and put him to death in this sort. *Blossius* also the Philosopher of Cumes, was brought before the Consuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confessed vnto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commaunded him. When *Nasica* did aske him, and what if he had commaunded thee to set fire on the Capitoll? He made him answere, that *Tiberius* would neuer haue giuen him any such commaundement. And when diuers others also were still in hand with him about that question: but if he had commanded thee? I would sure

Nasica doth set vpon Tiberius Gracchus.

Tiberius Gracchus the Tribune slaine.

Tiberius friends slaine.

The cruell death of Caius Billius.

haue done it, ſaid he: for he would neuer haue cõmanded me to haue done it, if it had not bene for the commoditie of the people. Thus he ſcaped at that time, and afterwards fled into Asia vnto *Ariſtonicus*, whom misfortune hauing ouerthrowen, he ſlew himſelfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that preſent time, did no more withſtand the law Agraria, for diuiſion of the lands of the common wealth, but ſuffered the people to appoint an other Commiſſioner for that purpoſe, in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon *Publius Craſſus* was choſen, being allied vnto *Tiberius*, for *Caius Gracchus* (*Tiberius* brother) had maried his daughter *Licinia*. Yet *Cornelius Nepos* ſaith, that it was not *Craſſus* daughter *Caius* maried, but the daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the Lvsitanians. Howbeit the beſt writers and authoritie, agree with that we write. But whatſoeuer was done, the people were maruellouſly offended with his death, and men might eaſily perceiue, that they looked but for time and oportunitie to be reuenged, and did preſently threaten *Naſica* to accuſe him. Wherupon the Senate fearing ſome trouble towards him, deuiſed a way vpon no occaſion, to ſend him into Asia. For the common people did not diſſemble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were very round with him, and called him tyrant, and murderer, excommunicate, & wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the bloud of the holy Tribune, and within the moſt ſacred temple of all the citie. So in the end he was inforced to forſake Rome, though by his office he was bound to ſolemniſe all the greateſt ſacrifices, becauſe he was then chiefe Biſhoppe of Rome. Thus, trauelling out of his country like a meane man, and troubled in his mind: he died ſhortly after, not farre from the citie of Pergamvm. Truely it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the people ſo much hated *Naſica*, conſidering that *Scipio* the African himſelfe (whom the people of Rome for iuſter cauſes had loued better than any man elſe whatſoeuer) was like to haue loſt all the peoples good wils they bare him, becauſe that being at the ſiege of Nvmantia, when newes was brought him of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this verſe of *Homer*:

Naſica chiefe Biſhop of Rome

Such end vpon him euer light,
Which in ſuch doings doth delight.

Scipioes ſentence of the death of Tiberius Gracchus.

Furthermore, being asked in the aſſembly of the people, by *Caius* & *Fuluius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he anſwered thẽ, that he did not like his doings. After that the people handled him very churliſhly, and did euer breake off his oration, which they neuer did before: and he himſelfe alſo would reuile the people euen in the aſſembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the firſt becauſe he feared the enemies of his dead brother, or otherwiſe for that he ſought meanes to make them more hated of the people: he abſented himſelfe for a time out of the common aſſembly, and kept at home and meddled not, as a man contented to liue meanely, without buſying himſelfe in the common wealth: inſomuch as he made men thinke and report both, that he did vtterly miſlike thoſe matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirtie yeare old when he was ſlaine. But in proceſſe of time, he made his manners and conditions (by litle and litle) appeare, who hated ſloth and curioſitie, and was leaſt of all giuen vnto any couetous minde of getting: for he gaue himſelfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwardes to practiſe in the common wealth. So that it appeared plainely, that when time came, he would not ſtand ſtill, and looke on. When one *Vectius* a friend of his was ſued, he tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe in court. The people that were preſent, and heard him ſpeake, they leaped for ioy to ſee him: for he had ſuch an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators beſides were but children to him. Hereupon the rich men beganne to be affraide againe, and whiſpered among themſelues, that it behoued them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chaunced ſo that he was choſen Treaſurer, and it was his fortune to goe into the Ile of Sardinia, with the Conſull *Oreſtes*. His enemies were glad of that, and he himſelfe was not ſorie for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes as he was elſe an excellent Orator: but yet he was affraide to come into the pulpit for Orations, and miſliked to deale in matters of ſtate, albeit he could not altogether deny the people, and his friends that prayed his furtherance. For this cauſe therefore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might abſent himſelfe for a time out of Rome: though diuers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and deſirous of the common peoples good will and fauour, then his brother had bene before him. But in

Caius Gracchus maners.

Caius Gracchus Quæſtor in Sardinia.

in deede he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the first he was drawen rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deale in the common wealth. *Cicero* the Orator also saith, that *Caius* was bent altogether to flie from office in the common wealth, and to liue quietly as a priuate man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* brother) appeared to him in his sleepe, and calling him by his name, said vnto him: brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canst not possiblie escape? For we were both predestined to one maner of life and death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when *Caius* arriued in SARDINIA, he shewed all the proofes that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the young men of his age, in hardines against his enemies, in iustice to his inferiors, and in loue & obedience towards the Consull his Captaine: but in temperance, sobrietie, and in painefulnesse, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chance fell out very sharpe, and full of sickenes in SARDINIA: whereupon the Consull sent vnto the cities to helpe his souldiers with some clothes: but the townes sent in poste to ROME, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegation reasonable, whereupon they wrote to the Consull to finde some other meanes to cloth his people. The Consull could make no other shift for them, and so the poore souldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went himselfe vnto the cities and so perswaded them, that they of themselues sent to the ROMAINES campe such things as they lacked. This being caried to ROME, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauour, and in deede it made the Senate also affraide. In the necke of that, there arriued Ambassadors of AFRICKE at ROME, sent from king *Micipsa*, who told the Senate that the king their master, for *Caius Gracchus* sake, had sent their armie corne into SARDINIA. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadors out of the Senate, and so gaue order that other souldiers should be sent in their places that were in SARDINIA: and that *Orestes* should still remaine Consull there, meaning also to continue *Caius* their Treasurer. But when he heard of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to ROME in choller. When men saw *Caius* returned to ROME vnlooked for, he was reproued for it not only by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his returne very straunge before his Captaine, vnder whom he was Treasurer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, aunswering his accusation, he so turned the peoples mindes that heard him, that they all said he had open wrong. For he tolde them, that he had serued twelue yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeres: and that he had continued Treasurer vnder his Captaine, the space of three yeares, where the law gaue him libertie to returne at the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men else that had bene in the warres, had caried his purse full, and brought it home emptie: where others hauing drunke the wine which they caried thither in vessels, had afterwardes brought them home full of gold and siluer. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessarie to a conspiracie, that was reuealed in the citie of FREGELLES. But hauing cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made sute to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of qualitie his sworne enemies. On the other side also he had so great fauor of the common people, that there came men out of all partes of ITALY to be at his election, and that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voyces vpon the toppe of houses. Nowe the noble men could no otherwise let the people of their will, nor preuent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was only pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possest officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, because he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamitie offred him: which made him bold to speake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matter soeuer he spake of, he alwaies fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had passed: and laying before them the examples of their ancestors: who in olde time had made warre with the PHALISCES, by the meanes of one *Genutius* Tribune of the people, vnto whom they had offered iniurie: who also did condemne *Caius Vetu-rius* to death, because that he onely would not giue a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where these said he, that standing before you in sight, haue slaine my brother

Caius Gracchus vision and dreame.

Caius Gracchus returneth out of Sardinia vnto Rome

Caius Gracchus, Tribune of the people.

Tiberius with ſtaues, and haue dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie ouer, to throw it into the riuer: and with him alſo haue moſt cruelly ſlaine all his friends they could come by, without any law or iuſtice at all. And yet by an ancient cuſtome of long time obſerued in this citie of ROME, when any man is accuſed of treaſon, and that of dutie he muſt appeare at the time appointed him: they doe notwithſtanding in the morning ſend a trumpet to his houſe, to ſummon him to appeare: and moreouer the Iudges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremonie was performed: ſo carefull and reſpectiue were our predeceſſors, where it touched the life of any ROMAINE. Now *Caius* hauing firſt ſtirred vp the people with theſe perſwaſions (for he had a maruellous loud voice) he preferred two lawes.

Caius Gracchus lawes.

The firſt, that he that had once beene put out of office by the people, ſhould neuer after be capable of any other office.

The ſecond, that if any Conſull had baniſhed any citizen without lawfull accuſation, the ſentence and hearing of the matter ſhould pertaine to the people.

The firſt of theſe two lawes did plainely defame *Octauius*, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people depoſed from the Tribuneſhippe. The ſecond alſo touched *Popilius*, who being Prætor, had baniſhed his brother *Tiberius* friendes: whereupon he ſtayed not the triall, but willingly exiled himſelfe out of ITALY. And touching the firſt law, *Caius* himſelfe did afterwards reuoke it, declaring vnto the people, that he had ſaued *Octauius* at the requeſt of his mother *Cornelia*. The people were very glad of it, and confirmed it, honoring her no leſſe for reſpect of her ſonnes, then alſo for *Scipioes* ſake her father. For afterwards they caſt her image in braſſe, and ſet it vp with this inſcription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*. Many cõmon matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, & eloquently pleaded in her behalfe, by *Caius* againſt her aduerſaries. As when he ſaide vnto one of them: how dareſt thou preſume to ſpeake euill of *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* to her ſonne? And the other partie alſo that ſlandered her, being ſorely ſuſpected for a Sodomite: and art thou ſo impudent, ſaid he, to ſhew thy face before *Cornelia*? Haſt thou brought foorth children as ſhe hath done? And yet it is well knowen to all men in ROME, that ſhe being but a woman, hath liued longer without a man, than thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words ſharpe and ſtinging, and many ſuch like are to be gathered out of his writings. Furthermore he made many other lawes afterwards to increaſe the peoples authoritie, and to imbaſe the Senates greatneſſe.

Cornelia mother of the Gracchi, honored of the people of Rome.

Other lawes preferred by Caius Gracchus.

The firſt was, for the reſtoring of the Colonies to ROME, in diuiding the lands of the common wealth vnto the poore citizens that ſhould inhabite there.

The other, that they ſhould apparell the ſouldiers at the charge of the common wealth, and that it ſhould not be deducted out of their pay: and alſo that no citizen ſhould be billed to ſerue in the warres, vnder ſeuenteene yeares of age at the leaſt.

An other law was, for their confederates of ITALIE: that through all ITALIE they ſhould haue as free voyces in the election of anie Magiſtrate, as the naturall citizens of ROME it ſelfe.

An other ſetting a reaſonable price of the corne that ſhould be diſtributed vnto the poore people.

An other touching iudgement, whereby he did greatly miniſh the authoritie of the Senate. For before, the Senators were only Iudges of al matters, the which made them to be the more honored and feared of the people, and the ROMAINE Knights: and now he ioyned three hundred ROMAINE Knightes vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that all matters iudiciall ſhould be equally iudged, among thoſe ſixe hundred men. After he had paſſed this lawe, it is reported he was very curious in obſeruing all other things, but this one thing ſpecially: that where all other Orators ſpeaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators ſate, and to that ſide of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwardes towards the other ſide of the market place, and after that kept it conſtantly, and neuer failed. Thus, by a litle turning and altering of his looke only, he remoued a great matter. For he ſo transferred all the gouernment of the common wealth from the Senate, vnto the iudgement of the people: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they ſhould beholde the people,

not

not the Senate. Now, the people hauing not onely confirmed the law he made touching the Iudges, but giuen him alſo full power & authoritie to chooſe among the ROMAINE Knights ſuch Iudges as he liked of: he found thereby he had abſolute power in his owne hands, inſomuch as the Senators themſelues did aske counſell of him. So did he euer giue good counſell, and did preferre matters meete for their honor. As amongſt others, the law he made touching certaine wheate that *Fabius* Viceprætor had ſent out of SPAYNE: which was a good and honorable act. He perſwaded the Senate that the corne might be ſold, & ſo to ſend backe againe the money thereof vnto the townes and cities from whence the corne came: and therewithall to puniſh *Fabius* for that he made the Empire of ROME hateful and intollerable vnto the prouinces and ſubiectes of the ſame. This matter wanne him great loue and commendation of all the prouinces ſubiect to ROME. Furthermore, he made lawes for the reſtoring of the decaied townes, for mending of high waies, for building of garners for prouiſion of corne. And to bring all theſe things to paſſe, he himſelfe tooke vpon him the only care and enterpriſe, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of ſo great affaires. For, he followed all thoſe things ſo earneſtly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: inſomuch that they who moſt hated and feared him, wondred moſt to ſee his diligence and quicke diſpatch in matters. The people alſo wondred much to beholde him only, ſeeing alwaies ſuch a number of labourers, artificers, ambaſſadors, officers, ſouldiers, and learned men, whom he eaſily ſatisfied and diſpatched, keeping ſtill his eſtate, and yet vſing great courteſie and ciuilitie, entertaining euery one of them priuately: ſo that he made his accuſers to be found liers, that ſaid he was a ſtately man, and very cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conuerſation and deedes, then he was otherwiſe in his Orations. But the greateſt paines and care he tooke vpon him was, in ſeeing the high wayes mended, the which he would haue as well done, as profitably done. For he would caſt the rawcies by the line in the ſofteſt ground in the fieldes, and then would paue them with hard ſtone, and caſt a great deale of grauell vpon it, which he cauſed to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the riuers had eaten into, he raiſed them vp, or elſe made bridges ouer them, with an euen height equall to either ſide of the caucie: ſo that all his worke caried a goodly leauen withall euen by the line or plummet, which was a pleaſure to behold it. Furthermore, he deuided theſe high waies by myles, euery myle conteining eight furlongs, and at euery miles end he ſet vp a ſtone for a marke. At either end alſo of theſe high waies thus paued, he ſet certaine ſtones of conuenient height, a pretie way a ſunder, to helpe the trauellers by to take their horſe backes againe without any helpe. The people for theſe things highly praiſing & extolling him, and being readie to make ſhew of their loue and good will to him any manner of way: he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a requeſt to make vnto thē, the which if it would pleaſe them to grant him, he would thinke they did him a maruellous pleaſure: and if they denied him alſo, he cared not much. Then euerie man thought it was the Conſulſhip he ment to aske, and that he would ſue to be Tribune and Conſull together. But when the day came to chooſe the Conſuls, euery man looking attentiuely what he would do: they maruelled when they ſaw him come downe the field of *Mars*, & brought *Caius Fannius* with his friends, to further his ſute for the Conſulſhip. Therein he ſerued *Fannius* turne, for he was preſently choſen Conſull: and *Caius Gracchus* was the ſeconde time choſen Tribune againe, not of his own ſute, but by the good wil of the people. *Caius* perceiuing that the Senators were his open enemies, and that *Fannius* the Conſul was but a ſlack friend vnto him, he began againe to currie fauor with the cōmon people, and to preferre new lawes, ſetting foorth the law of the Colonies, that they ſhould ſend of the poore citizens to repleniſh the cities of TARENTVM & CAPVA, and that they ſhould grant all the Latins the freedome of ROME. The Senate perceiuing his power grew great, & that in the end he would be ſo ſtrong that they could not withſtand him: they deuiſed a new and ſtrange way to pluck the peoples good will from him, in granting them things not altogether very honeſt. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with *Caius* called *Liuius Druſus*, a man nobly borne, and as well brought vp as any other ROMAINE: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greateſt men of eſtimation in ROME. The chiefeſt Senators went vnto him, and

Caius Gracchus power.

Other lawes of Caius Gracchus.

The Italian myle conteyneth eight furlongs.

Caius Gracchus choſen Tribune the ſecond time.

Liuius Druſus one of the Tribunes.

perſwaded him to take part with them againſt *Caius*, not to vſe any force or violence againſt the people to withſtand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them thoſe things which were more honeſty for them to deny thē with their ill wil. *Liuius* offering to pleaſure the Senate with his authority, preferred laws neither honorable nor profitable to the cōmon welth & were to no other end, but contending with *Caius*, who ſhould moſt flatter the people of thē two, as plaiers do in their cōmon plaies, to ſhew the people paſtime. Wherby the Senate ſhewed that they did not ſo much miſlike *Caius* doings, as for the deſire they had to ouerthrow him & his great credit with the people. For where *Caius* preferred but the repleniſhing of the two cities, and deſired to ſende the honeſteſt citizens thither: they obiected againſt him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other ſide alſo they fauored *Druſus*, who preferred a law that they ſhould repleniſh twelue Colonies, and ſhould ſend to euery one of them three thouſande of the pooreſt citizens. And where they hated *Caius* for that he had charged the poore citizens with an annuall rent for the lands that were deuided vnto thē: *Liuius* in contrary maner did pleaſe them by disburdening them of that rent & payment, letting them haue the lands ſcotfree. Furthermore alſo, where *Caius* did anger the people, becauſe he gaue all the Latines the freedome of ROME to giue their voices in chooſing of Magiſtrates as freely as the naturall ROMAINS: when *Druſus* on the other ſide had preferred a law that thenceforth no ROMAIN ſhould whip any ſouldier of the Latines with rods to the warres, they liked the law, & paſt it. *Liuius* alſo in euery law he put forth, ſaid in all his orations, that he did it by the counſell of the Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people: and this was all the good he did in his office vnto the cōmon wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleaſed with the Senate, and where they did before hate all the noble men of the Senate, *Liuius* tooke away that malice, when the people ſaw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common wealth, with the conſent & furtherance of the Senate. The onely thing alſo that perſwaded the people to thinke that *Druſus* ment vprightly, & that he only reſpected the profit of the common people was: that he neuer preferred any law for himſelfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the reſtoring of theſe Colonies which he preferred, he alwaies ſent other Commiſſioners, & gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any money himſelfe: where *Caius* tooke vpon him the charge & care of al things himſelfe, & ſpecially of the greateſt matters. *Rubrius* alſo another Tribune, hauing preferred a law for the reedifying & repleniſhing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which *Scipio* had raſed & deſtroied: it was *Caius* happe to be appointed one of the Commiſſioners for it. Whereupon he tooke ſhip and ſayled into AFRICK. *Druſus* in the meane time taking occaſion of his abſence, did as much as might be to ſeeke the fauor of the common people, and ſpecially by accuſing *Fuluius*, who was one of the beſt friends *Caius* had, & whom they had alſo choſen Cōmiſſioner with him for the diuiſion of theſe landes among the citizens, whom they ſent to repleniſh theſe Colonies. This *Fuluius* was a ſeditious man, & therefore maruellouſly hated of the Senate, & withal ſuſpected alſo of them that tooke part with the people, that he ſecretly practiſed to make their confederates of ITALIE to rebell. But yet they had no euident proofe of it to iuſtifie it againſt him, more then that which he himſelf did verifie, becauſe he ſeemed to be offended with the peace & quietnes they enioyed. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of *Caius* ouerthrow, becauſe that *Fuluius* was partly hated for his ſake. For when *Scipio* AFRICAN was found dead one morning in his houſe, without any manifeſt cauſe how he ſhould come to his death ſo ſodainely: (ſauing that there appeared certaine blinde markes of ſtripes on his body that had bene giuen him: as we haue declared at large in his life) the moſt part of the ſuſpition of his death was laide to *Fuluius*, being his mortall enemie, & becauſe the ſame day they had bene at great words together in the pulpit for orations. So was *Caius Gracchus* alſo partly ſuſpected for it. How ſoeuer it was ſuch a horrible murder as this, of ſo famous & worthy a mā as any was in ROME, was yet notwithſtanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it: becauſe the common people would not ſuffer the accuſation to goe forwarde, fearing leaſt *Caius* would be found in fault, if the matter ſhould go forward. But this was a great while before. Now *Caius* at that time being in AFRICK about the reedifying & repleniſhing of the city of CARTHAGE againe, the which he named IVNONIA: the voice goeth that he had many ill ſignes & tokens appeared vnto him.

Lawes preferred by Liuius Druſus.

Liuius Druſus pacifieth the people againſt the Senate.

Fuluius Commiſſioner with Caius, a very ſeditious man.

The death of Scipio African the leſſe.

Vnluckie ſignes appearing vnto Caius.

For

For the ſtaffe of his enſigne was broken with a vehement blaſt of wind, and with the force of the enſigne bearer that held it faſt on the other ſide. There came a flaw of wind alſo that caried away the ſacrifices vpon the aulters and blew them quite out of the circuit which was marked out for the compaſſe of the city. Furthermore, the wolues came and tooke away the markes which they had ſet down to limite the bounds of their circuit, & caried them quite away. This notwithſtanding, *Caius* hauing diſpatched all things in the ſpace of three ſcore & ten daies, he returned incontinently to ROME, vnderſtanding that *Fuluius* was oppreſſed by *Druſus*, & that thoſe matters required his preſence. For *Lucius Hoſtilius* that was all in all for the nobility, and a man of great credit with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Conſulſhip, by *Caius* practiſe, who cauſed *Fannius* to be choſen: he had good hope this yeare to ſpeede, for the great number of friends that furthered his ſute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to ſet *Caius* beſide the ſaddle, and the rather, becauſe his eſtimation and countenance he was wont to haue among the people, began now to decay, for that they were ful of ſuch deuiſes as his were: becauſe there were diuers others that preferred the like to pleaſe the people withal, & yet with the Senates great good wil and fauor. So *Caius* being returned to ROME, he remoued from his houſe, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a houſe vnder the market place, to ſhew him ſelf thereby the lowlier & more popular, becauſe many of the meaner ſort of people dwelt thereabouts. Then hee purpoſed to goe forward with the reſt of his lawes, and to make the people to eſtabliſh thē, a great number of people repairing to ROME out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counſelled the Conſull *Fannius* to make proclamatiō, that al thoſe which were no natural ROMAINS, reſident & abiding within the city ſelf of ROME: that they ſhould depart out of ROME. Beſides all this, there was a ſtrange proclamation made, and neuer ſeene before: that none of all the friends and confederats of the ROMAINS, for certaine daies ſhould come into ROME. But *Caius* on the other ſide ſet vp bils on euery poſt, accuſing the Conſull for making ſo wicked a proclamatiō: & further, promiſed the confederates of ROME to aide them, if they would remaine there againſt the Conſuls proclamation. But yet he performed it not. For when he ſaw one of *Fannius* ſergeants cary a friend of his to priſon, he held on his way, & would ſee nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of likelihood becauſe he feared his credite with the people, which began to decay, or elſe becauſe he was loth (as he ſaid) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which ſought it of him. Furthermore, he chanced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occaſion. The people were to ſee the paſtime of the ſword plaiers or ſenſers at the ſharpe, within the verie market place, & there were diuers of the officers that to ſee the ſport, did ſet vp ſcaffolds round about, to take money for the ſtanding. *Caius* commaunded them to take them downe againe, becauſe the poore men might ſee the ſport without any coſt. But not a man of thē would yeeld to it. Wherefore he ſtaid till the night before the paſtime ſhould be, and then he tooke all his laborers he had vnder him, and went & ouerthrew the ſcaffolds euery one of them: ſo that the next morning all the market place was clear for the common people, to ſee the paſtime at their pleaſure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruellouſly, and took him for a worthy man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him; and tooke him for a bold preſumptuous man. This ſeemeth to be the chief cauſe why he was put frō his third Tribuneſhip, where he had the moſt voices of his ſide: becauſe his colleagues, to be reuēged of the part he had plaied thē, of malice and ſpight, made falſe report of the voices. Howbeit there is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulſe, and it is reported he ſpake ſomwhat too proudly to his enemies, that were mery with the matter, and laughed him to ſcorne: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkely his deeds had wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies hauing choſen *Opimius* Conſull, they began immediatly to reuoke diuers of *Caius* lawes: as among the reſt, his doings at CARTHAGE for the reedifying of that city, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, becauſe they might haue iuſt occaſion of anger to kil him. *Caius* notwithſtanding did patiently beare it at the firſt: but afterwards his frends, & ſpecially *Fuluius*, did encorage him ſo, that he began againe to gather men to reſiſt the Conſull. And it is reported alſo, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in it, ſecretly hiring a great number of ſtraungers which ſhe ſent vnto ROME, as if they had bene

This man is named afterwards Opimius

Caius Gracchus fell out with the Tribunes.

Caius Gracchus repulſed from the third Tribuneſhip.

reapers,or harueſt men. And this is that ſhe wrote ſecretly in her letter vnto her ſon in cipher. And yet other write to the contrary, that ſhee was very angry he did attempt thoſe things.

Sedition betwixt Caius Gracchus and the Senate.

When the day came that they ſhould proceede to the reuocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Conſull *Opimius* had done ſacrifice,one of *Caius* ſergeants called *Quintus Antyllius*, carying the intrals of the beaſt ſacrificed, ſayd vnto *Fuluius*, and others of his tribe that were about him:giue place to honeſt men,vile citizens that ye be.Some ſay alſo,that beſides theſe iniurious words,in skorne and contempt he held out his naked arme to make thē aſhamed. Whereupon they ſlue him preſently in the field with great bodkins to write with,which they had purpoſely made for that intent. Hereupon the cōmon people were maruellouſly offended for this murther,and the chiefe men of both ſides alſo were diuerſly affected. For *Caius* was very ſory for it,& bitterly reproued them that were about him, ſaying,that they had giuen their enemies the occaſion they looked for,to ſet vpon thē. *Opimius* the Conſull in contrary maner,taking this occaſion,roſe vppon it,and did ſtir vp the people to be reuenged. But there fell a ſhower of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Conſull hauing aſſembled the Senat by breake of day,as he was diſpatching cauſes within, ſome had taken the body of *Antyllius* and laid it naked vpon the beere,and ſo caried it through the market place) as it was agreed vppon before amongeſt them) and brought it to the Senate dore: where they began to make great mone and lamentation, *Opimius* knowing the meaning of it,but yet he diſſembled it,and ſeemed to wonder at it. Whereupon the Senators went out to ſee what it was,and finding this beere in the market place, ſome fell a weeping for him that was dead,others cried out that it was a ſhamefull act,and in no wiſe to be ſuffred. But on the other ſide,this did reuiue the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednes of the ambitious noble men:who hauing themſelues before ſlaine *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune and within the Capitoll it ſelfe,& had alſo caſt his body into the riuer,did now make an honorable ſhew openly in the market place,of the body of the ſergeaunt *Antyllius* (who though he were wrōgfully ſlaine,yet had himſelfe giuen them the cauſe that ſlue him,to do that they did) & all the whole Senat were about the beere to bewaile his death,and to honor the funerals of a hireling,to make the people alſo kill him,that was only left the protector and defender of the people. After this,they went again vnto the Capitol,& there made a decree,whereby they gaue the Conſull *Opimius* extraordinary power & authority, by abſolute power to prouide for the ſafety of the common wealth,to preſerue the city,& to ſuppreſſe the tyrants. This decree being eſtabliſhed,the Conſull preſently commanded the Senators that were preſent there,to go arme themſelues:and appointed the ROMAINE Knights, that the next morning betimes euery man ſhould bring two of their men armed with thē. *Fuluius* on the other ſide,he prepared his force againſt them,& aſſembled the common people together. *Caius* alſo returning from the market place,ſtaid before the image of his father,and looked earneſtly vppon it without euer a word ſpeaking,only he burſt out a weeping,and fetching a great ſigh,went his way. This made the people to pity him that ſaw him:ſo that they talked among thēſelues,that they were but beaſts and cowards at ſuch a ſtraight to forſake ſo worthy a man. Thereupon they went to his houſe, ſtayed there all night and watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with *Fuluius*, that paſſed away the night in guzling and drinking drunk, crying out,and making noiſe, *Fuluius* him ſelfe being drunke firſt of all,who both ſpake and did many things farre vnmeete for his calling. For they that watched *Caius* on the other ſide, were very ſorrowfull, and made no noiſe,euen as in a common calamity of their country,deuiſing with thē ſelues what would fall out vppon it,waking,and ſleeping one after an other by turns. When the day brake, they with *Fuluius* did awake him,who ſlept yet ſoundly for the wine he drank ouer night,and they armed them ſelues with the ſpoiles of the GAVLS that hung round about his houſe,whom he had ouercome in battell the ſame yeare he was Conſull: and with great cries,and thundering threats,they went to take the mount Auentine. But *Caius* would not arme him ſelfe,but went out of his houſe in a long gowne, as if he would haue gone ſimply into the market place according to his wōted maner,ſauing that he caried a ſhort dagger at his girdle vnder his gown. So as he was going out of his houſe,his wife ſtaid him at the dore,and holding him by the one hand,and a litle child of his in her other hand,ſhe ſayd thus vnto him: Alas *Caius*,thou doſt not

Antillius, C. Gracchus ſergeant ſlaine.

An ordinance made by the Senate,againſt C. Gracchus.

The people defended C. Gracchus.

now

now go as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to ſpeake to the people, neither to preſer any new laws: neither doſt thou go vnto an honeſt war, that if vnfortunatly that ſhould happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the leaſt mourne for thy death with honor. But thou goeſt to put thy ſelf into bloudy butchers hands, who moſt cruelly haue ſlain thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goeſt, a naked man vnarmed, intending rather to ſuffer, then to doe hurt. Beſides, thy death can bring no benefite to the common wealth. For the worſer part hath now the vpper hand, conſidering that ſentence paſſeth by force of ſword. Had thy brother bene ſlaine by his enemies, before the city of NVMANTIA: yet had they giuen vs his body to haue buried him. But ſuch may be my misfortune, that I may preſently goe to pray the riuer or ſea to giue me thy body, which as thy brothers they haue likewiſe throwen into the ſame. Alas, what hope or truſt is left vs now, in lawes or gods, ſithence they haue ſlaine *Tiberius*? As *Licinia* was making this pitifull mone vnto him, *Caius* faire and ſoftly pulled his hand from her, and left her, giuing her neuer a word, but went on with his friends. But ſhee reaching after him to take him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there a great while, ſpeaking neuer a word: vntill at length her ſeruants tooke her vp in a ſwoone, and caried her ſo vnto her brother *Craſſus*. Now *Fuluius*, by the perſwaſion of *Caius*, when all their faction were met: ſent his yonger ſonne (which was a prety faire boy) with a Heraulds rod in his hand for his ſafety. This boy humbly preſenting his duety, with the teares in his eyes, before the Conſull and Senate, offered them peace. The moſt of them that were preſent thought very well of it. But *Opimius* made anſwere ſaying, that it became them not to ſend meſſengers, thinking with faire words to winne the Senate: but it was their duety to come them ſelues in perſons, like ſubiects and offendors to make their triall, and ſo to craue pardon, and to ſeeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he ſhould not returne againe to them, but with this condition he had preſcribed. *Caius* (as it is reported) was ready to goe and cleare him ſelfe vnto the Senate: but the reſidue would not ſuffer him to go. Whereupon *Fuluius* ſent his ſonne backe againe vnto them, to ſpeake for them as he had done before. But *Opimius* that was deſirous to fight, cauſed the boy to be taken, and committed him in ſafe cuſtody, and then went preſently againſt *Fuluius* with a great number of footemen well armed, and of CRETAN archers beſides: who with their arrowes did more trouble and hurt their enemies then with any thing elſe, that within a while they all beganne to flie. *Fuluius* on the other ſide fled into an old hotte-houſe that no body made reckonning of, and there being found ſhortly after, they ſlue him, and his eldeſt ſonne. Now for *Caius*, he fought not at all, but being madde with him ſelfe, and grieued to ſee ſuch bloudſhed: he got him into the temple of *Diana*, where he would haue killed him ſelf, had not his very good frends *Pomponius* & *Licinius* ſaued him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his ſword from him, and counſelled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding vp both his hands vnto the goddeſſe, he beſought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage, to be reuenged of this their ingratitude and treaſon. For the common people (or the moſt part of them) plainely turned their coates, when they heard proclamation made, that all men had pardon graunted them, that would returne. So *Caius* fled vppon it, and his enemies followed him ſo neare, that they ouertooke him vpon the wodden bridge, where two of his friends that were with him ſtayed, to defend him againſt his followers, and bad him in the meane time make ſhift for him ſelfe, whileſt they fought with them vpon the bridge: and ſo they did, and kept them that not a man gotte the bridge of them, vntill they were both ſlaine. Now there was none that fled with *Caius*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithſtanding, euery man did ſtill encorage and counſell him, as they doe men to winne a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horſe, though he often required it, becauſe hee ſaw his enemies ſo neare vnto him. This notwithſtanding, by their defence that were ſlaine vppon the bridge, he got ground on them ſo, that he had leyſure to creepe into a litle groue of wod, which was conſecrated to the furies. There his ſeruaunt *Philocrates* ſlue him, and then ſlue him ſelfe alſo, and fell dead vpon him. Other write notwithſtanding, that both the maiſter and ſeruant were ouertaken, and taken aliue: and that his ſeruaunt did ſo ſtraight imbrace his maiſter that none of the enemies could ſtrike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was ſlaine him ſelfe. So

The words of Licinia to her husband Caius Gracchus.

Fuluius ſent his ſonne to the Conſull with a Heraulds rod to offer peace.

The death of Fuluius his eldeſt ſonne.

The flight of Caius.

The faithfulnes of Caius Gracchus ſeruaunts.

one of the murderers brake off *Caius Gracchus* head to carie to the Consull. Howbeit one of *Opimius* friends called *Septimuleius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, because proclamation was made before they fought by trumpet, that whosoeuer brought the heads of *Fuluius* and *Caius*, they should be paid the waight of them in gold. Wherefore this *Septimuleius* caried *Caius* head vpon the top of his speare vnto *Opimius*: whereupon the skales being brought to wey it, it was found that it weyed seuenteene pound waight and two third parts of a pound, because *Septimuleius* besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villany, that he had taken out his braine, and in liew thereof had filled his scull with lead. Now the other also that brought *Fuluius* head, because they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodies of these two men, *Caius Gracchus* and *Fuluius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thousand that were slain) were al throwen into the riuer, their goods confiscate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Furthermore, they tooke from *Licinia Caius* wife, her ioynter: but yet they dealt more cruelly & beastly with the yong boy, *Fuluius* son: who had neither lift vp his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to them to make peace before they fought, who they kept as prisoner, & after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which most of all other grieued the people, was the tẽple of concord, the which *Opimius* caused to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in manner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of ROME. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inscription of the temple these verses:

The temple of concord built by Opimius the Consull.

A furious fact and full of beastly shame,
This temple built, that beareth concordes name.

This *Opimius* was the first man at ROME, that being Consull, vsurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or iustice condemned three thousand citizens of ROME, besides *Fuluius Flacchus*, (who had also bene Consull, and had receiued the honor of triumph) and *Caius Gracchus* a yong man in like case, who in vertue and reputation excelled all the men of his yeares. This notwithstanding, could not keepe *Opimius* from theeuery and extorcion. For when he was sent ambassador vnto *Iugurthe* king of NVMIDIA, he was bribed with money: & thereupon being accused, he was most shamefully conuicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his dayes with this reproch and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: because at the time of the ouerthrow he dealt beastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But shortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set vp in an open & honorable place, consecrating the places where they had bene slaine: and many of them also came & offred to them, of their first fruits and flowers, according to the time of the yeare, and went thither to make their praiers on their knees, as vnto the temple of the gods. Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble heart: and as for the chappels which they built and consecrated vnto them in the place where they were slaine, she said no more, but that they had such graues, as they had deserued. Afterwards she dwelt continually by the mount of Misene, and neuer changed her maner of life. Shee had many friendes, and because she was a noble Lady, and loued euer to welcome straungers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had alwayes great repaire vnto her, of GRECIANS and learned men: besides, there was no king nor Prince, but both receiued gifts from her, and sent her againe. They that frequented her company, delighted maruellously to heare her report the deeds and maner of her fathers life, *Scipio* AFRICAN: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the actes and death of her two sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*, without sheading teare, or making any shew of lamentation or griefe, no more then if she had told an history vnto them that had requested her. Insomuch some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had ouercome and taken her reason and sence from her, to feele any sorrow. But in deede they were senceless to say so, not vnderstanding, how that to be nobly borne, and vertuously brought vp, doth make men temperatly to disgest sorrow, and that fortune oftentimes ouercomes vertue, which regardeth honesty in all respectes, but yet with any aduersity she can not take away the temperaunce from them, whereby they patientlie beare it.

Opimius the first Consull, vsurping the power of the Dictator.

Opimius bribed with money of Iugurthe, and condemned.

The Gracchi were maruellously desired of the people.

The magnanimity of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

The power of learning to ouercome sorow.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Tiberius and Caius Gracchi, with Agis and Cleomenes.

NOw that we be come to the end of this history, we are to compare the liues of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two *Gracchi*: their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best giuen to vertue, and as well taught and brought vp, as any ROMAINES that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they hauing bene very ill brought vp, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldest men were almost spoyled: yet did they notwithstanding take them selues the first maisters and example of sobriety, temperaunce, and simplicity of life. Furthermore, the two first hauing liued in that time, when ROME florished most in honor and vertuous desires: they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their auncesters. These two last also being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrary disposition, and finding their countrey altogether without any order, and infected with dissolute life: were not therefore any whit the more moued with desire to doe well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gaue vnto the two *Gracchi*, was, their abstinence and integrity from taking of money all the time they were in office, and dealt in matters of state, euer keeping their hands cleane, and tooke not a penny wrongfully from any man. Where *Agis* on the other side was ended if any man praised him: for that he tooke nothing from an other man: seeing that he dispossessed him selfe of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in readie mine to the value of six hundred talents. Whereby men may easily iudge, how grieuous crime he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: seeing that he thought it a vice of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruellous great difference in their alterations, and renuing of the state, which they did both preferre. For the two ROMAINES were to mend high waies and to reedifie and repleniſh decayed

The wisedome of the Gracchi.

townes: and the worthieſt act *Tiberius* did, was the law Agraria, which he brought in for diuiding of the lands of the common wealth amongeſt the poore Citizens. And the beſt act his brother *Caius* alſo did, was the mingling of the Iudges: adding to the three hundred Senators, three hundred ROMAINE knights to be indifferent Iudges with them. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* in contrary maner were of opinion, that to reforme ſmall faults, & to redreſſe them by litle and litle, was (as *Plato* ſayd) to cut off one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards ſeuen in the place: and therefore they tooke vpon them a chaunge and innouation euen at once to roote out all the miſchiefs of their country, (or to ſpeake more truly, to take away the diſorder which brought in all vice and miſchiefe to the common wealth) and ſo to reſtore the city of SPARTA againe to her former auncient honourable eſtate. Now this may be ſaid againe, for the gouernment of the GRACCHI: that the chiefeſt men of ROME euer were againſt their purpoſes. Where, in that that *Agis* attempted, and *Cleomenes* ended, they had the nobleſt ground that could be, and that was the ancient lawes and ordinances of SPARTA touching temperance and equality: the firſt, inſtituted in old time by *Lycurgus*, the other confirmed by *Apollo*. Furthermore, by the alterations of the firſt, ROME became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which *Cleomenes* did, all GREECE in ſhort time ſaw that SPARTA commaunded all the reſt of PELOPONNESVS, and fought at that time againſt thoſe that were of greateſt power in all GREECE, for the ſigniory thereof. Where by their onely marke and purpoſe was, to rid all GREECE from the warres of the GAVLES and ILLYRIANS, and to reſtore it againe to the honeſt gouernment of the race and line of *Hercules*. Their deaths, me thinkes, do ſhew great difference of their corages. For the GRACCHI fighting with their own Citizens, were ſlaine flying. Of theſe two alſo, *Agis*, becauſe he would put neuer a Citizen to death, was ſlaine in manner voluntarily: and *Cleomenes* receiuing iniury ſtood to his defence and when he had no oportunity to doe it, he ſtoutly killed him ſelfe. And ſo may it be ſaid on the other ſide, that *Agis* did neuer any noble acte of a Captaine or ſouldier, becauſe hee was ſlaine before he could come to it. And for the victories of *Cleomenes* on the other ſide, may be oppoſed the ſcaling of the walles of CARTHAGE, where *Tiberius* was the firſt man that at the aſſault got vp vpon the wall, which was no ſmall exploit: and the peace which he made alſo at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, whereby he ſaued twenty thouſand fighting men of the ROMAINES, the which had no means otherwiſe to ſaue their liues. And *Caius* alſo in the ſelfe ſame warre, at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, and afterwardes in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of war: ſo that there is no doubt, but if they had not bene ſlaine ſo ſoone as they were, they might haue bene compared with the excelleteſt Captaines that euer were in ROME. Againe, touching their doings in ciuill policy, it appeareth that *Agis* dealt more ſlackly, being abuſed by *Ageſilaus*: who likewiſe deceiued the poore Citizens of the diuiſion of the lands which he had promiſed thē. In fine, for lacke of corage, becauſe he was very yong, he left the things vndone which he had purpoſed to haue performed. On the other ſide, *Cleomenes* went too roundly to worke to renue the ancient gouernment of the common wealth againe, by killing the Epheres with too much cruelty, whom he might eaſily haue wonne, or otherwiſe by force haue gotten the vpper hand. For it is not the part of a wiſe Phiſitian, nor of a good gouernour of common wealth to vſe the ſword, but in great extremity, where there is no other helpe nor remedy: and there lacked iudgement in them both, but worſt of all in the one, for iniury is euer ioyned with cruelty. The GRACCHI on the other ſide, neither the one nor the other, began to imbrue their handes in the bloud of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt *Caius*, yet he would neuer defend him ſelfe: and where it was knowen that he was very valiant in battell with his ſword in his hand againſt the enemy, he ſhewed him ſelfe as could againe in the vprore againſt his Citizens. For he went out of his houſe vnarmed, and fled when he ſaw them fight: being more circumſpect not to doe hurt, then not to ſuffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearfull to offend any man. For they were driuen, either to yeeld to them that followed them, or els if they ſtayd, to ſtand to their defence, becauſe they might keepe them ſelues from hurt. And where they accuſe *Tiberius* for the faults he committed, the greateſt that euer he did, was whē he depoſed *Octauius* his colleague from the Tribuneſhip, and that he him ſelfe made ſute for the ſecond. And as for *Caius* the

The acts of the Gracchi did little profit Rome.

The end of the Gracchi vnfortunate.

The death of the Gracchi.

The faults of the Gracchi.

they falsely accused him for the death of *Antilius* the Sergeant, who indeed was slaine vnknown to him, & to his great griefe. Where *Cleomenes* on the other side, although we should forget the murther he committed vpon the Ephores, yet he set slaues at libertie, and ruled the kingdom in manner himselfe alone: but yet for manners sake onely he ioyned his owne brother with him, which was of the selfesame house. And when he had perswaded *Archidamus*, (who was next heire to the kingdom of the other royall house) to be bolde to returne home from MESSENA vnto SPARTA: he suffred him to be slaine, and because he did not reuenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was consenting to his death. *Lycurgus* on the other side, whose example he did counterfeate to follow, because he did willingly resigne the kingdome vnto his brothers sonne *Charilaus*, and being afraid also, that if the yong childe should chaunce to miscarie, they would suspect him for his death: he exiled himselfe out of his own country a long time trauelling vp and downe, and returned not to SPARTA again, before *Charilaus* had gotten a sonne to succeed him in his kingdome. But we can not set another GRECIAN by *Lycurgus* comparable vnto him. We haue declared also that amongest *Cleomenes* deeds, there were many other greater alterations then these, and also many other breaches of the law. So they that doe condemne the manners of the one and the other, saye, that the two GRECIANS from the beginning had an aspiring minde to be tirants, still practising warres. Whereas the two ROMAINS onely, euen by their most mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing els, but for an extreame ambition, and did confesse that they were too earnest and vehement aboue their nature, in any strife or contention they had with their aduersaries, and that they yeelded vnto that choller & passion, as vnto ill windes, which brought them to doe those things they did in the ende. For what more iust or honest intent could they haue had, then the first was: had not the rich men (euen through stoutnesse and authoritie to ouerthrowe the lawes) brought them against their wils into quarrell: the one to saue his life, the other to reuenge his brothers death, who was slaine without order, iustice, or the authoritie of any officer? Thus thou maiest thy selfe see the difference that was betwixt the GRECIANS and the ROMAINES: and now to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I thinke that *Tiberius* was the stoutest of the foure, that the young king *Agis* offended least, and that for boldnes and courage, *Caius* came nothing neere vnto *Cleomenes*.

THE LIFE OF *Demosthenes.*

HE that made the litle booke of the praiſe of *Alcibiades*, touching the victory he wanne at the horſe race of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet *Euripides* as ſome thinke, or any other) my friend *Soſius*: ſaid, that to make a man happy, he muſt of neceſſitie be borne in ſome famous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, doubtles, true happines chiefly conſiſteth in the vertue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a faire or foule mother. For it were a madnes to thinke that the litle village of IVLIDE, being the leaſt part of the Ile of CEO (the whole Ilande of it ſelfe being but a ſmall thing) and that the Ile of ÆGINA (which is of ſo ſmall a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, becauſe it was but as a ſtraw in the ſight of the hauen of Piræa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comediants: and not breede an honeſt, iuſt, and wiſe man, and of noble corage. For, as we haue reaſon to thinke that artes and ſciences which were firſt deuiſed and inuented to make ſome things neceſſary for mens vſe, or otherwiſe to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and caſt away in litle poore villages: So are we to iudge alſo, that vertue, like a ſtrong and fruitefull plant, can take roote, and bring forth in euery place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle perſon, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and liue not as we ſhould: we can not accuſe the meanenes of our country where we were borne, but we muſt iuſtly accuſe our ſelues. Surely he that hath taken vpon him to put forth any worke, or to write any hiſtory, into the which he is to thruſt many ſtrange things vnknown to his country, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, and diſperſed abroad in diuerſe places, and are to be gathered out of diuers bookes and authorities: firſt of all, he muſt needes remaine in ſome great and famous city throughly inhabited, where men doe delight in good and vertuous things, becauſe there are commonly plenty of all ſortes of bookes: and that peruſing them, and hearing talke alſo of many things beſides; which other Hiſtoriographers peraduenture haue not written of, and which will cary ſo much more credit, becauſe men that are aliue may preſently ſpeake of them as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery point, hauing many and diuers neceſſary things contained in it. But I my ſelfe that dwell in a poore litle towne

True happines conſiſteth in the mind and maners of man, not in any place or countrie.

Expedient for an Hiſtoriographer to be in a famous city.

Plutarks country very litle,

towne, and yet do remaine there willingly leaſt it ſhould become leſſe: whileſt I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leaſure to ſtudy and exerciſe the latine tongue, aſwell for the great buſines I had then to doe, as alſo to ſatiſfie them that came to learne Philoſophie of me: ſo that euen ſomewhat too late and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latine bookes in my hand. And thereby a ſtrange thing to tell you, but yet true: I learned not nor vnderſtood matters ſo much by the words, as I came to vnderſtand the words, by common experience & knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to knowe howe to pronounce the Latine tongue well, or to ſpeake it readily, or to vnderſtand the ſignification, tranſlations, and fine ioyning of the ſimple words one with another, which do beautifie & ſet forth the tongue: ſurely I iudge it to be a maruellous pleaſant and ſweet thing, but withall, it requireth a long and laborſome ſtudy, meet for thoſe that haue better leiſure then I haue, & that haue young yeares on their backes to follow ſuch pleaſure. Therfore, in this preſent book, which is the fifth of this worke, where I haue taken vpon me to compare the liues of noble men one with another: vndertaking to write the liues of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, we will conſider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deedes in the gouernment of the common wealth, not meaning otherwiſe to conferre their workes and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were ſharper or ſweeter in his oration. For as the Poet *Ion* ſayeth,

In this behalfe a man may rightly ſay,
The Dolphynes in their proper ſoyle do play.

Demoſthenes compared with Cicero.

The which *Cæcilius* litle vnderſtanding, being a man very raſh in all his doings, hath vnaduiſedly written and ſet foorth in print, a compariſon of *Demoſthenes* eloquence with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an eaſie matter for euery man to know himſelfe, then the goddes needed haue giuen vs no commandement, neither could men haue ſaid that it came from heauen. But for my opinion, me thinkes fortune euen from the beginning hath framed in maner one ſelfe mould of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, and hath in their natures faſhioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to loue the libertie of their countrie, and both of them very fearefull in any danger of wars. And likewiſe their fortunes ſeeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to finde two Orators againe, that being ſo meanely borne as they, haue come to be of ſo great power and authoritie as they two, nor that haue deſerued the ill will of kings & noble men ſo much as they haue done, nor that haue loſt their daughters, nor that haue beene baniſhed their countries, and that haue beene reſtored againe with honor, and that againe haue fled, and haue bene taken againe, nor that haue ended their liues with the libertie of their countrie. So that it is hard to be iudged, whether nature haue made them liker in maners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workmaiſters ſtriued one with the other, to whom they ſhould make them beſt reſemble. But firſt of all we muſt write of the elder of them two.

The parentage of Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes the father of this Orator *Demoſthenes*, was as *Theopompus* writeth, one of the chiefe men of the city, and they called him *Macharopœus*, to weete, a maker of ſword blades, becauſe he had a great ſhoppe where he kept a number of ſlaues to forge them. But touching *Æſchines*, the Orators report of his mother, who ſaid that ſhe was the Daughter of one *Gelon* (that fled from ATHENS being accuſed of treaſon) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to ſay whether it be true, or deuiſed of malice to do him deſpite. Howſoeuer it was, it is true that his father died, leauing him ſeauen yeare olde, and left him reaſonable well: for his goods came to litle leſſe then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wrong: for they ſtale a great part of his goods them ſelues, and did let the reſt runne to naught, as hauing litle care of it, for they would not pay his ſchoolemaiſters their wages. And this was the cauſe that he did not learne the liberall ſciences which are vſually taught vnto honeſt mens ſonnes: and to further that want alſo, he was but a weakling, and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to ſchoole, neither his maiſters alſo durſt keepe him too hard to it, becauſe he was but a ſickly childe at the firſt, and very weake. And it is reported alſo, that the ſurname of *Battalus* was giuen him in mockery by other ſchoole boyes his companions, becauſe of his weakenes of body. This *Battalus* (as diuers men doe report) was an effeminate player on the flute, againſt whom the Poet *Antiphanes* to

The patrimonie of Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes why he was called Battalus

mocke him, deuiſed a litle play. Others alſo doe write of one *Battalus*, a diſſolute Orator, and that wrote laſciuious verſes: and it ſeemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a certaine part of mans body vncomly to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argas* (which ſurname men ſay was alſo giuen him) he was ſo called, either for his rude and beaſtly maners (becauſe ſome Poets doe call a ſnake *Argas*) or elſe for his maner of ſpeech: which was very vnpleaſant to the eare, for *Argas* is the name of a Poet that made alwayes bawdy and ilfauored ſongs. But here of enough as *Plato* ſaid. Furthermore, the occaſion (as it is reported) that moued him to giue himſelfe to eloquence, was this. *Calliſtratus* the Orator was to defend the cauſe of one *Oropus* before the iudges, and euery man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accuſation, which was manifeſtly knowen to all. *Demoſthenes* hearing his ſchoolemaſters agree together to goe to the hearing of this matter, he praied his ſchoolemaſter to be ſo good, as to let him goe with him. His Maiſter graunted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hall dore where this matter was to be pleaded, he ſo intreated thē, that they placed their ſcholler in a very good place, where being ſet at his eaſe, he might both heare and ſee all that was done, and no man could ſee him. Thereupon when *Demoſthenes* had heard the caſe pleaded, he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he ſaw how he was waited vpon home with ſuch a traine of people after him: but yet he wondred more at the force of his great eloquence, that could ſo turne and conuey all things at his pleaſure. Thereuppon he left the ſtudie of all other ſciences, and all other exerciſes of witte and bodie, which other children are brought vp in: and beganne to labor continually, and to frame himſelfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator among the reſt. His maiſter that taught him Rethoricke was *Iſæus*, notwithſtanding that *Iſocrates* alſo kept a ſchoole of Rethoricke at that time: either becauſe that being an orphane he was not able to pay the wages that *Iſocrates* demaunded of his ſchollers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he founde *Iſæus* manner of ſpeech more proper for the vſe of the eloquence he deſired, becauſe it was more fine, & ſubtill. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithſtanding, that he had read certain books, hauing no name of any author, which declared that *Demoſthenes* had bene *Platoes* ſcholler, & that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth alſo of one *Cteſibius*, who reporteth that *Demoſthenes* had ſecretly read *Iſocrates* workes of Rethoricke, and alſo *Alcidamus* bookes, by meanes of one *Callias* SYRACVSAN, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardeſhippe, he beganne to put his gardians in ſute, and to write orations and pleas againſt them: who in contrarie manner did euer vſe delayes and excuſes, to ſaue themſelues from giuing vp any account vnto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exerciſe (as *Thucydides* writeth) it proſpered ſo well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great paines and daunger: and yet with all that he could doe, he could not recouer all that his father left him, by a good deale. So hauing now gotten ſome boldnes, and being vſed alſo to ſpeake in open preſence, and withall, hauing a feeling and delight of the eſtimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward himſelfe, and to practiſe in matters of ſtate. For, as there goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an ORCHOMENIAN, who hauing a grieuous pain in the ſplene, by aduiſe of the Phiſitions was willed to runne long courſes to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end ſo luſty & nimble of body, that afterwardes he would needes make one to runne for games, & in deed grew to be the ſwifteſt runner of all men in his time. Euen ſo the like chaunced vnto *Demoſthenes*. For at the firſt, beginning to practiſe oratory for recouery of his goods, and thereby hauing gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke vppon him to ſpeake to the people in aſſemblies, touching the gouernment of the common wealth, euen as if he ſhould haue contended for ſome game of price, and at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for orations: notwithſtanding that when he firſt ventred to ſpeake openly, the people made ſuch a noiſe, that he could ſcant be heard, and beſides they mocked him for his manner of ſpeach that was ſo ſtraunge, becauſe he vſed ſo many long confuſed periods, and his matter he ſpake of was ſo intricate with arguments one vppon an other, that they were tedious, and made men weary to heare

Demoſthenes why ſurnamed Argas.

Calliſtratus the Orator.

The earneſt deſire of Demoſthenes to learne eloquence.

Iſæus Demoſthenes ſchoolemaſter of Rethoricke.

Demoſthenes firſt practiſe in drawing and penning of orations.

A remedy for the paine of the ſplene.

Demoſthenes mocked of the people for his long orations.

heare him. And furthermore, he had a very ſoft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had alſo a ſhort breath, the which made that men could not well vnderſtand what he ment, for his long periods in his oration were often times interrupted, before he was at the end of his ſentence. So that at length, perceiuing he was thus reiected, he gaue ouer to ſpeake any more before the people, and halfe in deſpaire withdrewe himſelfe into the hauen of Piræa. There *Eunomus* the THESSALIAN being a very olde man, found him, and ſharply reproued him, and tolde him, that he did himſelfe great wrong, conſidering, that hauing a manner of ſpeeche much like vnto *Pericles*, he drowned himſelfe by his faint hart, becauſe he did not ſeeke the waye to be bold againſt the noiſe of the common people, and to arme his bodie to away with the paines and burthen of publike orations, but ſuffering it to growe feebler, for lacke of vſe and practiſe. Furthermore, being once againe repulſed and whiſtled at, as he returned home, hanging downe his heade for ſhame, and vtterly diſcouraged: *Satyrus* an excellent player of comedies being his familiar friend, followed him, and went and ſpake with him. *Demoſthenes* made his complaint vnto him, that where he had taken more paines then all the Orators beſides, and had almoſt euen worne himſelfe to the bones with ſtudie, yet he coulde by no meanes deuiſe to pleaſe the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bibbe all day long, and martiners that vnderſtood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on the other ſide that they made no account of him. *Satyrus* then aunſwered him, thou ſaieſt true *Demoſthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it ſtraight, and take away the cauſe of all this: ſo thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine verſes of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*. Thereuppon *Demoſthenes* preſently rehearſed ſome vnto him, that came into his minde. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gaue them quite an other grace, with ſuch a pronunciation, comely geſture, and modeſt countenance becomming the verſes, that *Demoſthenes* thought them cleane chaunged. Whereby perceiuing how much the action (to wit, the comely manner and geſture in his oration) doth giue grace and comlines in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almoſt nothing to ſpeake of, to exerciſe to pleade well, vnleſſe therewithall he doe alſo ſtudie to haue a good pronunciation and geſture. Thereupon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole euen in my time, & he would daily go downe into it, to faſhion his geſture and pronunciation, and alſo to exerciſe his voice, and that with ſuch earneſt affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three monethes one after another, and did ſhaue his head of purpoſe, becauſe he durſt not goe abroad in that ſort, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to declame vpon, and to practiſe to pleade of the matters he had had in hand before, or elſe vpon occaſion of ſuch talke as he had with them that came to ſee him, while he kept his houſe. For they were no ſooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, & repeated from the firſt to the laſt all matters that had paſſed betwene him and his friendes in talke together, and alleaged alſo both his owne and their aunſwers. And if peraduenture he had beene at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeate it by him ſelfe: and would finely couche and conuey it into propper ſentences, and thus chaunge and alter euery way any matter that hee had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quicke capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreame labor. And for proofe hereof, they make this probable reaſon. That they neuer ſaw *Demoſthenes* make any oration on the ſodaine, and that oftentimes when he was ſette in the aſſembly, the people would call him by his name, to ſay his opinion touching the matter of counſell then in hand: Howbeit that he neuer roſe vpon their call, vnles he had firſt ſtudied the matter well he would ſpeake of. So that all the other Orators would many times giue him a taunt for it: as *Pytheas* among other, that taunting him on a time, tolde him, his reaſons ſmelled of the lampe. Yea, replied *Demoſthenes* ſharply againe: ſo is there great difference, *Pytheas*, betwixt thy labour and mine by lampelight. And him ſelfe alſo ſpeaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he would ſpeake, neither did he alſo offer to ſpeake, before he had made briefes of that he would ſpeake. He ſayd furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that he would be carefull before what he would ſay to them. For this preparatiue (ꝙ he) doth ſhew that he

Demoſthenes impediments of nature.

Demoſthenes celler.

Demoſthenes ſeldome pleaded on the ſodaine.

Demoſthenes in his oration ſtudieth to pleaſe the people.

doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary manner alſo, he that paſſeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he deſpiſeth their authoritie, & that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vſe force againſt them, rather then reaſon and perſwaſion. But yet further to enlarge the prooſes, that *Demoſthenes* had no hart to make any oration on the ſodaine, they doe alleage this reaſon: that *Demades* many times roſe vpon the ſodaine to maintaine *Demoſthenes* reaſons, when the people otherwhile did reiect him: and that *Demoſthenes* on the other ſide, did neuer riſe to make *Demades* words good, which he had ſpoken in his behalf. But now might a man aske again: if *Demoſthenes* was ſo timerous to ſpeake before the people vpon the ſodaine: what ment *Aeſchines* then to ſay, that he was maruellous bold in his words: and how chaunceth it, that he riſing vpon the ſodaine, did preſently anſwer the Orator *Python* BYZANTINE in the field, that was very luſty in ſpeech, (& rough like a vehement running ſtreame) againſt the ATHENIANS: and how chanced it that *Lamachus* MYRRHENIAN, hauing made an oration in the praiſe of *Philip* & *Alexander*, kings of MACEDON, in the which he ſpake all the ill he could of the THEBANS, & of the OLYNTHIANS, and when he had read & pronounced it in the open aſſembly of the Olympian games: *Demoſthenes* vpon the inſtant riſing vp on his feete, declared, as if he had read ſome hiſtorie, & pointed as it were with his finger vnto all the whole aſſembly, the notable great ſeruice & worthy deeds the which the CHALCIDIANS had done in former times, for the benefit & honor of GREECE? And in contrary maner alſo, what miſchiefe and inconuenience came by meanes of the flatterers that altogether gaue themſelues to currie fauor with the MACEDONIANS? With theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions, *Demoſthenes* made ſuch ſturre amongſt the people, that the Orator *Lamachus* being affraide of the ſodaine vprore, did ſecretly conuey himſelfe out of the aſſembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, *Demoſthenes* in my opinion faſhioning himſelfe euen from the beginning, to followe *Pericles* ſteppes and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not ſo requiſite for him, and that he would counterfaite his grauitie and ſober countenance, and to be wiſe, not to ſpeake ouer lightly to euery matter at all aduentures: Iudging, that by that manner of wiſedome he came to be great. And like as he would not let ſlippe any good occaſion to ſpeake, where it might be for his credit: ſo would he not likewiſe ouer raſhly hazard his credite and reputation to the mercie of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vpon the ſodaine without premeditation before, doe ſhew more boldneſſe and courage, then thoſe which he had written, and ſtudied long before: if we may beleeue the reports of *Eratoſthenes*, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, and of the other comicall Poets. For *Eratoſthenes* ſaid, that he would be often caried away with choller and furie. *Demetrius* alſo ſaith, that ſpeaking one day to the people, he ſware a great othe in ryme, as if he had bene poſſeſſed with ſome diuine ſpirite, and ſaid,

Demoſthenes terrified Lamachus in his oration.

By ſea and land, by riuers, ſprings, and pondes.

There are alſo certaine comicall Poets that do call him *Ropoperperethra*, as who would ſay, a great babbler that ſpeaketh all things, that commeth to his tongues end. An other mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rethoricke called, Antitheton: which is, oppoſition, with ſaying, *Sic recepit ſicut cepit*, (which ſignifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the vſe of this figure *Demoſthenes* much pleaſed him ſelfe, vnleſſe the poet *Antiphanes* ſpeaketh it of pleaſure, deriding the counſel he gaue the people, not to take the Ile of HALONESVS of king *Philip*, as of gift: but to receiue it as their owne reſtored. And yet euery body did grant, that *Demades* of his owne naturall wit, without arte, was inuincible: and that many times ſpeaking vpon the ſodaine, he did vtterly ouerthrow *Demoſthenes* long ſtudied reaſons. And *Ariſto*, of the Ile of CHIO, hath written *Theophraſtus* iudgement of the Orators at that time. Who being asked what maner of Orator he thought *Demoſthenes*: he anſwered, worthy of this city. Then again, how he thought of *Demades*: aboue this city, ſaid he. The ſame Philoſopher writeth alſo, that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, (one of thoſe that practiſed at that time in the common wealth) gaue this ſentence: that *Demoſthenes* in deede was a great Orator, but *Phocions* tongue had a ſharper vnderſtanding, becauſe in few wordes, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpoſe, they ſay that *Demoſthenes* him ſelfe ſaid alſo, that as oft as he ſaw *Phocion* get vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake againſt him, he was wont to ſay to his friends: ſee, the axe of my words

Οὗτος ἀντὶ λαβὼν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. Μὴ λαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ πολαμβάνειν παρὰ φιλίππου.

The naturall eloquence of Demades the Orator.

Theophraſtus iudgement of Orators.

Phocion called the axe of Demoſthenes orations.

riſeth

riseth. And yet it is hard to iudge, whether he spake that in respect of his tongue, or rather for the estimation he had gotten, because of his great wisdome: thinking (as indeede it is true) that one word only, the twinckling of an eye, or a nod of his head of such a man (that through his worthines is attained to that credit) hath more force to perswade, then all the fine reasons & deuises of Rethoricke. But now for his bodily defects of nature, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth, that he heard *Demosthenes* himselfe say, being very olde, that he did helpe them by these meanes. First touchiug the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all syllables distinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pibble stones into his mouth, which he found vpon the sands by the riuers side, & so pronoũced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his smal and soft voice, he made that louder, by running vp steep and high hils, vttering euen with full breath some orations or verses that he had without book. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glasse in his house, and euer standing on his feet before it, he would learne and excercise himselfe to pronounce his orations. For proofe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cause, and tolde him that one had beaten him: and that *Demosthenes* sayd againe vnto him, I doe not beleeue this is true thou tellest me, for surely the other did neuer beate thee. The plaintife then thrusting out his voice aloude, sayed what, hath he not beaten me? yes indeed quoth *Demosthenes* then: I beleue it now, for I heare the voice of a man that was beaten indeede. Thus he thought that the founde of the voyce, the pronunciation or gesture in one sorte or other, were things of force to beleeue or discredit that a man sayeth. His countenaunce when he pleaded before the people, did maruellously please the common sorte: but the noble men, and men of vnderstanding, found it too base and meane, as *Demetrius Phalerius* sayed, amongst others. And *Hermippus* writeth that one called *AEsion*, being asked of the ancient Orators, and of those of his time, answered: that euery man that had seene them, would haue wondred with what honor, reuerence and modestie, they spake vnto the people: howbeit that *Demosthenes* orations (whosoeuer read them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therfore we may easily iudge, that the orations *Demosthenes* wrote are very seuere and sharpe. This notwithstanding, otherwhiles he would giue many pleasant and witty answers vpon the sodaine. As when *Demades* one day sayd vnto him, *Demosthenes* will teach me: after the common prouerbe, the sow will teach *Minerua*. He aunswered straight againe. This *Minerua* not long since was in Collitus streete, taken in adulterie. A certein theefe also called *Chalcus* (as much to say, as of copper) stepping foorth to say somewhat of *Demosthenes* late sitting vp a nights, and that he wrote and studied the most part of the night by lampe light: in deede, quoth *Demosthenes*, I know it grieues thee to see my lampe burne all night. And therfore you my Lords of ATHENS, me thinkes you should not wonder to see such robberies in your citie, considering we haue theeues of copper, and the walles of our houses be but of claye. We could tell you of diuerse others of his like pleasant and wittie aunswers, but these may suffice for this present: and therfore we will proceede to consider further of his nature and conditions, by his actes and deedes in the affayres of the common wealth. Now *Demosthenes* first beginning whē he came to deale in the affaires of the state, was in the time of the warre made with the PHOCIANS, as himselfe reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made against *Philip*: of the which, the last were made after the warre was ended, and the first doe touch also some particular doings of the same. He made the oration against *Midias*, when he was but 32 yeare old, and was of small countenance & reputation in the common wealth: the want whereof was the chiefest cause (as I thinke) that induced him to take money for the iniurie he had done him, & to let his action fall against him.

Demosthenes by industry reformeth his defects of nature.

Demosthenes countenance and gesture misliked of the nobility.

Demosthenes wittie answers.

The time of Demosthenes comming to practise in the affaires of the state.

Displeasure betwixt Demosthenes, and Midias.

He was not of a milde and gentle mind,
But fierce and hastie to reuenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small power & authoritie as himselfe, to ouerthrow a man so wealthy, so befriended, and so eloquent as *Midias*: he therfore yeelded himself vnto those that did speake and intreat for him. Neither do I thinke that the three thousand Drachmas which he receiued, could haue brideled the bitternes of his nature, if other wise he had seene any hope or likelihood that he could haue pre-

Demosthenes, an enemie to the Macedonians.

uailed against him. Now at his first cõming vnto the cõmon wealth, taking a noble matter in hand to speak against *Philip*, for the defence & maintenãce of the lawes & liberties of the GRECIANS, wherein he handled himselfe so worthely: that in short space he wan him maruellous fame for his great eloquence and plaine manner of speech. Thereby he was maruellously honored also through all GREECE, and greatly esteemed with the king of PERSIA: & *Philip* himselfe made more account of him, then of all the Orators in ATHENS, & his greatest foes which were most against him, were driuen to confesse that they had to doe with a famous man. For, in the orations which *Aeschines* & *Hyperides* made to accuse him, they write thus of him. And therfore I maruell what *Theopompus* ment, when he wrote that *Demosthenes* had a subtill vnconstant mind, & could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters of state. For in contrarie maner, in my iudgement he continued constant still to the end, in one selfe maner & order, vnto the which he had betaken himself at the beginning: & that not onely he neuer changed all his life time, but to the contrarie he lost his life, because he would be no chaungling. For he did not like *Demades*, who to excuse himself for that he had oft turned coate in matters of gouernment, said that he went often times against his own sayings, as matters fell out: but neuer against the benefit of the cõmon wealth. And *Melanopus* also, who was euer against *Callistratus*, hauing his mouth many times stopped with money, he would vp to the pulpit for orations, & tell the people, that indeed *Callistratus*, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is my enemy, & yet I yeeld vnto him for this time: for, the benefit of the cõmon wealth must cary it. And another also, *Nicodemus* MESSENIAN, who being first of *Cassanders* side, tooke part afterward with *Demetrius*, & then said, that he did not speak against himselfe, but that it was meete he should obey his superiors. They cannot detect *Demosthenes* with the like, that he did euer halt or yeeld, either in word or deed. For he euer continued firm and constant in one mind in his orations. Insomuch that *Panætius* the Philosopher saith, that the most part of all his orations are grounded vpon this *maxime* and principle: that for it selfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the oration of the crowne, the which he made against *Aristocrates*: that also which he made for the franches and freedom: and in fine, all his orations against *Philip* of MACEDON. And in al those he doth not perswade his conntriemen to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proueth that often times honestie is to be preferred aboue safetie or health. So that, had he in all his orations and doings, ioyned to his honestie, courtesie, and francke speech, valiantnes in warres, and cleane hands from briberie: he might deseruedly haue bene compared, not with *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus*, *Hyperides* & such other Orators: but euen with the highest, with *Cimon*, *Thucidides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worst way in gouernment of the cõmon wealth, because he was suspected that he took part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valiantnes, wisdom & iustice, he was euer thought as honest a man, as *Ephialtes*, and *Aristides*. But *Demosthenes* on the other side (as *Demetrius* sayth) was no man to trust to for wars, neither had he any power to refuse giftes and bribes. For though he would neuer be corrupted with *Philip* king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold & siluer that was brought from the cities of SVSA & ECBATANA, and was very readie to praise & commend the deeds of their ancestors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And besides he did euer speake more boldly and plainely vnto the people then any man else, and would openly contrary their mindes, and sharply reproue the ATHENIANS for their faultes, as appeareth by his orations. *Theopompus* also writeth, that the people on a time would haue had him to accuse a man, whom they would needs haue condemned. But he refusing to doe it, the people were offended, and did mutine against him. Thereupon he rising vp said openly vnto them: my Lords ATHENIANS, I will alwaies counsell you to that which I thinke best for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be against your mindes: but falsely to accuse one to satisfie your mindes, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against *Antiphõ*, sheweth plainly, that he was no people pleaser, and that he did leane more vnto the authoritie of the Senate. For when *Antiphon* was quit by the people in an assembly of the citie: *Demosthenes* notwithstanding took him and called him againe into the court of the Areopagites, and did not passe vpon the peoples ill will, but

The constancy of Demosthenes against Theopompus.

Note the incõstancie & subtil inuasion of these orators

Demosthenes preferreth honestie as a speciall rule in his orations.

Demosthenes a timerous man, and giuen to bribes.

Demosthenes franck speech in his orations.

but there conuinced him for promising *Philip* of MACEDON to burn the arsenall of ATHENS: so by sentence of that court he was condemned, & suffred for it. He did also accuse the Nunne *Theorides* for many leud parts committed, & amongst others, for that she taught slaues to deceiue their masters: & so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and executed. It is thought also, that he made the oration *Apollodorus* spake against the Prætor *Timotheus*, & proued therby that he was a debtor to the cõmon wealth, & so naughtie a man: & that he wrote those orations also intituled to *Formio* & *Stephanus*, for the which he was iustly reproued. For *Formio* pleaded against *Apollodorus* with the oration which *Demosthenes* selfe had made for him: which was euen alike, as if out of one selfe cutlers shoppe he had sold his enemies swords one to kil another: and for his known orations, those which he made against *Androcion*, *Timocrates* and *Aristocrates*: he caused them to giue them vnto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of state. For indeede when he did put them forth, he was not passing seuen or eight and twentie yeare old. The oration which he made against *Aristogiton*, and the other also of libertie, against *Ctesippus* the son of *Chabrias*, he spake them, as he saith himself, (or as others write) openly vnto the people, because he intended to marrie *Chabrias* mother. Howbeit he did not, but maried a SAMIAN womã, as *Demetrius Magnesius* writeth in his book he made, intituled Synonyma, and in that he wrote against *Aeschines*: where he accuseth him that he dealt falsely when he was Ambassador. It is not knowen whether it was recited or not, although *Idomeneus* writeth, that there lacked but thirtie voices onely to haue quitte *Aeschines*. But in this me thinkes he spake not truely, and doth but coniecture it, by that the one & the other haue said in their orations against the crowne, in the which, neither the one nor the other doe saye precisely, that this accusation proceeded to iudgement. But let other that list decide this doubt. Now before the warre beganne, it was euident enough, to which part *Demosthenes* would incline in the common wealth. For, he would neuer leaue to reproue and withstand *Philips* doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in *Philips* Court, then any man else, he was sent vnto him the tenth person with nine others in ambassade. *Philippe* gaue them all audience one after another: howbeit he was more carefull and circumspect to answer *Demosthenes* oration, then all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not *Demosthenes* so much honor, nor gaue him so good entertainment, as to his other companions. For *Philip* shewed more kindnes, and gaue better countenance vnto *Aeschines*, & *Philocrates*, then vnto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise *Philip*, and sayd that he was a well spoken Prince, a faier man, and would drinke freely, and be pleasant in company: *Demosthenes* smiled at it, and turned all things to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a king. For the first was a qualitie meete for a pleader, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge. In fine, warres falling out betwene them, because *Philip* of the one side could not liue in peace, & the ATHENIANS on the other side were still incensed & stirred vp by *Demosthenes* daily orations. Wherupon the ATHENIANS first sent into the Ile of EVBOEA, (the which by meanes of certen priuate tirants that had taken the townes, became subiect againe vnto *Philip*) following a decree *Demosthenes* had preferred, & so went to expulse the MACEDONIANS againe. After that also he caused them to send aide vnto the BIZANTINES, and to the PERINTHIANS, with whom *Philip* made war. For he so perswaded the ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto those two nations, & the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the warres, touching the rebellion of their confederats: & he caused them to send them aide, which kept them from *Philips* force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto all the great cities of GREECE as Ambassador, he did so solicite & perswade them, that he brought them all in manner to be against *Philip*. So that the armie which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fifteene thousand footemen, all strangers, and two thousand horsemen, besides the Cittizens of euery citie which should also serue in the warres at their charge, and the money also leauied for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly disbursed. *Theophrastus* writeth, that it was at that time their confederates did praye that they would set downe a certaine summe of money, what euery citie shoulde paye: and that *Crobylus* an Orator shoulde make aunswer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was

Demosthenes orations which were true and which false.

Demosthenes doings against Philip.

Demosthenes stirreth vp Greece against the Macedonians.

infinite. Now all GREECE being in armes, attending what should happen, and all these people and cities being vnite in one league together: as the EVBOEIANS, the ATHENIANS, the CORINTHIANS, the MEGARIANS, the LEVCADIANS, & the CORCYRIÆANS: the greatest matter *Demosthenes* had to do, was to perswade the THEBANS also to enter into this league, because their countrie confined and bordered with ATTICA, besides their force and power was of great importance, for that they caried the fame of all GREECE at that time, for the valiantest souldiers. But it was no trifling matter to win the THEBANS, and to make them breake with *Philip*, who but lately before had bound them vnto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them, in the warre of the PHOCIANS: besides also that betwixt ATHENS and THEBES, by reason of vicinitie, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with euery litle thing were soone renued. This notwithstanding *Philip* being proud of the victory he had wonne by the citie of AMPHISSE, when he came and inuaded the countrie of ELATIA, and was entred into PHOCIDE: the ATHENIANS were then so amased with it, that no man durst occupie the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assembly standing in a doubt with great silence, *Demosthenes* only stept vp, and did againe giue them counsell to seeke to make league and alliance with the THEBANS: and so did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwaies wont to do. Then with others he was sent ambassador into THEBES: & *Philip* also for his part, sent ambassadors vnto the THEBANS, *Amintas* & *Clearchus*, two gentlemen MACEDONIANS, and with them, *Daochus*, *Thessalus* and *Thracydæus*, to aunswer and withstand the perswasions of the ATHENIAN Ambassadors. Thereupon the THEBANS beganne to aduise themselues for the best, and layed before their eyes the miserable frutes and calamities of warre, their wounds being yet greene and vncured, which they got by the warres of PHOCIDE. Notwithstanding, the great force of *Demosthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did so inflame the THEBANS courage with desire of honor, that it trode vnder their feet all manner of considerations, and did so rauish them with the loue and desire of honestie: that they cast at their heeles, all feare of daunger, all remembrance of pleasures receiued, and all reason perswading the contrarie. This act of an Orator was of so great force, that *Philip* forthwith sent Ambassadors vnto the GRECIANS, to intreat for peace, and all GREECE was vppe to see what would become of this sturre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of ATHENS obeyed *Demosthenes*, doing all that he commanded them: but the gouernors also of THEBES, & of all the countrie of BOEOTIA besides. And the assemblies also of the councell of THEBES were as well gouerned by him, as the assemblies of ATHENS, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, and hauing a like authority to command both, and not vndeseruedly, as *Theopompus* saith, but by iust desert. But some fatall destinie, and the reuolution of times had determined the finall ende of the libertie of GREECE at that time, cleane contrarie to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestiall signes that did foreshewe and prognosticate what ende should ensue thereof. And amongst others, *Apolloes* Nunne gaue these dreadfull oracles: and this old prophecie of the SIBYLS was commonly song in euery bodies mouth.

Demosthenes force of eloquence ioyned the Thebans with the Athenians and wan them from Philip king of Macedon.

The ouerthrow of the Grecians foreshewed at Cheronea, by signes and ancient oracles.

VVhat time the bloodly battell shall be fought at Thermodon,
God graunt I may be farre away, or else (to looke thereon)
Haue Eagles wings to soare aboue, among the cloudes on hye.
For there the vanquisht side shall weepe, and Conquerer shall dye.

Men doe report that this Thermodon is a litle riuer of our coūtrie of CHÆRONEA, which falleth into the riuer of Cephisus: howbeit at this present time there is neuer a riuer nor brook in all our coūtrie, that I know called Thermodon. And I think, that that riuer which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodō: for it runneth by the temple of *Hercules*, where the GRECIANS lay in campe. And it may be, that because it was filled with dead bodies, & that it ranne blood at the day of the battell, it changed her name & was surnamed Hæmon, because Hæma in the Greeke tongue, signifieth blood. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithstanding, that this Thermodon was no riuer, but that certaine men setting vp their tent, and trenching it about, found a litle image of stone, whereupon were engraued these letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called *Thermodon*, who caried an AMAZON hart in his armes, & that for this

The riuer of Thermodon or Hæmon in the country of Cheronea.

Another opinion of Thermodon.

image

image of *Thermodon*, they do ſing ſuch another olde oracle as this:

Te Ernes and Rauens tarry till the field of Thermodon:
There will be ſtore of carkaſſes, of men to feede vpon.

This notwithſtanding, it is very hard to tell the troth of theſe things. But *Demoſthenes* truſting to the valiantnes and power of the GRECIANS, and being maruellouſly incoraged to ſee ſuch a great number of valiant and reſolute men, ſo willing to fight with the enemie: he bad them be of good courage, and not to buz about ſuch oracles, and to giue eare to ſuch prophecies. And furthermore he tolde them plainely, that he did miſtruſt the Nunne *Pythia* did leane vnto *Philip*, as fauoring him, and did put the THEBANS in minde of their Captaine *Epaminondas*, and the ATHENIANS of *Pericles*, and perſwaded them, that thoſe two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that ſuch prophecies were no other, but a fine cloke for cowardes, and that taking no heed to them, they did diſpatch their matters according to their own diſcretion. Vntill this preſent time, *Demoſthenes* ſhewed himſelf alwaies an honeſt man. But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant acte any thing anſwerable to the orations whereby he had perſwaded the people. For he left his rancke, and cowardly caſt away his weapons to runne the lighter, and was not aſhamed at all, as *Pythias* ſaid, of the words written vpon his ſhield in golden letters, which were, *Good fortune*. Now *Philip* hauing wonne the battell, he was at that preſent ſo ioyfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had druncke well with his friends, he went into the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, & there in mockery began to ſing the beginning of the decree which *Demoſthenes* had preferred, (by the which the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed warres againſt him) riſing and falling with his voice, and dancing it in meaſure with his foote:

Demoſthenes the ſonne of Demoſthenes Pæanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to wax ſober, and leauing his drunckennes, and that he had remembred himſelf what danger he had bene in: then his hair ſtood bolt vpright vpon his head, conſidering the force and power of ſuch an orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his realme and life at a battell. Now *Demoſthenes* fame was ſo great, that it was caried euen to the great king of PERSIANS court, who wrote vnto his Lieutenants & gouernors, that they ſhould feed *Demoſthenes* with money, and ſhould procure to entertaine him aboue all the men in GREECE, as he that could beſt withdraw *Philip* & trouble him with the warres and tumults of GREÇE. And this was afterwardes proued by letters found of *Demoſthenes* himſelfe, the which came to king *Alexanders* hands in the citie of SARDIS, & by other writings alſo of the gouernors and Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA: in the which were named directly the expreſſe ſummes of money which had bene ſent & giuen vnto him. Now the GRECIANS being thus ouerthrowen by battell, the other Orators, aduerſaries vnto *Demoſthenes* in the common wealth, began to ſet vpon him, & to prepare to accuſe him. But the people did not only cleare him of all the accuſations obiected againſt him, but did continue to honor him more then before, and to call him to aſſemblies, as one that loued the honor & benefit of his coũtrie. So that when the bones of their countrymen which were ſlain at the battell of CHÆRONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the cuſtom: the people gaue him the honor to make the funerall oration in praiſe of the dead, and made no ſhew of ſorrowe or griefe for the loſſe they had receiued: (as *Theopompus* witneſſeth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner ſhewed that they did not repent them in following of his counſel, but did honor him that gaue it. *Demoſthenes* then did make the funerall oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would neuer ſubſcribe any, to preuent the ſiniſter lucke and misfortune of his name, but did paſſe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew couragious againe, ſhortly after that he vnderſtood of the death of *Philip*, who was ſlain immediatly after the victorie he wanne at CHERONEA. And it ſeemeth this was the meaning of the prophecie or oracle in the two laſt verſes:

Demoſthenes flyeth from the battell.

Demoſthenes word and deuiſe vpon his ſhield.

Demoſthenes corrupted with money of the king of Perſia.

Demoſthenes praiſeth them that were ſlain at the battell of Cheronea.

The vanquiſhed bewailes his luckleſſe lot,
And he that winnes, with life eſcapeth not.

The death of Philip king of Macedon.

Now *Demoſthenes* hearing of *Philips* death, before the newes were openly known, to preuẽt them, he would put the people againe into a good hope of better luck to come. Thereupon he

went with a cheerfull countenance into the assembly of the councell, and told them there, that he had a certaine dreame that promised great good hap, & that out of hand vnto the ATHENIANS: and immediatly after, the messengers arriued that brought certaine newes of king *Philips* death. Therupon the ATHENIANS made sacrifices of ioy to the gods for this happy newes, & appointed a crowne vnto *Pausanius* that had slaine him. *Demosthenes* also came abroade in his best gowne, and crowned with flowers, seauen daies after the death of his daughter, as *Aeschines* reporteth: who reproueth him for it, and noteth him to be a man hauing litle loue or charitie vnto his owne children. But indeed *Aeschines* selfe deserueth more blame, to haue such a tender womanish hart, as to beleeue, that weeping and lamenting, are signes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and constancie doe passe awaye such misfortunes. But now to the ATHENIANS againe. I can neither thinke nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signes of ioy as to weare crownes & garlands vpon their heads, nor also to sacrifice vnto the gods for the death of a Prince, that behaued himselfe so Princely and curteously vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For though indeed all cruelty be subiect to the reuenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base minde, to honor a man, and while he liued to make him free of their citie, and now that another hath slain him, they to be in such an exceeding iolitie withall, and to exceede the bonds of modestie so farre, as to rampe in manner with both their feete vpon the dead, and to sing songs of victorie, as if they themselues had bene the men that had valiantly slaine him. In contrary manner also, I praise and commend the constancy and courage of *Demosthenes*, that he leauing the teares and lamentation of his home trouble vnto women, did himself in the meane time that he thought was for the benefit of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to be a gouernor of a common wealth, neuer to stoop nor yeeld, but alwaies to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the common wealth, reiecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the seruice of his countrie, and to keepe his honor much more carefully, then common players vse to doe, when they play the partes of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to giue them iust occasion. But omitting those reasones, if there be no reason (as indeede there is not) to leaue and forsake a man in his sorrow and trouble, without giuing him some wordes of comfort, and rather to deuise some matter to asswage his sorrowe, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke vpon some pleasanter things: euen as they should keepe sore eyes from seing bright and glaring colours, in offring them greene and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefes at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to ioyne their priuate griefes with common ioyes, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worse? But thus farre I digressed from my historie, enlarging this matter, because *Aeschines* in his oration touching this matter, did moue the peoples hartes too much vnto womanish sorrow. But now to the rest. The cities of GREECE being againe stirred vp by *Demosthenes*, made a new league againe together: and the THEBANS also hauing armed themselues by his practise, did one day set vpon the garrison of the MACEDONIANS within their citie, and slue many of thē. The ATHENIANS prepared also to maintaine war on the THEBANS behalfe and *Demosthenes* was daily at all the assemblies of councell, in the pulpit, perswading the people with his orations: and he wrote also into ASIA vnto the king of PERSIAES Lieutenants and Captaines, to make warre with *Alexander* on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as much to say, as foole. But after that *Alexander* hauing set all his things at stay within his realme, came himselfe in person with his armie, and inuaded the countrie of BOEOTIA: then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, & *Demosthenes* also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poore THEBANS being left vnto themselues forsaken of euery man: they were compelled themselues alone to beare the brunt of this warre, and so came their city to vtter ruine and destruction. Therby the ATHENIANS being in a maruellous feare and perplexitie, did sodainly choose Ambassadors to send vnto this young king, and *Demosthenes* chiefly among others: who being affraid of *Alexanders* furie and wrath, durst not goe to him, but returned from mount Cytheron, and gaue vp the Ambassade. But *Alexander* sent to summone the ATHE-

NIANS

Demosthenes preferreth the ioy of his country, before the sorrow of his own daughter.

Aeschines reproued by Plutarch for his fond beleefe, that blubbering and sorrowing are signes of loue and charitie.

Plutarch praiseth Demosthenes constancie for leauing of his mourning to reioyce for his common countrie benefit

Demosthenes raiseth vp the Grecians against Alexander.

NIANS, to send vnto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both do write: or eight as the most writers and best historiographers doe report, which were these: *Demosthenes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myracles*, *Damon*, *Callisthenes* and *Charidemus*. At which time, they write that *Demosthenes* tolde the people of ATHENS, the fable of the sheepe and wolues, howe that the wolues came on a time, and willed the sheepe, if they would haue peace with them, to deliuer them their mastiues that kept them. And so he compared himselfe, and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the countrie, vnto the dogges that keepe the flocks of sheepe, and calling *Alexander* the wolfe. And so forth, saide he, like as you see these corne maisters bringing a sample of their corne in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that litle do sell all that they haue: so I thinke you will all wonder, that deliuering of vs, you will also deliuer your selues into the handes of your enemies. *Aristobulus* of CASSANDRA reporteth this matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in consultation, not knowing how to resolue: *Demades* hauing taken fiue talents of them whom *Alexander* demanded, did offer himselfe, and promised to goe in this Ambassage vnto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them, either because he trusted in the loue the king did beare him, or else for that he thought he hoped he should finde him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the bloud of beastes which he had slaine. Howsoeuer it happened, he perswaded the people to send him vnto him, and so handled *Alexander*, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the citie of ATHENS. Thereupon *Alexander* being retyred, *Demades* and his fellowes bare all the sway and authoritie, and *Demosthenes* was vnder foot. In deede when *Agis* king of LACEDÆMON, came with his army into the field, he began a litle to rowse himselfe, and to lift vp his head: but he shrunke choller againe soone after, because the ATHENIANS would not rise with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who were ouerthrowen, & *Agis* slaine in battell. At that time was the cause of the crowne pleaded against *Ctesiphon*, and the plea was written a litle before the battell of CHÆRONEA, in the yeare when *Charondas* was Prouost of ATHENS: howbeit no sentence was giuen but ten yeres after that *Aristophon* was Prouost. This was such an open iudgement, and so famous, as neuer was any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthines of the Iudges that gaue sentence thereof: who did not leaue *Demosthenes* to his enemies, although in deede they were of greater power then he, and were also supported with the fauour and good will of the MACEDONIANS: but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that *Aeschines* had not so much as the fifth part of mens voices and opinions in his behalfe. Wherefore immediatly after sentence giuen, he went out of ATHENS for shame, and trauelled into the country of IONIA, and vnto the RHODES, where he did teach Rethoricke. Shortly after, *Harpalus* flying out of *Alexanders* seruice, came vnto ATHENS, being to be charged with many foule matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigalitie: and also because he feared *Alexanders* furie, who was growen seuere and cruell vnto his chiefest seruantes. He comming now amongst the ATHENIANS with store of gold and siluer, the Orators being greedie and desirous of the golde and siluer he had brought: beganne straight to speake for him, and did counsell the people to receiue & protect a poore suter that came to them for succour. But *Demosthenes* gaue counsell to the contrarie, and bad them rather driue him out of the citie, and take heede they brought not warres vpon their backes, for a matter that not onely was not necessarie, but furthermore meerely vniust. But within fewe dayes after, inuentory being taken of all *Harpalus* goods, he perceiuing that *Demosthenes* tooke great pleasure to see a cuppe of the kings, and considered very curiously the fashion & worke-manshippe vpon it: he gaue it him in his hand, to iudge what it weyed. *Demosthenes* peasing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heauie: so he asked how many pound weight it weyed. *Harpalus* smiling, answered him: it will wey thee twentie talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cuppe, with the twentie talents. This *Harpalus* was a very wise man, and found straight by *Demosthenes* countenance that he loued money, and could presently iudge his nature by seeing his pleasant countenance, and his eyes still vpon the cuppe. So *Demosthenes* refused not his gift, and being ouercome with all, as if he had receiued a garrison into his house, he tooke *Harpalus* part. The next morning, he went into the assembly of the people, hauing his necke bound vp with woll and rolles. So when they called him by

Alexander required certaine Orators of Athens.

Demosthenes tale of the sheep and wolues.

The iudgement of the crowne vnto Ctesiphon.

Harpalus a great money man came to Athens, flying from Alexander.

Demosthenes bribed by Harpalus with twenty talents.

his name to steppe vp into the pulpit, to speake to the people as he had done before: he made a signe with his head, that he had an impediment in his voice, & that he could not speake. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, tolde him it was no sinanche that had stopped his wesill that night, as he would make them beleeue: but it was *Harpalus* argentsynanche which he had receiued, that made him in that case. Afterwardes when the people vnderstoode that he was corrupted, *Demosthenes* going about to excuse himselfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noyse and exclamation against him. Thereuppon there rose vp a pleasant conceited man, that said: why my maisters, doe ye refuse to heare a man that hath *such a golden tongue? The people thereuppon did immediatly banish *Harpalus*, and fearing least king *Alexander* would require an account of the gold and siluer which the Orators had robbed and pilfred away among them: they made very diligent search and inquirie in euerie mans house, excepting *Callicles* house, the sonne of *Arrenidas*, whose house they would haue searched by no meanes, because he was but newly married, and had his new spouse in his house, as *Theopompus* writeth. Now *Demosthenes* desiring to shewe that he was in fault, preferred a decree that the court of the Areopagites should heare the matter, and punish them that were founde faultie, and therewithall straight offered himselfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the summe of fiftie talents, and for lacke of paiment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickely body. So he brake prison, partly without the priuitie of his keepers, and partly also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some doe report that he fled not farre from the citie: where it was tolde him that certaine of his enemies followed him, whereuppon he would haue hidden himselfe from them. But they themselues first called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to helpe him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, & perswaded him to be of good cheere, and not to dispaire for the misfortune that was come vnto him. This did pearce his heart the more for sorow, that he answered them: why, would you not haue me be sorie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the citie where in deede I haue so curteous enemies, that it is hard for me to finde any where so good friends? So he tooke his banishment vnmanly, and remained the most part of his banishment in the citie of ÆGINA, or at the citie of TROEZEN, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the country of ATTICA, and weepe bitterly. And some haue written certaine words he spake, which shewed no minde of a man of courage, nor were aunswerable to the noble things he was wont to perswade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of ATHENS, hee looked backe againe, and holding vp his handes to the castle, said in this sort: O Ladie *Minerua*, Ladie patronesse of this citie: why doest thou delight in three so mischieuous beastes: the owle, the dragon, and the people? Besides, he perswaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offred him two waies at the first, the one to goe into the assembly of the people, to make orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had knowen as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that medleth with the affaires of the state, the feare, the enuie, the accusations, and troubles in the same: he would rather haue chosen the way to haue suffered death. So, *Demosthenes* continuing in his exile, king *Alexander* dyed, and all GREECE was vp againe: insomuch as *Leosthenes* being a man of great valour, had shut vp *Antipater* in the citie of LAMIA, and there kept him straightly besieged. Then *Pytheas* and *Callimedon*, surnamed *Carabos*, two Orators, and both of them banished from ATHENS, they tooke part with *Antipater*, and went from towne to towne with his Ambassadors and friendes, perswading the GRECIANS not to sturre, neither to take part with the ATHENIANS. But *Demosthenes* in contrarie maner, ioyning with the Ambassadors sent from ATHENS into euerie quarter, to solicite the cities of GREECE, to seeke to recouer their libertie: he did aide them the best he could, to solicite the GRECIANS, to take armes with the ATHENIANS, to driue the MACEDONIANS out of GREECE. And *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Demosthenes* encountred with *Pytheas* words in an open assembly of the people in a certaine

*This conceite can hardly be expressed in any other language, then in Greeke. For he saieth, ἐκ ἀκροατῆ γεγονὼς τῶν κολάκων: alluding to the verbe κωλακεύειν, which signifieth to delight by pleasant speech or sound

Demosthenes banishment.

Demosthenes tooke his banishment grieuously.

Three mischieuous beastes.

Antipater besieged of the Athenians.

certaine towne of ARCADIA. *Pytheas* hauing ſpoken before him, had ſaid: like as we preſume alwaies that there is ſome ſickneſſe in the houſe whither we doe ſee aſſes milke brought: ſo muſt that towne of neceſſitie be ſicke, wherein the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS doe enter. *Demoſthenes* aunſwered him againe, turning his compariſon againſt him: that in deede they brought aſſes milke, where there was neede to recouer health: and euen ſo, the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS were ſent, to heale and cure them that were ſicke. The people at ATHENS vnderſtanding what *Demoſthenes* had done, they ſo reioyced at it, that preſently they gaue order in the fielde, that his baniſhment ſhould be reuoked. He that perſwaded the decree of his reuocation, was called *Dæmon* PÆANIAN, that was his nephew: and thereupon the ATHENIANS ſent him a galley to bring him to ATHENS, from the citie of ÆGINA. So *Demoſthenes* being arriued at the hauen of Piræa, there was neither Gouernor, Prieſt, nor almoſt any townsman left in the citie, but went out to the hauen to welcome him home. So that *Demetrius* MAGNESIAN writeth, that *Demoſthenes* then lifting vp his handes vnto heauen ſaide, that he thought himſelfe happie for the honour of that iorney, that the returne from his baniſhment was farre more honorable, then *Alcibiades* returne in the like caſe had bene. For *Alcibiades* was called home by force: & he was ſent for with the good will of the citizens. This notwithſtanding, he remained ſtill condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not diſpence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuiſed a way to deceiue the law: for they had a manner to giue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and ſet out the aulter of *Iupiter* ſauior, for the day of the ſolemnitie of the ſacrifice, the which they did yearely celebrate vnto him: ſo they gaue him the charge to make this preparation for the ſumme of fiftie talents being the ſumme of the fine aforeſaide wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the good happe of his reſtitution to his country and goods. For the affaires of the GRECIANS were immediatly after brought to vtter ruine. For the battell of Cranon which they loſt, was in the moneth Munichyon (to wit, Iulie) and in the moneth Boedromion next enſuing, (to wit, Auguſt) the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS entred into the fort of Munichya. And in the moneth Pyanepſion (to wit, the October following) *Demoſthenes* died in this maner. When newes came to ATHENS, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were comming thither with a great army, *Demoſthenes* and his friendes got out of the towne a litle before they entred, the people by *Demades* perſwaſion, hauing condemned them to die. So, euery man making ſhift for himſelfe, *Antipater* ſent ſouldiers after them to take them: and of them *Archias* was Captaine, ſurnamed *Phygadotheras*, as much to ſay, as a hunter of the baniſhed men. It is reported that this *Archias* was borne in the citie of THVRIES, and that he had bene ſometimes a common plaier of tragedies: and that *Polus* alſo who was borne in the citie of ÆGINES, (the excellenteſt craftes maiſter in that facultie of all men) was his ſcholler. Yet *Hermippus* doth recite him amongſt the number of the ſchollers of *Lacritus* the Orator And *Demetrius* alſo writeth, that he had bene at *Anaximenes* ſchoole. Now this *Archias* hauing found the Orator *Hyperides* in the city of ÆGINA, *Ariſtonicus* MARATHONIAN, and *Himeræus* the brother of *Demetrius* the PHALERIAN, which had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Aiax*: he took them out of the temple by force, and ſent them vnto *Antipater*, who was at that time in the citie of CLONES, where he did put them all to death: and ſome ſay, that he did cut off *Hyperides* tongue. Furthermore, hearing that *Demoſthenes* had taken ſanctuary in the Ile of CALAVRIA, he tooke litle pinnaſies, and a certaine number of THRACIAN ſouldiers, and being come thither, he ſought to perſwade *Demoſthenes* to be contented to goe with him vnto *Antipater*, promiſing him that he ſhould haue no hurt. *Demoſthenes* had a ſtrange dreame the night before, and though that he had plaied a tragedie contending with *Archias*, and that he handled himſelfe ſo well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commende him, and gaue him the honor to be the beſt player: howbeit that otherwiſe, he was not ſo well furniſhed as *Archias* and his plaiers, and that in all manner of furniture he did farre exceede him. The next morning when *Archias* came to ſpeake with him, who vſing gentle wordes vnto him, thinking thereby to winne him by faire meanes to leaue the ſanctuarie: *Demoſthenes* looking him full in the face, ſitting ſtill where he was, without remouing, ſaid vnto him: O *Archias*, thou diddeſt neuer perſwade me when thou playedſt a play, neither ſhalt thou now perſwade me,

Demoſthenes called home from exile.

Demoſthenes fine of fiftie talents remitted.

Archias Phygadotheras, a hunter of the baniſhed men.

Demoſthenes dreame.

though thou promiſe me. Then *Archias* began to be angry with him, and to threaten him. O ſaid *Demoſthenes*, now thou ſpeakeſt in good earneſt, without diſſimulation, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commaunded thee: for before, thou ſpakeſt in the clouds, and farre from thy thought. But I pray thee ſtay a while, till I haue written ſomewhat to my friends. After he had ſaid ſo, he went into the temple as though he would haue diſpatched ſome letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his maner was when he did vſe to write any thing, and held the end of the quill in his mouth a pretie while together: then he caſt his gowne ouer his head, and laid him downe. *Archias* ſouldiers ſeeing that, being at the dore of the temple, laughing him to ſcorne (thinking he had done ſo for that he was affraid to die) called him coward, and beaſt. *Archias* alſo comming to him, prayed him to riſe, and beganne to vſe the former perſwaſions to him, promiſing him that he would make *Antipater* his friend. Then *Demoſthenes* feeling the poyſon worke, caſt open his gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, ſaid vnto him: Now when thou wilt, play *Creons* part, and throw my bodie to the dogges, without further graue or buriall. For my part, O god *Neptune*, I do go out of thy temple being yet aliue, becauſe I will not prophane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS, haue not ſpared to defile thy ſanctuarie with bloud, and cruell murder. Hauing ſpoken theſe wordes, he prayed them to ſtay him vp by his armeholes, for his feete beganne alreadie to faile him, and thinking to go forward, as he paſt by the aulter of *Neptune*, he fell downe, and giuing one gaſpe, gaue vp the ghoſt Now touching the poyſon, *Ariſto* reporteth, that he ſucked and drew it vp into his mouth out of his quill, as we haue ſaid before. But one *Pappus* (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his hiſtorie) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the aulter, they found the beginning of a letter which ſaid: *Demoſthenes* vnto *Antipater*, but no more. Now his death being thus ſodaine, the THRACIAN ſouldiers that were at the temple dore, reported that they ſawe him plucke the poyſon which he put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had beene a peece of gold he had ſwallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the houſe that ſerued him, being examined by *Archias* about it: told him that he had caried it about him a long time, for a preſeruatiue for him. *Eratoſthenes* writeth, that he kept this poyſon in a litle boxe of golde made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers alſo that do report his death diuerſly, but to recite them all it were in vaine: ſauing that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demoſthenes* very friend ſaid, that he died not ſo ſodainly by poyſon, but that it was the ſpeciall fauour of the gods (to preſerue him from the crueltie of the MACEDONIANS) that ſo ſodainly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele ſo litle paine. *Demoſthenes* dyed the ſixteenth day of the moneth Pynepſion (to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at ATHENS the feaſt of *Ceres*, called Teſmophoria, which is the dolefulleſt feaſt of all the yeare: on the which day alſo, the women remaine all day long in the temple of the goddeſſe, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS to honour him according to his deſerts, did caſt his image in braſſe, and made a law beſides, that the oldeſt man of his houſe ſhould for euer be kept within the pallace, at the charge of the common wealth: and ingraued theſe verſes alſo vpon the baſe of his image.

Demoſthenes taketh poyſon to kill himſelfe, in the temple of Neptune, in the Ile of Calauria.

The death of Demoſthenes.

The time of Demoſthenes death.

The Athenians honored Demoſthenes after his death

Hadſt thou Demoſthenes had ſtrength according to thy hart,
The Macedons ſhould not haue wrought the Greekes ſuch woe and ſmart.

For they that thinke that it was *Demoſthenes* himſelfe that made the verſes in the Ile of CALAVRIA, before he tooke his poyſon: they are greatly deceiued. But yet a litle before my firſt comming to ATHENS, there went a report that ſuch a thing happened. A certaine ſouldier being ſent for to come vnto his Captaine, did put ſuch peeces of golde as he had into the handes of *Demoſthenes* ſtatue, which had both his hands ioyned together: and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, diuers leaues whereof either blowen off by winde by chance, or elſe put there of purpoſe by the ſouldier, couered ſo this golde, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: vntill ſuch time as the ſouldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereuppon this matter running abroad in euery mans mouth, there were diuers wiſe men that tooke occaſion of this ſubiect, to make epigrammes in the praiſe of *Demoſthenes*, as one who in his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enioy the honor he thought

he

he had newly gotten. For the iuſtice of the goddes, reuenger of the death of *Demoſthenes*, brought him into MACEDON, to receiue iuſt puniſhment by death of thoſe whom he diſhoneſtly flattered: being before growen hatefull to them, and afterwardes committed a fault whereby he could not eſcape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did perſwade, and pray * *Perdiccas*, to make himſelfe king of MACEDON, & to deliuer GREECE from bondage, ſaying that it hong but by a threede, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, *Antipater*. *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN accuſed him, that he wrote theſe letters: the which ſo grieuouſly offended *Caſſander*, that firſt he ſlew his owne ſonne in his armes, and then commanded they ſhould afterwards kill *Demades*, making him feele then by thoſe miſeries (which are the cruelleſt that can happen vnto man) that traitors betraying their owne countrie doe firſt of all betray themſelues. *Demoſthenes* had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleeue him. Thus, my friend *Soſius*, you haue what we can deliuer you, by reading, or report, touching *Demoſthenes* life and doings.

*He ſaith Antigonus, in the life of Phocion

Demades death and reward for his treaſon.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero.

AS touching *Ciceroes* mother, whoſe name was *Heluia*, it is reported ſhe was a gentlewoman borne, and liued alwaies very honeſtly: but for his father, the reports of him are diuers and infinite. For ſome ſay that he was borne and brought vp in a fullers ſhop: others report that he came of *Tullius Actius*, who while he liued was honored among the VOLSCES as king, and made very ſharpe and cruell warres with the ROMAINES. But ſurely it ſeemes to me, that the firſt of that name called *Cicero*, was ſome famous man, and that for his ſake his offſpring continued ſtill that ſurname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men ſcorned it, becauſe *Cicer* in Engliſh ſignifieth a rich peaſe. That *Cicero* had a thing vpon the tippe of his noſe, as it had beene a litle wart, much like to a rich peaſe, whereupon they ſurnamed him *Cicero*. But this *Cicero*, whoſe life we write of now, nobly anſwered certaine of his friends on a time giuing him counſell to chaunge his name, when he firſt made ſute

Ciceros parentage.

Cicero, why ſo called.

for office, and beganne to practise in matters of state: that hee would endeuour himselfe to make the name of *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, than the *Scauri*, or *Catuli*. After that, *Cicero* being made Treasurer in SICILE, he gaue an offering of certaine siluer plate vnto the goddes, and at large engraued on it his two first names, *Marcus Tullius*: and in place of his thirde name, he pleasantly commaunded the workeman to cut out the forme and fashion of a rich pease. Thus much they write of his name. Nowe for his birth, it was saide that his mother was brought a bedde of him without any paine, the thirde day of Ianuarie: on which day the Magistrates and Gouernours of ROME doe vse at this present, yearely to make solemne prayers and sacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and prosperitie of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurse, that did prognosticate vnto her she gaue a childe sucke, which in time to come should doe great good vnto all the ROMAINES. Nowe though such things may seeme but dreames and fables vnto many, yet *Cicero* himselfe shortly after prooued this prophecie true: becausse that when he came of age to learne, he grew so toward, and wanne such fame among the boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacitie. For thereupon came the other boyes fathers themselues to the schoole to see his face, and to be eye witnesses of the report that went of him, of his sharpe and quicke wit to learne. But others of the rude and baser sort of men were offended with their sonnes, becausse to honour *Cicero*, they did alwaies put him in the middest betweene them, as they went in the streetes. *Cicero* in deede had such a naturall witte and vnderstanding, as *Plato* thought meete for learning, and apt for the studie of Philosophie. For he gaue himselfe to all kinde of knowledge, and there was no arte nor any of the liberall sciences, that he disdained: notwithstanding in his first young yeares he was apter, and better disposed to the studie of Poetrie then any other. There is a pretie poeme of his in verses of eight staues, called *Pontius Glaucus*, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being giuen more earnestly vnto this studie, he was not onely thought the best Orator, but the best Poet also of all the ROMAINES in his time: and yet doth the excellencie of his eloquence, and commendation of his tongue continue euen to this day, notwithstanding the great alteration and chaunge of the Latine tongue. But his Poetrie hath lost the name and estimation of it, becausse there were many after him that became farre more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childish studies, he became then *Philoes* scholler, the Academicke Philosopher, the onely scholler of all *Clitomachus* schollers, whom the ROMAINES esteemed so much for his eloquence, and loued more for his gentle behauiour and conuersation. He gaue himselfe also to be a follower of *Mutius Scæuola*, who at that time was a great man in ROME, and Prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct *Cicero* in the lawes of ROME. He did also follow *Sylla* for a time, in the warres of the MARSIANS. But when he sawe that the common wealth of ROME fell to ciuill warres, and from ciuill warres to a monarchie: then he returned againe to his booke and contemplatiue life, and frequented the learned men of GREECE, and alwayes studied with them, vntill *Sylla* had gotten the vpper hande, and that he sawe all the common wealth againe at some stay. About that time, *Sylla* causing the goods of one that was saide to be slaine, to be sold by the crier: (being one of the outlawes and proscriptes, to wit, banished by billes sette vp on postes) *Chrysogonus*, one of *Syllaes* freed bondmen, and in great fauour with his maister, bought them for the summe of two thousande Drachmaes. Therewithall the sonne and heire of the dead person called *Roscius*, being maruellously offended, he shewed that it was too shamefull an abuse: for his fathers goods amounted to the summe of two hundred and fiftie talentes. *Sylla* finding himselfe thus openly touched with publike fraude and deceite, for the onely gratifying of his man: he procured *Chrysogonus* to accuse him, that he had killed his owne father. Neuer an Orator durst speake in *Roscius* behalfe to defend his cause, but shrunke colour, fearing *Syllaes* crueltie and seueritie. Wherefore poore *Roscius* the young man, seeing euery man forsake him, had no other refuge but to goe to *Cicero*, whom his friends did counsell and perswade boldly to take vpon him the defence of *Roscius* cause: for he should neuer haue a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring himselfe into estimation, as this. Thereuppon *Cicero* determined to take his cause in hand, and did handle it so well, that he obtained the thing he sued for: whereby he wanne him great

Cicero Quæstor.

Ciceros birth.

An image appeared to Ciceroes nurse.

Ciceroes towardnes and wit.

Cicero a notable Poet.

Cicero Philoes scholler, the Academicke Philosopher. Cicero a follower of Mutius Scæuola.

Roscius put in suse.

great fame and credit. But yet being afraied of *Syllaes* displeasure, he absented him selfe from ROME, and went into GREECE, giuing it out that his trauaile was for a disease he had vpon him. In deede *Cicero* was dogge leane, a litle eater, and would also eate late, because of the great weakenesse of his stomacke: but yet he had a good loude voyce, though it was somewhat harshe, and lacked grace and comelinesse. Furthermore, he was so earnest and vehement in his oration that hee mounted still with his voice into the highest tunes: insomuch that men were afraied it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When he came to ATHENS, he went to heare *Antiochus* of the city of ASCALONA, and fell in great liking with his sweete tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he misliked his new opinions in Philosophy. For *Antiochus* hadde then forsaken the opinions of the new Academicke Philosophers, and the sect of the Carneades: being moued thereunto, either through the manifest proofe of things, or by his certaine iudgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or dissention against the schollers and followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, he had reproued the resolutions of the Academickes, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the most part to the Stoickes opinions. Howbeit *Cicero* had most affection vnto the Academickes, and did study that sect more then all the rest, of purpose, that if he saw he were forbidden to practise in the common wealth at ROME, hee would then goe to ATHENS (leauing all pleas and Orators in the common wealth) to bestow the rest of his time quietly in the study of Philosophy. At length, when hee heard newes of *Syllaes* death, and saw that his body was growen to good state and health by exercise, and that his voyce became daily more and mote to fill mens eares with a sweete and pleasaunt sound, and yet was loude enough for the constitution of his body: receiuing letters daily from his friendes at ROME, that prayed him to returne home, and moreouer, *Antiochus* selfe also earnestly perswading him to practise in the common wealth: hee beganne againe to fall to the studie of Rethoricke, and to frame him selfe to be eloquent, being a necessary thing for an Orator, and did continually exercise him selfe in making orations vppon any speache or proposition, and so frequented the chiefe Orators and maisters of eloquence that were at that time. To this end therefore he went into ASIA vnto RHODES, and amongest the Orators of ASIA, he frequented *Xenocles* ADRAMETTIN, and *Dionysius* MAGNESIAN, and studied also with *Menippus* CARIAN: at RHODES he heard *Apollonius Molon*, and the Philosopher *Posidonius*. And it is reported also, that *Apollonius* wanting the Latine tongue, he did pray *Cicero* for exercise sake, to declame in Greeke. *Cicero* was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faultes should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and euery man praised him one after an other. Howbeit *Apollonius* all the while *Cicero* spake, did neuer shew any glad countenaunce: and when he had ended, he stayed a great while and sayed neuer a word. *Cicero* misliking withall, *Apollonius* at length sayed vnto him. As for me *Cicero*, I doe not only praise thee, but more then that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorie for poore GREECE, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely giftes and honour left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the ROMAINES. Now *Cicero* being very well disposed, to goe with good hope to practise at ROME, he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was tolde him. For, inquiring of the god *Apollo* DELPHIAN, how he might doe to winne fame and estimation: the Nunne *Pythias* aunswered him he should obtaine it, so that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to ROME, at the first he proceeded verie warely, and discreetely, and did vnwillingly seeke for any office, and when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: for they commonly called him the GRECIAN, and scholler, which are two wordes, the which the artificers, (and such base mechanicall people at ROME,) haue euer ready at their tongues end. Now hee being by nature ambitious of honour, and pricke forward also by the perswasion of his father and friendes: in the end hee beganne to pleade, and there obtained not the chiefest place by litle and litle, but so soone as he fell to practise, he was immediatly esteemed aboue all the other Orators and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciation, ha-

Cicero a weake man.

Cicero, Antiochus scholler.

The commodity of exercise.

Cicero goeth into Asia, and to Rhodes.

Cicero declamed in Greeke.

Apollonius testimony of Cicero.

Anoracle giuen to Greece.

Cicero first practising in the common wealth.

uing the selfe same defectes of nature at the beginning, which *Demosthenes* had: to reforme them, he carefully studied to counterfeite *Roscius*, an excellent commediant, and *AEsope* also a player of tragedies. Of this *AEsope* men write, that he playing one day *Atrius* part vpon a stage (who determined with him selfe how he might be reuenged of his brother *Thyestes*) a seruaunt by chaunce hauing occasion to runne sodainely by him, he forgetting him selfe, striuing to shew the vehement passion and fury of this king, gaue him such a blow on his head with the scepter in his hand, that he slue him dead in the place. Euen so *Ciceroes* words were of so great force to perswade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciation. For he mocking the Orators that thrust out their heads, and cried in their orations, was wont to say that they were like to lame men, who were driuen to ride, because they could not goe a foote: euen so (said he) they cry out, because they can not speake. Truely pleasaunt taunts doe grace an Orator, and sheweth a fine witte: but yet *Cicero* vsed them so commonly, that they were offensiue vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spightfull man. He was chosen Treasurer in the time of dearth, where there was great scarcity of corne at ROME: and the prouince of SICILE fell to his lotte. At his first comming thither, the SICILIANS misliked him very much, because he compelled them to send corne vnto ROME: but after they had found his diligence, iustice, and lenity, they honoured him aboue any Gouernour that euer was sent from ROME. Now there were diuerse young gentlemen of ROME of noble houses, who being accused for sundry faultes committed in warres against their honour, and martiall discipline, had bene sent backe againe vnto the Prætor of SICILE: for whom *Cicero* pleaded, and did so excellently defend their cause, that they were pardoned euery man. Thereuppon, thinking well of him selfe, when his time was expired, he went to ROME, & by the way there happened a prety ieast vnto him. As he passed through the countrey of CAMPANIA (otherwise called the land of labour) he met by chaunce with one of the chiefest ROMAINES of all his friendes. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they sayed of him at ROME, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all ROME had bene full of the glory of his name and deedes. His friend asked him againe: and where hast thou bene *Cicero* all this while, that we haue not seene thee at ROME? This killed his heart straight, when he saw that the report of his name and doings, entring into the city of ROME as into an infinite sea, was so sodainely vanquished away againe, without any other fame or speach. But after that, when he looked into him selfe, and saw that in reason he tooke an infinite labour in hand to attaine to glory, wherein he saw no certaine end whereby to attaine vnto it: it cut off a great part of the ambition he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure hee tooke to heare his owne praise, and to be ouermuch giuen to desire of honor and estimation: those two things continued with him euen to his dying day, and did eftsoones make him swarue from iustice. Furthermore, when he beganne throughly to practise in the affaires of the state, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and crafts men should haue many sortes of instrumentes and tooles without life, to know the names of euery one of them, the places where they should take them, and the vse whereto they should employ them: and that a man of knowledge and quality (who doth all things with the helpe and seruice of men) should be slothfull, and careless, to learne to know the names of his citizens. Therefore hee gaue him selfe to know, not onely mens names of quality, but the streetes also they dwelt in, what part of the city soeuer it was: their goodly houses in the country, the friends they made of, and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when hee went abroad into ITALIE, wheresoeuer he became, *Cicero* coulde shew and name his friendes houses. He was not very rich, and yet he had enough to serue his turne: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loued him the better, because he tooke no fee nor gift for his pleading, what cause soeuer he tooke in hand, but then specially, when he defended a matter against *Verres*. This *Verres* hadde bene Prætor of SICILIA, and had committed many lewd partes there, for the which the SICILIANS did accuse him. *Cicero* taking vppon him to defend their cause, made *Verres* to be condemned, not by pleading, but in maner without pleading, and in this sort. The Prætors being his Iudges, and fauouring *Verres*, had made so many reiornementes and delayes, that they had driuen it off to the last day of hearing. *Cicero* perceiuing then hee shoulde not haue anie light to speake

Roscius and AEsopus common players.

Cicero, a fine Taunter.

Cicero chosen Quæstor.

Ciceroes diligence, iustice, and lenity.

Cicero, ambitious, and desirous of praise.

Cicero giuen to know mens names, their landes, and friendes.

Ciceroes doings against Verres

all

all that he had to say against him, and that thereby nothing should be done and iudged: he rose vp, and sayed, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought foorth the witnesses before the Iudges, and hauing caused their depositions to be taken, he prayed they would proceede to sentence, according to their euidence giuen on that behalfe. Yet some doe report, that *Cicero* gaue many pleasaunt tauntes and girdes, in pleading the accusation of the SICILIANS against *Verres*. The ROMAINES doe call a bore, *Verres*. There was one *Cæcilius*, the sonne of a freed bondman, who was suspected to holde with the superstition of the IEVVES. This *Cæcilius* would haue put by the SICILIANS from following the accusation of *Verres*, and woulde haue had the matter of his accusation only referred to him, for the prosecuting of it against him. *Cicero* skorning his sute, sayd vnto him: what hath a IEVVE to doe with a swine? This *Verres* had a sonne somewhat aboue twentie yeares of age, who (as the report went) had a verie ill name for his beautie. And therefore when *Verres* one day thought to mocke *Cicero*, saying that he was too womanly: his children (sayd he) are to be reproued of that secretly at home. In this accusation, *Hortensius* the Orator durst not directly defende *Verres*: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to aunswere for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yuory giuen him by *Verres* for his reward. Thereuppon *Cicero* gaue him a pretie nippe by the way: but *Hortensius* not vnderstanding him: sayd he coulde no skill of darke speaches. Well, sayd *Cicero*, yet hast thou a sphinx in thy house. In the ende *Verres* being condemned, and a fine sette on his heade to the value of seuentie fiue Myriades, *Cicero* notwithstandinge was suspected to be bribed with mony for agreeing to cast him in so small a summe. But yet when hee came to be Ædilis, the SICILIANS to shew them selues thankefull to him, both brought and sent him many presentes out of SICILE. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owne vse, but onely bestowed their liberality in bringing downe the prises of victuals at ROME. He had a goodly house within the confines of the city of ARPOS, a farme also by NAPLES, and an other about the city of POMPEII: but all these were no great things. Afterwardes also he had the ioynter of his wife *Terentia*, which amounted to the summe of twelue Myriades, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritaunce, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. Thereuppon he liued very honestly and soberly, without excesse, with his familiar friendes that loued him, both GRECIANS and ROMAINS, and would neuer goe to supper till after sunne set, not so much for any great businesse he had, as for the weakenesse of his stomacke. But otherwise he was very curious, and carefull of his person, and would be rubbed and noynted, and hee would vse also to walke a certaine number of turns by proportion: and so exercising his body in that sort, he was neuer sicke, and besides was also very strong and lusty of body, able to abide great paines and sorrowes which he fell into afterwardes. He gaue his fathers chiefe mansion house to his brother, and went to dwell him selfe in the mount Palatine: because such as came to waite vppon him to doe him honour, should not take the paines to goe so farre to see him. For, he had as many men dailie at his gate euery morning, as either *Crassius* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his estimation among the souldiers both of them being at that time the chiefest men of ROME. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* selfe came vnto *Cicero*, because his Orations stoode him to great purpose, for the increase of his honour and authority. Now when *Cicero* came to make sute to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinary Iudge) though he had many competitors, and fellowe suters with him, yet was he first chosen affore them all: and he did so honestly behaue him selfe in that office, that they did not so much as once suspect him of bribery or extortion. And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that *Licinius Macer* (a man that of him selfe was of great power, and yet fauoured and supported besides by *Crassius*) was accused before *Cicero* of theft and extortion in his office: but he trusting much to his supposed credite, and to the great sute and labour his friendes made for him, went home to his house before sentence proceeded against him (the Iudges being yet to giue their opinions) and there speedily trimmed his beard, and put a new gowne vppon his backe, as though he had beene sure to haue beene quite of his accusation, and then returned againe into the market place. But *Crassius* went to meete him, and tolde him all the Iudges had condemned him: *Licinius Macer* tooke such a griefe and conceite vppon it, that he went home to his house againe, layed him downe

He spake it because the Iewe doe eate no swines flesh.

Cicero chosen Ædilis.

Ciceroes riches.

Ciceroes great curtesie and resort.

Cicero elosen Prætor.

Licinius Macer condemned

on his bedde, and neuer roſe after. This iudgement wanne *Cicero* great fame, for they praiſed him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to ſee iuſtice duely executed. An other called alſo *Vatinius*, (a bedlem fellow, and one that behaued him ſelfe very vnreuerently to the Magiſtrates in his pleading, and beſides had a ſwollen necke) came very arrogantly one day vnto *Cicero* being in his Prætoriall ſeate, and asked him a thing which *Cicero* woulde not graunt him there, but would thinke of it at better leyſure. Thereuppon *Vatinius* told him, that he would not be ſcrupulous to graunt that, if he were Prætor. *Cicero* turning to him, aunſwered him againe: no more haue I (ſayed he) ſuch a ſwollen necke as thou haſt. Towardes the end of his office, two or three dayes before his time expired, there was one accuſed *Manilius* before him, that he alſo had robbed the common wealth. This *Manilius* was very well beloued of the common people, who were perſwaded that he was put in ſute, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to deſpight *Pompey* with, whoſe familiar friend he was. So he required certaine dayes to anſwer the matter he was accuſed of: but *Cicero* would giue him no further reſpit, but to aunſwer it the next day. The people therewith were maruellouſly offended, becauſe the other Prætors in ſuch like caſes, were wont to giue tenne daies reſpit vnto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the Iudges, and alſo accuſed him vnto them: hee beſought *Cicero* to heare him patiently. *Cicero* made him aunſwere, that hauing alwayes vſed as much fauour and curteſie as he poſſibly might by law, vnto thoſe that were accuſed, he thought hee ſhould offer *Manilius* too great wrong, if he ſhould not doe the like to him: wherefore, becauſe he had but one day more to continue Prætor in office, he had purpoſely giuen him that day to make his aunſwere before him. For he thought that to leaue his accuſation to the hearing of an other Prætor, he could not haue bene thought a man that had borne him good will, and ment to pleaſure him. Theſe wordes did maruellouſly chaunge the peoples opinion and affection towardes him, and euery man ſpeaking well of him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cauſe. Hee willingly graunted them: and comming from the bench, ſtanding at the barre like an Orator to plead for him, he made a notable Oration, and ſpake both boldly and ſharpely againſt the chiefe men of the city, and thoſe ſpecially that did enuy *Pompey*. This notwithſtanding, when he came to ſue to be Conſull, he found as great fauour amongeſt the Nobility, as he did with the communalty. For they did further his ſute, for the common wealths ſake, vppon this occaſion. The chaunge and alteration of gouernment the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought ſtraunge at the firſt among the people: but now men by proceſſe of time being vſed to it, it was throughly eſtabliſhed, and no man miſliked it. At that time many men practiſed to ſubuert the gouernment, not for the benefite of the common wealth, but to ſerue their owne couetous mindes. For *Pompey* being then in the Eaſt parts, made wars with the kings of PONTVS and ARMENIA, and had not left ſufficient force at ROME to oppreſſe theſe ſeditious perſons, that ſought nothing but rebellion. Theſe men had made *Lucius Catilina* their Captaine: a deſperate man to attempt any great enterpriſe, ſubtile, and malicious of nature. He was accuſed before (beſides many other vile faults) for deflouring of his own daughter, and killing his brother: and being affrayed to be put in ſute for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his brother amongeſt the number of the outlawes (or proſcriptes) as if he had bene then aline. Theſe wicked rebels hauing choſen them ſuch a Captaine, were ſworne and bound one to an other in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleſhe together, and had beſides corrupted the moſt part of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine ſuffered euerie man to take his pleaſure, as his youth was inclined vnto: as to banket, to followe harlottes, and gaue them money largely to beſtow in theſe vaine expences. Furthermore all THVSCAN beganne to riſe, and the moſt part of GAVLE alſo, lying betweene the Alpes and ITALY. The city of ROME it ſelfe was alſo in great daunger of riſing, for the inequality of the goods of the inhabitaunts. For the noble men, and of greateſt courage, had ſpent all their landes in playes and feaſts, or in buildings and common works, which they built at their owne charge, to curry fauour with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices: ſo that thereby they became very poore, and their goodes were in the handes of the meane men and wretches. Thus the ſtate of ROME ſtood in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might eaſely

Cicero with one word pacified the offended Tribunes.

Cicero made Conſull.

The conſpiracie of Catiline.

Catilines wickedneſſe.

eaſely haue procured, that durſt haue taken vppon him any change or alteration of gouern-
ment, there was then ſuch diuiſion among them in the ſtate. *Catiline* notwithſtanding, to
prouide him of a ſtrong bulwarke to proſecute his intent, came to ſue to be Conſull, hoping
that he ſhould be choſen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of him ſelfe was apt neither to doe
any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great ſtrength and aide vnto him that
would attempt any thing. Diuers noble and wiſe men forſeeing that, did procure *Cicero* to
ſue for the Conſulſhippe. The people accepted him, and reiected *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* *C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero created Conſuls.*
thereuppon were created Conſuls, although that *Cicero* of all the ſuters for the Conſulſhippe
was but onely a Knightes ſonne, and not the ſonne of a Senator of ROME. Now, though the
common people vnderſtoode not the ſecrete practiſe and meaning of *Catiline*: yet at the be-
ginning of *Ciceroes* Conſulſhippe, there fell out great trouble and contention in the com- *Great troubles at Rome, in the time of Ciceroes Conſulſhip*
mon wealth. For they of the one ſide, whom *Sylla* had by his ordinaunces depoſed from their
dignities and offices in ROME (who were no ſmall men, neither few in number) beganne to
creepe into the peoples good wil, alleadging many true and iuſt reaſons againſt the tyrannicall
power of *Sylla*: howbeit ſpoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any chaunge or
alteration in the common wealth. The Tribunes on the other ſide preferred lawes and ordi-
naunces to further this deuiſe. They preferred the law to chooſe the Decemuiri, with ſoue- *A law preferred for the creation and authority of the Decemuiri.*
raigne power and authority through all ITALY and SYRIA, and alſo through all the coun-
tries and prouinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of ROME: to ſell, and
releaſe all the landes belonging to the ſtate of ROME, to accuſe any man whom they thought
good, to baniſhe any man, to reſtore the Colonies with people, to take what money they
would out of the treaſury, to leauy men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they
thought good. For this great and abſolute power of the Decemuiri, there were many men of
great accompt that fauored this law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being colleague and fellowe Con-
ſull with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be choſen one of theſe ten Commiſſioners: and fur-
thermore, it was thought that he was priuy vnto *Catilines* conſpiracy, and that he miſliked it
not, becauſe he was ſo much in debt. And this was it that the noble men moſt feared of all o-
ther things. Thereuppon *Cicero*, to prouide firſt to preuent this daunger, graunted him the
prouince of the realme of MACEDON: and the prouince of GAVLE being offered vnto him
alſo, he refuſed it. By this good turne, he wanne *Antonius* like a hiered player making him to
promiſe him that he would aſſiſt & aide him for the benefite of the common wealth, and that
he would ſay no more, then he ſhould will him. When he had brought him to this, and had
wonne him to his minde: he then beganne to be the bolder, and more ſtoutly to reſiſt them
that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one
day ſharpely reproue, and inueigh againſt this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes
would haue eſtabliſhed. But thereby he did ſo terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not
one man durſt ſpeake againſt him. This notwithſtanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted
once againe to haue it to paſſe, and appointed the Conſuls to appeare before the people. How-
beit *Cicero* being nothing abaſhed at it, he commaunded the Senate to follow him. So he did *Cicero by his eloquence ouerthrew the law of the Decemuiri.*
not only ouerthrow this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but further-
more they were vtterly diſcoraged and out of hope to bring any of their mattets to paſſe they
intended, he ſtrooke them ſo dead with his eloquence. For *Cicero* onely of all men in ROME
made the ROMAINS know, how much eloquence doth grace and beautifie that which is ho-
neſt, and how inuincible right and iuſtice are, being eloquently ſet forth: and alſo how that a
man that will be counted a wiſe Gouernor of a common weale, ſhould alwayes in his doings
rather preferre profit, then to ſeeke to curry fauour with the common people: yet ſo to vſe his
words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be alſo vnpleaſant. And to proue his ſweete
and pleaſant tong, may be alleadged that which he did in the time of his Conſulſhip, touching *Ciceroes ſweet tongue.*
the placing of men at the Theater to ſee the paſtimes. For before, the knights of ROME did ſit
mingled one with another amongſt the common people, and tooke their place as they came.
The firſt that made the difference betweene them, was * *Marcus Otho*, at that time Praetor: who * *Others do ſay Lucius Roſcius Otho Tribune of the people.*
made a law, by the which he appointed ſeuerall ſeates for the knights, where they might from
thenceforth ſee the paſtimes. The people tooke this grieuouſly, as a thing done to diſcounte-

Roſcius law for deuiding of the Romaine Knights from the common people.

nance them: inſomuch that *Otho* comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common people fell a whiſtling at him, to ſhame him withall. The knights alſo in contrariwiſe made him roome amongſt them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people fell a whiſtling louder then before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their hands, and ſo grew to wordes one with an other: that all the Theater was ſtraight in vprore with it. *Cicero* vnderſtanding it, went thither him ſelfe, and calling the people to the temple of the goddeſſe *Bellona*, he there ſo ſharpely reproued them, and therewith ſo perſwaded them, that returning preſently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receiue *Otho* with clapping of their hands, and contended with the knights which of them ſhould doe him greateſt honour. But now againe, the rebels of *Catilines* conſpiracy (who were pretily cooled at the firſt for the feare they ſtoode in) beganne to be luſty againe, and to gather together, boldly incoraging one another to broach their practiſe, before *Pompey* returned, who was ſayed to be on the way towards ROME with his army. But beſides them, thoſe ſouldiers that had ſerued before in the warres vnder *Sylla*, being diſperſed vp and downe ITALY, (but ſpecially the beſt ſouldiers among them dwelling in the good towns of THVSCAN) did ſtirre vp *Catiline* to haſten the enterpriſe, perſwading them ſelues that they ſhould once againe haue goods enough at home, to ſpoyle and ranſacke at their pleaſure. Theſe ſouldiers hauing one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field vnder *Sylla*, conſpired with *Catilin*, & came to ROME to aſſiſt him in his ſuite: who purpoſed once againe to demaund the Conſulſhip, being determined at the election to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The goddes alſo did plainely ſhew by earthquakes, lightning and thunder, and by viſion of ſpirits that did appeare, the ſecrete practiſe and conſpiracy: beſides alſo, there fell out manifeſt coniectures and proofes by men that came to reueale them, howbeit they had no power ſufficient to encounter ſo noble a man, and of ſo great power as *Catilin* was. *Cicero* therefore deferring the day of election, called *Catilin* into the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* ſuppoſing there were many in the Senate that had good wils to rebell, and alſo becauſe he would ſhew him ſelfe ready vnto them that were of his conſpiracy: he gaue *Cicero* a gentle anſwer, and ſaid thus. What doe I offend, ſayd he, if that being two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, ſtrong, and of power, hauing no head, I doe giue it one? meaning vnder this darke anſwer, to ſignifie the people and Senate. This aunſwer being made, *Cicero* was more afrayd then before, inſomuch that he put on a brigantine for the ſafety of his body, and was accompanied with the chiefeſt men of ROME, and a great number of yong men beſides, going with him from his houſe vnto the field of *Mars*, where the elections were made: and had of purpoſe left open his iacket loſe at the choller, that his brigantine he had on might be ſeene, thereby to let euery man that ſaw him, know the danger he was in. Euery man miſliked it when they ſaw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offred to aſſaile him. But it ſo came to paſſe, that by voyces of the people, *Catilin* was againe reiected from the Conſulſhip, and *Syllanus* & *Murana* choſen Conſuls. Shortly after this election, the ſouldiers of THVSCAN being ioyned, which ſhould haue come to *Catilin*, and the day appointed being at hand to broache their enterpriſe: about midnight there came three of the chiefeſt men of ROME to *Ciceroes* houſe (*Marcus Craſſus*, *Marcus Metellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bad him wake his maiſter preſently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to ſpeake with him, about a matter of importance. At night after ſupper, *Craſſus* porter brought his maiſter a packet of letters, deliuered him by a ſtraunger vnknowen, which were directed vnto diuerſe perſons, among the which one of them had no name ſubſcribed, but was only directed vnto *Craſſus* himſelfe. The effect of the letter was, that there ſhould be a great ſlaughter in ROME made by *Catiline*, and therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of ROME to ſaue him ſelfe. *Craſſus* hauing red his owne letter, would not open the reſt, but went forthwith vnto *Cicero*, partly for feare of the danger, and partly alſo to cleare him ſelfe of the ſuſpition they had of him for the friendſhip that was betwixt him & *Catiline*. *Cicero* counſelling with them what was to be done, the next morning aſſembled the Senate very earely, and carrying the letters with him, he did deliuer them according to their direction, and commaunded they ſhould read them out aloude.

Syllaes ſouldiers conſpired with Catiline.

Cicero examined Catiline in the Senate.

Syllanus and Murana Conſuls.

Letters brought to Craſſus, of Catilines conſpiracy.

All

All these letters, & euery one of them particularly, did bewray the conspiracie. Furthermore, *Quintus Arrius*, a man of authoritie, and that had bene Prætor, told openly the souldiers and men of warre that were leauied in THVSCAN. And it is reported also, that *Manlius* was in the field with a great number of souldiers about the cities of THVSCAN, gaping daily to heare newes of some chaunge at ROME. All these things being throughly considered, a decree passed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the common wealth vnto the Consuls, to the end that with absolute authoritie they might (as well as they could) prouide for the safetie and preseruation thereof. Such manner of decree and authoritie, was not often seene concluded of in the Senate, but in time of present feare and daunger. Now *Cicero* hauing this absolute power, he referred all forreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge, and did himself take vpon him the care and gouernement of all ciuill affaires within ROME. On the day time whē he went vp and downe the towne, he had such a troupe of men after him, that when he came through the great market place, he almost filled it with his trayne that followed him. Thereupon *Catiline* would no longer delay time, but resolued to go himselfe vnto *Manlius* where their army lay. But before he departed, he had drawen into his confederacie one *Martius*, and an other called *Cethegus*, whom he commaunded betimes in the morning to go to *Ciceroes* house with short daggers to kill him, pretending to come to salute him, & to giue him a good morow. But there was a noble womā of ROME, called *Fuluia*, who went ouer night vnto *Cicero*, and bad him beware of that *Cethegus*, who indeede came the next morning betimes vnto him: and being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him the more to be suspected. In the end *Cicero* comming out of his house, called the Senate to the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, (as much to say, a staire) which standeth at the vpper end of the holy streete as they go to the Mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he meant to cleare himselfe of the suspition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would sit downe by him, but they did all rise from the benche where *Catiline* had taken his place. And further, when he began to speake, he could haue no audience for the great noyse they made against him. So at length *Cicero* rose, & commaunded him to auoid out of ROME: saying, that there must needes be a separation of walles betweene them two, considering that the one vsed but wordes, and the other force of armes. *Catiline* thereupon immediatly departing the citie with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the precinct of the walles, but he made his Sergeaunts cary axes and bundles of roddes before him, as if he had bene a Consull lawfully created, & did display his ensignes of warre, & so went in this order to seeke *Manlius*. When they were ioyned, he had not much lesse then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the townes to rebell. Now open warre being thus proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Ciceroes* colleage and fellow Consul, was sent against him to fight with him. In the meane space, *Cornelius Lentulus* surnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put off the Senate) assembled all the rest which were of *Catilines* conspiracy, and that remained behind him in ROME, and bad them be affrayd of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to recouer againe the dignitie of a Senator which he had lost. It is reported that this surname of *Sura* was giuen him vpon this occasion. He being Treasurer in *Syllaes* Dictatorship, did fondly waste & consume a maruellous summe of money of the common treasure. *Sylla* being offended with him for it, and demaunding an account of him before the Senate: he carelesly and contemptuously stepped forth, saying he could make him no other account, but shewed him the calfe of his legge, as children do, when they make a fault at tennys. And thereof it came that euer after that they called him *Sura*, because *Sura* in Latin signifieth, the calfe of the legge. Another time also being accused for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed some of the Iudges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more which he had in his fauour, he said he had lost his money he had giuen to one of those two Iudges, because it was enough for him to be cleared by one voice more. This man being of this disposition, was first of all inuited by *Catiline*, and lastly marred by certain wisards & false prognosticators that had mocked him with a vayne hope, singing verses vnto him which they had fayned and deuised, and false prophecies also, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of *Sybilles* bookes of

Fuluia bewrayeth Catilines intent to kill Cicero.

Catiline departed.

C. Lentulus was called Sura.

Oracles of three Cornelij that should raigne at Rome.

prophecie, which sayd: that there should raigne three *Cornelij* at ROME, of the which, two had already fulfilled the prophecie, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, and for the third, fortune layd it vpon him, and therefore bad him go through withall, and not to dreame it out losing oportunitie as *Catiline* had done. Now this *Lentulus* vndertooke no small enterprise, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Sanate, and as many other Citizens as they could murther, and to set fire on ROME, sparing none but *Pompeys* sonnes, whom they would reserue for pledges, to make their peace afterwardes with *Pompey*. For the rumour was very great & certaine also, that he returned frō very great warres & conquests which he had made in the East countryes. So they layd a plot to put their treason in execution, in one of the nightes of *Saturnes* feastes. Further, they had brought flaxe and brimstone, and a great number of armours and weapons into *Cethegus* house. Besides all this prouision, they had appointed a hundred men in an hundred parres of the citie, to the end that fire being raysed in many places at one time, it should the sooner runne through the whole citie. Other men also were appointed to stoppe the pypes and water conduits which brought water to ROME, and to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this sturre, by chaunce there were two Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, whose country at that time did much mislike of the ROMAINES, & were vnwilling to be subiect vnto them. *Lentulus* thought these men very fit instruments to cause all GAVLE to rebell. Thereupon practising with them, he wanne them to be of their conspiracie, and gaue them letters directed to the counsell of their country, & in them did promise them freedome. He sent other letters also vnto *Catiline*, and perswaded him to proclaime libertie to all bondmen, and to come with all the speede he could to ROME: and sent with them one *Titus* of the citie of CROTONA, to cary these letters. But all their counsels and purposes (like fooles that neuer met together but at feastes, drinking druncke with light women) were easily founde out by *Cicero*: who had a carefull eye vpon them, and very wisely and discreetly saw through them. For he had appointed men out of the citie to spy their doings, which followed them to see what they intended. Furthermore he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also tooke to be of the conspiracie) and knew by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had practised with the Ambassadours of the ALLOBROGES, and drawen them into their conspiracie. At length he watched them one night so narrowly, that he tooke the Ambassadours, and *Titus* CROTONIAN with the letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambassadours of the ALLOBROGES, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day, *Cicero* assembled the Senate in the temple of Concorde, and there openly read the letters, and heard the euidence of the witnesses. Further, there was one *Iunius Syllanus* a Senator that gaue in euidence, that some heard *Cethegus* say they should kill three Consuls, and foure Prætors, *Piso* a Senator also, and that had bene Consull, told in manner the selfe same tale. And *Caius Sulpitius* a Prætor, that was sent into *Cethegus* house, reported that he had found great store of darts, armour, daggers and swords new made. Lastly, the Senate hauing promised *Titus* CROTONIAN he should haue no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this conspiracie: *Lentulus* thereby was conuinced, and driuen to giue vp his office of Prætor before the Senate, and chaunging his purple gowne, to take an other meete for his miserable state. This being done, *Lentulus* and his consorts were committed to ward, to the Prætors houses. Now growing towards euening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was assembled, *Cicero* at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereupon he was conueyed by all the people vnto a friendes house of his hard by: for that his owne house was occupied by the Ladies of the citie, who were busie solemnly celebrating a secret sacrifice in the honour of the goddesse, called of the ROMAINES the good goddesse, and of the GRECIANS *Gynacia*, to wit feminine: vnto her this yearely sacrifice is done at the Consuls house, by the wife or mother of the Consull then being, the Vestal Nunnes being present at it. Now *Cicero* being come into his neighbours house, began to bethinke him what course he were best to take in this matter. For, to punish the offenders with seueritie, according to their deserts, he was affrayd to do it: both because he was of a curteous nature, as also for that he would not seeme to be glad to haue occasion to shew his absolute power and authoritie, to punish (as he might) with rigour, Citizens that were of the noblest houses of the citie, & that had besides many friendes.

Great treason practised in Rome by C. Lentulus, and Cethegus.

The conspiratours apprehended.

And

And contrariwiſe alſo, being remiſſe in ſo waightie a matter as this, he was affrayd of the danger that might enſue of their raſhnes, miſtruſting that if he ſhould puniſh them with leſſe then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and deſperate then euer they were: adding moreouer the ſtyng and ſpight of a new malice vnto their accuſtomed wickedneſſe, beſides that he himſelfe ſhould be thought a coward and timerous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus with theſe doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies, doing ſacrifice at home in his houſe. For the fire that was thought to be cleane out vpon the aulter where they had ſacrificed, there ſodainely roſe out of the imbers of the ryend or barkes which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amaſed all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Veſtall Nunnes willed *Terentia* (*Ciceroes* wife) to go ſtraight vnto her husband, & to bid him not to be affrayd to execute that boldly which he had conſidered of, for the benefit of the common wealth, and that the goddeſſe had raiſed this great flame, to ſhew him that he ſhould haue great honour by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timerous nor faint harted woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affaires of the ſtate, then otherwiſe ſhe had acquainted him with her houſewiuery in the houſe, as *Cicero* himſelfe reporteth: ſhe went to make report thereof vnto him, and prayed him to do execution of thoſe men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his brother, and alſo *Publius Nigidius*, his friend and fellow ſtudent with him in Philoſophie, and whoſe counſell alſo *Cicero* followed much in the gouernement of the common wealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbiterment of the Senate, how theſe malefactours ſhould be puniſhed: *Syllanus* being asked his opinion firſt, ſayd that they ſhould be put in priſon, and from thence to ſuffer execution. Others likewiſe that followed him, were all of that minde, but *Caius Cæſar*, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet ſuch a one, as by his behauiour & the hope he had, tooke ſuch a courſe, that afterwards he brought the common wealth of ROME into an abſolute Monarchie. For at that time, *Cicero* had vehement ſuſpicions of *Cæſar*, but no apparant proofe to conuince him. And ſome ſay, that it was brought ſo neare, as he was almoſt conuicted, but yet ſaued himſelfe. Other write to the contrary, that *Cicero* wittingly diſſẽbled, that he either heard or knew any ſignes which were told him againſt *Cæſar*, being affrayd indeed of his friends and eſtimation. For it was a cleare caſe, that if they had accuſed *Cæſar* with the reſt, he vndoubtedly had ſooner ſaued all their liues, then he ſhould haue loſt his owne. Now when *Cæſar* came to deliuer his opinion touching the puniſhment of theſe priſoners: he ſtood vp and ſayd, that he did not thinke it good to put them to death, but to confiſcate their goods: and as for their perſons, that they ſhould beſtow them in priſon, ſome in one place, ſome in an other, in ſuch cities of ITALIE, as pleaſed *Cicero* beſt, vntill the warre of *Catilin* were ended. This ſentence being very mild, and the author thereof maruellous eloquent to make it good: *Cicero* himſelfe added thereunto a counterpeaſe, inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the firſt, and partly alſo the opinion of *Cæſar*. His friends thinking that *Cæſars* opinion was the ſafeſt for *Cicero*, becauſe thereby he ſhould deſerue leſſe blame for that he had not put the priſoners to death: they followed rather the ſecond. Whereupon *Syllanus* alſo recanted that he had ſpoken, and expounded his opinion: ſaying, that when he ſpake they ſhould be put to death, he meant nothing ſo, but thought the laſt puniſhment a Senatour of ROME could haue, was the priſon. But the firſt that contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Luctatius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehement words enforced *Cæſars* ſuſpition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and courage: ſo that euen vpon the inſtant it was decreed by moſt voyces, that they ſhould ſuffer death. But *Cæſar* ſtept vp again, and ſpake againſt the confiſcation of their goods, miſliking that they ſhould reiect the gentleſt part of his opinion, and that contrariwiſe they ſhould ſticke vnto the ſeuereſt onely: howbeit becauſe the greateſt number preuailed againſt him, he called the Tribunes to ayde him, to the end they ſhould withſtand it: but they would giue no eate vnto him. *Cicero* thereupon yeelding of himſelfe, did remit the confiſcation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetche the priſoners: who were not all in one houſe, but euery Prætor had one of them. So he went firſt to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him

Syllanus ſentẽce of the conſpiratours.

Cæſar priuie to Catilines conſpiracie.

Cæſars opinion for the puniſhment of the conſpiratours.

through the holy ſtreete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefeſt men of the citie, who compaſſed him round about, and garded his perſon. The people ſeeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, paſſed by, and ſayd neuer a word: and ſpecially the young men, who thought it had bene ſome ſolemne miſterie for the health of their country, that was ſo accompanied with the chiefe Magiſtrate, and the noble men of the citie, with terrour and feare. So when he had paſſed through the market place, and was come to the priſon, he deliuered *Lentulus* into the handes of the hangman, and commaunded him to do execution. Afterwardes alſo *Cethegus*, and then all the reſt one after an other, whom he brought to the priſon him ſelfe, and cauſed them to be executed. Furthermore, ſeeing diuers of their accomplices in a troupe together in the market place, who knew nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, ſuppoſing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet aliue: he turned vnto them, and ſpake aloud, they liued. This is a phraſe of ſpeach which the ROMAINES vſe ſometime, when they will finely conuey the hardneſſe of the ſpeach, to ſay he is dead. When night was come, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did wait vpon him no more with ſilence as before, but with great cryes of his prayſe, and clapping of handes in euery place he went, and called him Sauiour, and ſecond founder of ROME. Beſides all this, at euery mans doore there were lynckes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the ſtreetes, as at noone dayes. The very women alſo did put lightes out of the toppes of their houſes to do him honour, and alſo to ſee him ſo nobly brought home, with ſuch a long trayne of the chiefeſt men of the citie, (of the which many of them had ended great warres for the which they had triumphed, and had obteined many famous conqueſtes to the Empire of ROME, both by ſea and land) confeſsing between themſelues one to an other, that the ROMAINES were greatly bound to many Captaines and generals of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches, ſpoyles, & increaſe of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke *Cicero* onely, for their health and preſeruation, hauing ſaued them from ſo great and extreme a daunger. Not for that they thought it ſo wonderfull an acte to haue ſtriken dead the enterpriſe of the conſpiratours, and alſo to haue puniſhed the offenders by death: but becauſe the conſpiracie of *Catiline* being ſo great and daungerous an inſurrection as euer was any, he had quenched it, and pluckt it vp by the rootes, with ſo ſmall hurt, and without vprore, trouble, or actuall ſedition. For, the moſt part of them that were gathered together about *Catiline*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the reſt were put to death, they preſently forſooke him and *Catiline* himſelfe alſo fighting a battell with them he had about him, againſt *Antonius* the other Conſull with *Cicero*, he was ſlayne in the field, and all his armie defeated. This notwithſtanding, there were many that ſpake ill of *Cicero* for this fact, and meant to make him repent it, hauing for their heades *Cæſar*, (who was already choſen Prætor for the yeare to come) *Metellus* & *Beſtia*, who ſhould alſo be choſen Tribunes. They, ſo ſoone as they were choſen Tribunes, would not once ſuffer *Cicero* to ſpeake to the people, notwithſtanding that he was yet in his office of Conſull for certaine dayes. And furthermore, to let him that he ſhould not ſpeake vnto the people, they did ſet their benches vpon the pulpit for orations, which they call at ROME, Roſtra: and would neuer ſuffer him to ſet foote in it, but onely to reſigne his office, and that done, to come downe againe immediatly. He graunted thereunto, and went vp to the pulpit vpon that condition. So ſilence being made him, he made an othe, not like vnto other Conſuls othes when they reſigne their office in like manner, but ſtraunge, and neuer heard of before: ſwearing, that he had ſaued the citie of ROME, and preſerued all his country and the Empire of ROME from vtter ruine and deſtruction. All the people that were preſent, confirmed it, and ſware the like othe. Wherewith all *Cæſar* and the other Tribunes his enemies were ſo offended with him, that they deuiſed to breed him ſome new ſturre and trouble: & amongeſt others, they made a decree, that *Pompey* ſhould be ſent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato*, (who at that time was alſo Tribune) did him great pleaſure in the furtherance of the common wealth, oppoſing himſelfe againſt all their practiſes, with the like authoritie and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better eſtimation then they. So that he did not onely eaſily breake all their deuiſes, but alſo in a goodly

The execution of the conſpiratours.

They liued: A word vſurped for the dead.

Ciceroes praiſe.

Catiline ſlayne in battell by Antonius.

Cæſar choſen Prætor. Metellus and Beſtia, Tribunes of the people.

Cicero reſigneth his office.

Ciceroes Conſulſhip prayſed by Cato.

ly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly prayſed and extolled *Ciceroes* Conſulſhip vnto them, and the things he did in his office: that they gaue him the greateſt honours that euer were decreed or graunted vnto any man liuing. For by decree of the people he was called, father of the country, as *Cato* himſelfe had called him in his oration: the which name was neuer giuen to any man, but onely vnto him, & alſo he bare greater ſway in ROME at that time, then any man beſide him. This notwithſtanding, he made himſelfe enuyed and miſliked of many men, not for any ill acte he did, or meant to do: but onely becauſe he did too much boaſt of himſelfe. For he neuer was in any aſſembly of people, Senate, or iudgement, but euery mans head was full ſtill to heare the ſound of *Catulus* and *Lentulus* brought in for ſport, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled beſides full of his owne prayſes: the which made his ſweet and pleaſant ſtile, tedious, and troubleſome to thoſe that heard them, as though this misfortune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme couetous deſire of honor in his head, yet did he not malice or enuie any others glory, but would very franckly prayſe excellent men, as well thoſe that had bene before him, as thoſe that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They haue written alſo certaine notable wordes he ſpake of ſome auncient men in old time, as of *Ariſtotle*: that he was like a golden flowing riuer: and of *Plato*, that if *Iupiter* himſelfe would ſpeake, he would ſpeake like him: and of *Theophraſtus*, he was wont to call him his delight: & of *Demoſthenes* orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked beſt: the longeſt ſayd he. There be diuers writers alſo, who to ſhew that they were great followers of *Demoſthenes*, do follow *Ciceroes* ſaying in a certaine epiſtle he wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he ſaid that *Demoſthenes* ſlept in ſome of his orations: but yet they forget to tell how highly he prayſed him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote againſt *Antonius* (in the which he tooke great paines, and ſtudied more then all the reſt) PHILIPPIANS: to follow thoſe which *Demoſthenes* wrote againſt *Philip* king of MACEDON. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either in eloquence, or in learning, whoſe fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwiſe in honourable ſpeach of him. For he obteined of *Ceſar*, when he had the Empire of ROME in his hands, that *Cratippus* the PERIPATICKE Philoſopher was made Citizen of ROME. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was intreated to remaine at ATHENS, to teach and inſtruct the youth there: for that he was a great honour and ornament vnto their citie. There are extant alſo of *Ciceroes* epiſtles vnto *Herodes*, & others vnto his ſonne, willing him to follow *Cratippus* in his ſtudie and knowledge. He wrote an other letter alſo vnto *Gorgias* the Rethoritian, and forbad him his ſonnes companie: becauſe he vnderſtood he intiſed him to drunkenneſſe, and to other great diſhoneſty. Of all his epiſtles he wrote in Greeke, there is but that only written in choller, and an other which he wrote vnto *Pelops* BYZANTINE. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reaſon to be offended with him, and to taunt him in his letter: becauſe (as it ſeemed) he was a man of very lewde life and conuerſation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding himſelfe grieued with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the BYZANTINES to ordeine ſome publike honours in his behalfe: that me thinks proceeded of ouermuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honeſt man, and onely becauſe he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* cauſe before the Iudges, who ſhortly after accuſed *Sabinus* a friend of his: it is reported that he was ſo angry with him, that he told him, what *Munatius*, haſt thou forgot: ẽ that thou wert diſcharged the laſt day of thine accuſatiõ, not for thine innocencie, but for a miſt I caſt before the Iudges eyes, that made them they could not diſcerne the fault? An other time alſo, hauing openly prayſed *Marcus Craſſus* in the pulpit, with good audience of the people: ſhortly after he ſpake to the contrary, all the euill he could of him, in the ſame place. Why, how now, ſayd *Craſſus*: didſt thou not thy ſelfe highly prayſe me in this place, the laſt day? I cã not deny it, ſayd *Cicero*: but indeed I tooke an ill matter in hand to ſhew mine eloquence. An other time *Craſſus* chaunced to ſay in an open aſſembly, that none of all the *Craſſi* of his houſe that euer liued aboue lx. yeares: and afterwardes againe repenting him ſelfe, he called it in againe, and ſayd, Sure I knew not what I did, when I ſayd ſo. *Cicero* aun-

Cicero the firſt man called Father of the country.

Cicero too much giuen to prayſe himſelf.

Cicero friendly to prayſe others.

Cicero ſayth, Demoſthenes ſleepeth in his orations.

Ciceroes ſubtill and pleaſant ſayings.

swered him againe: thou kneweſt well enough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore ſpakeſt it to pleaſe them. An other time *Craſſus* liking the opinion of the Stoicke Philoſophers, that ſayd the wiſe man was euer rich: *Cicero* aunſwered him, and bad him conſider whether they meant not thereby, that the wiſe man had all things. *Craſſus* couetouſneſſe was defamed of euery man. Of *Craſſus* ſonnes, one of them did much reſemble *Actius*, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one day this ſonne of *Craſſus* made an Oration before the Senate, which diuers of them commended very much. So, *Cicero* being asked how he liked it: me thinkes, ſayd he, it is **Actius* of *Craſſus*. About this time, *Craſſus* being ready to take his iourney into SYRIA, he deſired to haue *Cicero* his friend, rather then his enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he told *Cicero* that he would come and ſuppe with him. *Cicero* ſayd he ſhould be welcome. Shortly after ſome of his friendes told him of *Vatinius*, how he was deſirous to be made friendes with him, for he was his enemy. What, quoth *Cicero*, & will he come to ſupper too? Thus he vſed *Craſſus*. Now this *Vatinius* hauing a ſwollen necke, one day pleading before *Cicero*: he called him the ſwollen Oratour. An other time when he heard ſay that he was dead, and then that he was aliue againe: a vengeance on him, ſayd he, that hath lyed ſo ſhamefully. An other time when *Cæſar* had made a law for the deuiding of the landes of CAMPANIA vnto the ſouldiers: diuers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very old man) ſayd, he would neuer graunt it while he liued. *Cicero* pleaſantly aunſwered againe, alas, tary a litle, the good old man will not trouble you long. An other time there was one *Octauius*, ſuppoſed to be *an AFRICAN borne. He when *Cicero* on a time pleaded a matter, ſayd that he heard him not: *Cicero* preſently aunſwered him againe, and yet haſt thou a hole bored through thine eare. An other time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had ouerthrowen mo men by his witneſſe, then he had ſaued by his eloquence. I graunt ſayd *Cicero*, for indeede I haue more fayth, then eloquence in me. So was there alſo a young man that was ſuſpected to haue poyſoned his father with a tarte, that boaſted he would reuile *Cicero*: I had rather haue that of thee, quoth *Cicero*, then thy tarte. *Publius Sextius* alſo hauing a matter before the Iudges, enterteined *Cicero*, with other of his Counſellers: but yet he would ſpeake all himſelfe, and giue none of the Oratours leaue to ſay any thing. In the end, when they ſaw plainly that the Iudges would diſcharge him, being ready to giue ſentence: *Cicero* ſayd vnto him, beſturre thee hardily to day for to morrow *Sextius* thou ſhalt be a priuate man. An other, one *Publius Scotta*, who would faine haue bene thought a wiſe Lawyer, and yet had litle wit and vnderſtanding: *Cicero* appealed to him as a witneſſe in a matter, and being examined, he aunſwered he knew nothing of it. *Cicero* replied to him againe: thou thinkeſt peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. Againe, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine diſputation he had with *Cicero*, did many times repeate, who is thy father? *Cicero* anſwered him againe: thy mother hath made this queſtion harder for thee to aunſwere. This *Nepos* mother was reported to be a light houſewife, and he as ſubtil witted and vnconſtant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exerciſe of his office, and went into SYRIA to *Pompey*, vpon no occaſion: and as fondly againe he returned thence, vpon a ſodaine. His Schoolemaiſter *Philager* alſo being dead, he buried him very honeſtly, and ſet a crow of ſtone vpon the toppe of his tombe. *Cicero* finding it, told him thou haſt done very wiſely: for thy Maiſter hath taught thee rather to flie, then to ſpeake. An other time *Appius Clodius* pleading a matter, ſayd in his preamble that his friend had earneſtly requeſted him to employ all his knowledge, diligence, and faith vpon this matter. O goddes, ſayd *Cicero*, and haſt thou ſhewed thy ſelfe ſo hard harted to thy friend, that thou haſt performed none of all theſe he requeſted thee? Now to vſe theſe fine taunts and girds to his enemies, it was a part of a good Oratour: but ſo commonly to gird euery man to make the people laugh, that wanne him great ill will of many, as ſhall appeare by ſome examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two ſonnes in law, who were both baniſhed: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adraſtus*. *Lucius Cotta* by chaunce alſo was Cenſor at that time, when *Cicero* ſued to be Conſull: and being there at the day of the election, he was a thirſt, and was driuen to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friends ſtood about him, and after he had drunke, he ſayd vnto them. It is well done of ye, ſayd he, to be affrayed leaſt the Cenſor ſhould be angry with me, becauſe I drinke water:

The Stoickes opinion: A wiſe man is euer rich.

**Actius* Κρίσις. *Actius*, is a proper name of a Romane, and ἄκτιος in Greeke ſignifieth, worthy: So the grace of the equiuocation can not be expreſſed in any other language.

**Becauſe the Africans haue commonly their eares bored through.*

ter: for it was reported the Censor loued wine well. An other time *Cicero* meeting one *Voconius*, with three fowle daughters of his with him, he cryed out aloud:

This man hath gotten children in despight of Phœbus.

It was thought in ROME that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free parents by father and mother, who reading certaine letters one day in the Senate very loude: *Cicero* sayd vnto them that were about him, wonder not at it, quoth he, for this man hath bene a cryer in his dayes. *Faustus*, the sonne of *Sylla* Dictator at ROME, which set vp billes outlawing diuers ROMAINES, making it lawfull for any man to kill them without daunger where they founde them: this man after he had spent the most part of his fathers goodes, was so sore in debt, that he was driuen to sell his housbold stuffe, by billes set vp on euery post. *Cicero* when he saw them, yea mary sayd he, these billes please me better, then those which his father set vp. These tauntes and common quippes without purpose, made diuers men to malice him. The great ill will that *Clodius* bare him, began vpon this occasion. *Clodius* was of a noble house, a young man, and very wild and insolent. He being in loue with *Pompeia* *Cæsars* wife, founde the meanes secretly to get into *Cæsars* house, apparelled like a young singing wenche, because on that day the Ladyes of ROME did solemnly celebrate a secret sacrifice in *Cæsars* house, which is not lawfull for men to be present at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he should not haue bene knowen, because he was but a young man without any haire on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongest the other women. He being gotten into this great house by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of *Cæsars* mothers maydes of her chamber called *Aurelia*, who seeing him wandring vp and downe the house in this sort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to aunswere, he sayd he sought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeias* maides. The maide perceiued straight it was no womans voyce, and there withall gaue a great shriche, and called the other women: the which did see the gates fast shut, and then sought euery corner vp and downe, so that at length they founde him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blowen abroad in the citie, whereupon *Cæsar* put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the sacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had euer accompanied him to garde him, if any man would haue offered him iniurie in the busie time of the conspiracie of *Catiline*. *Clodius* stoutly denied the matter he was burdened with, and sayd that he was not in ROME at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gaue euidence against him, and deposed, that the selfe same day he came home to his house vnto him, to speake with him about certaine matters. This indeede was true, though it seemeth *Cicero* gaue not this euidence so much for the truthes sake, as to please his wife *Terentia*: for she hated *Clodius* to the death, because of his sister *Clodia* that would haue maried *Cicero*, and did secretly practise the mariage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceroes* very friend, and because he repayred very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt hard by *Cicero*, *Terentia* began to suspect him. *Terentia* being a cruell woman, and wearing her husbandes breeches: allured *Cicero* to set vpon *Clodius* in his aduersitie, and to witnesse against him, as many other honest men of the citie also did: Some that he was periured, others that he committed a thousand lewde partes, that he bribed the people with money, that he had intised and deflowred many women. *Lucullus* also brought forth certaine maydens which deposed that *Clodius* had deflowred the youngest of his owne sisters, he being in house with him, and maried. And there went a great rumour also, that he knew his two other sisters, of the which the one was called * *Terentia*, and maried vnto king *Martius*: and the other *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer* had maried, & whom they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: because one of her Paramours sent her a purse full of quadrynes (which are litle peeces of copper money) in stead of siluer. *Clodius* was slaundered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithstãding, the people were very much offended with them, that gaue euidence against him, and accused him. The Iudges being affrayed of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his iudgement, for the safetie of their persons:

The malice betwixt Cicero and Clodius.

Cicero gaue euidence against Clodius.

The wicked partes of Clodius.

* *Some old bookes do read Tertia.*

and in the tables where they wrote their sentences, their letters for the most part were confusedly set down. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number: and it was reported also that some of them were close filled. *Catulus* therefore meeting with some of them going home, after they had giuen their sentence, told them: surely ye had good reason to be well garded for your safetie, for you were affrayed your money should haue bene take from you, which you tooke for bribes. And *Cicero* said vnto *Clodius*, who reproued him that his witnesse was not true he gaue against him: cleane contrary, quoth *Cicero*, for fiue and twentie of the Iudges haue beleeued me, being so many that haue condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleeue thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithstandig, in this iudgement *Cæsar* neuer gaue euidence against *Clodius*: & said moreouer, that he did not thinke his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, because he would that *Cæsars* wife should not onely be cleane from any dishonestly, but also voide of all suspition. *Clodius* being quit of this accusation & trouble, & hauing also found meanes to be chosen Tribune: he began straight to persecute *Cicero*, chaunging all things, and stirring vp all manner of people against him. First he wanne the good will of the common people by deuising of new lawes which he preferred, for their benefite and commoditie: to both the Consuls he graunted great and large Prouinces: vnto *Piso*, MACEDON, and to *Gabinius*, SYRIA. He made also many poore men free Citizens, and had alwayes about him a great number of slaues armed. At that present time there were three notable men in ROME, which caried all the sway: *Crassus*, that shewed himselfe an open enemie vnto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made much both of the one and the other: the third was *Cæsar*, who was prepared for his iorney into GAVLE with an army. *Cicero* did leane vnto him, (though he knew him no fast friend of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in *Catilines* conspiracie) and prayed him that he might go to the warres with him, as one of his Lieutenants. *Cæsar* graunted him. Thereupon *Clodius* perceiuing that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneship for that yeare, he made fayre weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himselfe vnto him) and told him that he had cause rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done against him, then of himselfe, and alwayes spake very curteously of him as occasion fell out, and sayd he did thinke nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a litle grieue him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindnesse by his friend. These sweete wordes made *Cicero* no more affrayed, so that he gaue vp his Lieutenancie vnto *Cæsar*, and began againe to pleade as he did before. *Cæsar* tooke this in such disdaine, that he hardned *Clodius* the more against him, and besides, made *Pompey* his enemy. And *Cæsar* himselfe also sayd before all the people, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest, vniustly to death, and contrary to law, without lawfull triall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accused. Thereupon *Cicero* seeing himselfe accused for this fact, he chaunged his vsuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and so suffering his beard and haire of his head to grow without any combing, he went in this humble manner, and sued to the people. But *Clodius* was euer about him in euery place and streete he went, hauing a sight of rascals and knaues with him that shamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that sort, and oftentimes they cast durt and stones at him, breaking his talke and requestes he made vnto the people. This notwithstanding, all the Knights of ROME did in manner chaunge their gownes with him for companie, and of them there were commonly twentie thousand young Gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their haire about their eares. & were suters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate assembled to decree that the people should mourne in blackes, as in a common calamitie: But the Consuls were against it. And *Clodius* on the other side was with a band of armed mē about the Senate, so that many of the Senators ranne out of the Senate, crying, & tearing their clothes for sorow. Howbeit these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moued with pitie and shame: but either *Cicero* must needes absent himself, or else determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero* to intreat *Pompey* to ayde him: But he absented himselfe of purpose out of the citie, because he would not be intreated, and lay at one of his houses in the countrey, neare vnto the citie of ALBA.

Clodius quit and found not giltie.

Cæsars wordes of the putting away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius chosen Tribune of the people.

Piso and Gabinius Consuls.

Crassus, Pompey, & Cæsar, three of the greatest men in Rome, tooke part with Clodius against Cicero.

Cicero accused of Clodius.

The Knights of Rome and Senate chaunged garmentes for Ciceroes sake.

ALBA. So he firſt of all ſent *Piſo* his ſonne in law vnto him to intreate him, and afterwardes went himſelfe in perſon to him. But *Pompey* being told that he was come, had not the hart to ſuffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had bene paſt all ſhame to haue refuſed the requeſt of ſo worthy a man, who had before ſhewed him ſuch pleaſure, and alſo done and ſayd ſo many things in his fauour. Howbeit *Pompey* being the ſonne in law of *Cæſar*, did vnfortunately (at his requeſt) forſake him at his neede, vnto whom he was bounde for ſo many infinite pleaſures, as he had receiued of him afore: and therefore when he heard ſay he came to him, he went out at his backe gate and would not ſpeake with him. So *Cicero* ſeeing himſelfe betrayed of him, and now hauing no other refuge to whom he might repayre vnto: he put himſelfe into the handes of the two Conſuls. Of them two, *Gabinius* was euer cruell, and churliſh vnto him. But *Piſo* on the other ſide ſpake alwayes very curteouſly vnto him, and prayed him to abſent himſelfe for a time, and to giue place a litle to *Clodius* furie, and patiently to beare the chaunge of the time: For in ſo doing, he might come againe an other time to be the preſeruer of his country, which was now for his ſake in tumult and ſedition. *Cicero* vpon this aunſwere of the Conſull, conſulted with his friendes: among the which *Lucullus* gaue him aduiſe to tary, and ſayd that he ſhould be the ſtronger. But all the reſt were of contrary opinion, and would haue him to get him away with ſpeede: for the people would ſhortly wiſh for him againe, when they had once bene beaten with *Clodius* furie and folly. *Cicero* liked beſt to follow this counſell. Whereupon hauing had a ſtatue of *Minerua* a long time in his houſe, the which he greatly reuerenced: he caried her himſelfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll with this inſcription: *Vnto Minerua, Protector of* ROME. So, his friends hauing giuen him ſafe cõduct, he went out of ROME about midnight, and tooke his way through the countrey of LVKE by land, meaning to go into SICILE. When it was knowen in ROME that he was fled, *Clodius* did preſently baniſh him by decree of the people, and cauſed billes of inhibition to be ſet vp, that no man ſhould ſecretly receiue him within fiue hundred myles compaſſe of ITALIE. Howbeit diuers men reuerencing *Cicero*, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had vſed him with all manner of curteſie poſsible, they did conduct him beſides at his departure, hauing one citie onely in LVKE, called at that time HIPPONIVM, and now VIBONE: where a SICILIAN called *Vibius*, (vnto whom *Cicero* before had done many pleaſures, and ſpecially among others, had made him Maiſter of the workes in the yeare that he was Conſull) would not once receiue him into his houſe, but promiſed him he would appoint him a place in the country that he might go vnto. And *Caius Virgilius* alſo, at that time Prætor and gouernour of SICILE, who before had ſhewed himſelfe his very great friend: wrote then vnto him, that he ſhould not come neare vnto SICILE. This grieued him to the hart. Thereupon he went directly vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and there imbarked to paſſe ouer the ſea vnto DYRRACHIVM, and at the firſt had wind at will: but when he was in the mayne ſea, the wind turned, and brought him backe againe to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoyſed ſayle againe, and the report went, that at his arriuall at DYRRACHIVM when he tooke land, the earth ſhooke vnder him, and the ſea gaue backe together: Whereby the Soothſayers interpreted, that his exile ſhould not be long, becauſe both the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet *Cicero*, notwithſtanding that many men came to ſee him for the good will they bare him, and that the cities of GRECE contended who ſhould moſt honour him, he was alwayes ſad, and could not be merie, but caſt his eyes ſtill towardes ITALIE, as paſsioned louers do towardes the women the loue: ſhewing himſelfe faint harted, and tooke this aduerſitie more baſely, then was looked for of one ſo well ſtudied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philoſopher: ſaying, that Philoſophie was his cheefeſt profeſsion, and that for his eloquence he did not vſe it, but as a neceſſary inſtrument to one that pleadeth in the common wealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take mans reaſon from him, euen like a colour, from the mindes of them that are commõ pleaders in matters of ſtate, and to make them feele the ſelfe ſame paſsions that common people do, by day-by frequenting their companie: vnleſſe they take great heede of them, and that they come to

Pompey would not ſee Cicero being accuſed.

Ciceroes exile.

Hipponium, alias Vibone, a citie in Luke.

A wonder ſhewed vnto Cicero in his exile.

Ciceroes faint hart in his exile.

The wonderfull power of glorie.

practise in the common wealth with this resolute minde, to haue to do with the like matters that the common people haue, but not to entangle themselues with the like pasions and moodes, by the which their matters do rise. Now *Clodius* was not contented that he had banished *Cicero* out of ITALIE, but further he burnt all his houses in the countrey, and his house also in ROME standing in the market place, of the which he built a temple of libertie, and caused his goodes to be sold by the cryer: so that the cryer was occupied all day long crying the goodes to be sold, and no man offered to buy any of them. The chiefest men of the citie beginning to be affrayed of these violent partes, and hauing the common people at his commaundement, whom he had made very bold and insolent: he began to inuey against *Pompey*, and spake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which euery man else but himselfe did commend. *Pompey* then was very angry with himselfe that he had so forsaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his banishmēt. *Clodius* was against it all he could. The Senate notwithstanding with one full consent ordeined, that nothing should be established for the common wealth, before *Ciceroes* banishment were first repealed. *Lentulus* was at that time Consull, and there grew such an vprore and sturre vpon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and *Quintus Cicero* (the brother of *Cicero*) was slaine and hidden vnder the dead bodies. Then the people began to chaunge their mindes. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venture vpon *Clodius*, and bring him by force to be tryed before the Iudges. *Pompey* himselfe also hauing gotten a great number of men about him, aswell of the citie of ROME as of other townes adioyning to it, being strongly garded with them: he came out of his house, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to giue their voyces, for the calling home againe of *Cicero*. It is reported that the people neuer passed thing with so great good will, nor so wholly together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their partes also, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordeined that the cities which had honored and receiued *Cicero* in his exile, should be greatly commended: and that his houses which *Clodius* had ouerthrowen and rased, should be reedified at the charge of the common wealth. So *Cicero* returned the sixteenth moneth after his banishment, and the townes and cities he came by, shewed themselues so ioyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honour him, with so great loue and affection, that *Ciceroes* report thereof afterwardes came indeede short of the very truth as it was. For he sayd, that ITALIA brought him into ROME vpon their shoulders. In somuch as *Crassus* himselfe, who before his banishment was his enemy, went then with very good will vnto him, and became his friend, saying: that he did it for the loue of his sonne, who loued *Cicero* with all his hart. Now *Cicero* being returned, he found a time when *Clodius* was out of the citie, and went with a good company of his friends vnto the Capitoll, and there tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his actes that he had passed and done in the time of his Tribuneship. *Clodius* would afterwardes haue accused *Cicero* for it: But *Cicero* aunswered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, becausse he was of the PATRICIANS, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneship was voide, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked of *Clodius* doings: (but to the contrary, vtterly misliked all that he did) but because he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate should cancell all those things which he had done and passed in his Tribuneship, and specially, because amongest the rest that was there which he himselfe had done in the Ile of CYPRVS, and in the citie of BYZANTIVM. Hereupon there grew some straungenesse betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which notwithstanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abstinence of their wonted familiaritie, and accesse one to an other. Shortly after, *Milo* slue *Clodius*. *Milo* being accused of murther, prayed *Cicero* to pleade his cause. The Senate fearing that this accusation of *Milo*, (who was a hardie man, and of qualitie besides) would moue some sedition and vprore in the citie: they gaue commission to *Pompey* to see iustice executed aswell in this cause, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and iudgement also executed with safetie. Thereupon *Pompey* the night before tooke the highest places of the market place, by his souldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero* would

Pompey chaūging minde doth fauour Cicero.

Lentulus, Consull.

Cicero called home from banishment.

Cicero taketh away the tables of Clodius actes out of the Capitoll.

Clodius the Tribune, slaine by Milo.

would be affrayed to see such a number of harnest men about him, being no vsuall matter, and that it might peraduenture hinder him to pleade his cause well: he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his litter into the market place, and there to stay the comming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For *Cicero* was not onely fearefull in warres, but timerous also in pleading. For indeede he neuer began to speake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was come to the best proofe and perfection, he neuer left his trembling and timerousnesse. In somuch that pleading a case for *Mutius Murena* (accused by *Cato*,) striuing to excell *Hortensius*, whose pleading was very well thought of: he tooke no rest all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his minde he was not very well, so that he was not so well liked for his pleading, as *Hortensius*. So, going to defend *Milos* cause, when he came out of his litter, and saw *Pompey* set aloft as if he had bene in a campe, and the market place compassed about with armed men, glistering in euery corner: it so amated him, that he could scant fashion himselfe to speake, all the partes of him did so quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other side stood boldly by him himselfe, without any feare at all of the iudgement of his cause, neither did he let his haire grow, as other men accused did: neither did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timerousnesse of *Cicero* came rather of the good will he bare vnto his friendes, then of any cowardly minde of himselfe. He was also chosen one of the Priestes of the Sooth-sayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of *P. Crassius* the younger, who was slaine in the Realme of PARTHIA. Afterwardes, the prouince of CILICIA being appointed to him, with an armie of twelue thousand footemen, and two thousand fiue hundred horsemen, he tooke the sea to go thither. So when he was arriued there, he brought CAPPADOCIA againe into the subiection and obedience of king *Ariobarzanes* according to his commission and commaundement giuen by the Senate: moreouer, both there and elsewhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuised, in reducing of things to quietnesse without warres. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIANS were growen somewhat stout and vnruly, by the ouerthrow the ROMAINES had of the PARTHIANS, and by reason of the rising and rebellion in SYRIA: he brought them vnto reason by gentle perswasions, and neuer receiued gifts that were sent him, no not from Kinges and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the prouinces of the feastes and banckets they were wont to make other gouernours before him. On the other side also, he would euer haue the company of good and learned men at his table, and would vse them well, without curiositie and excesse. He had neuer porter to his gate, nor was seene by any man in his bed: For he would alwayes rise at the breake of day, and would walke or stand before his doore. He would curteously receiue all them that came to salute and visite him. Further they report of him, that he neuer caused man to be beaten with rodes, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he neuer reuiled any man, neither did despightfully set fine vpon any mans head. Finding many things also belonging to the common wealth, which priuate men had stollen and imbecelled to their owne vse: he restored againe vnto the cities, whereby they grew very rich and wealthy: and yet did saue their honor and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurt, but onely constrained them to restore that which was the common wealthes. He made a litle warre also, and draue away the theeues that kept about the Mountaine Amanus, for the which exploit his souldiers called him Imperator, to say, chiefe Captaine. About that time there was an Orator called *Caelius*, who wrote vnto him from ROME, to pray him to send him some Leoperds, or Panthers out of CILICIA, because he would shew the people some pastime with them. *Cicero* boasting of his doings, wrote to him againe, that there were no more Leoperds in CILICIA, but that they were all fled into CARIA for anger, that seeing all things quiet in CILICIA, they had leasure now to hunt them. So when he returned towardes ROME, from the charge of his gouernement, he came by RHODES: and stayed a few dayes at ATHENS, with great delight, to remember how pleasauntly he liued there before, at what time he studied there. Thither came to him the chiefest learned men of the citie, and his friends also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, hauing receiued all the honorable entertainmēt in GREECE

Cicero fearefull in warres, and timerous in pleading.

Cicero pleadeth Miloes case.

Cicero chosen Augure.

Cicero Proconsull of Cilicia.

Ciceros integritie for the gouernement of his prouinces.

Mons Amanus. Cicero called Imperator.

that could be: he returned vnto ROME, where at his arriuall he found great factions kindled, the which men saw plainly would grow in the end to ciuill warre. Thereupon the Senate hauing decreed that he should enter in triumphe into the citie: he aunswered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Cæsars* coche in triumphe. So he trauelled very earnestly betweene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, eftsoones writing vnto *Cæsar*, & also speaking vnto *Pompey* that was present, seeking all the meanes he could, to take vp the quarrell and misliking betwixt them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speach of agreement would take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cæsar* was not farre from ROME, he durst no longer abide in ROME, but fled with diuers of the greatest men in ROME. *Cicero* would not follow him whē he fled, and therefore men thought he would take part with *Cæsar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a maruellous perplexitie, and could not easely determine what way to take. Whereupon he wrote in his Epistles: what way should I take? *Pompey* hath the iuster and honester cause of warre, but *Cæsar* can better execute, and prouide for himselfe and his friendes with better safetie: so that I haue meanes enough to flie, but none to whom I might repaire. In all this sturre, there was one of *Cæsars* friends called *Trebatius*, which wrote a letter vnto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cæsar* wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope and fortune he vndertooke: but if he excused himselfe by his age, that then he should get him into GRECE, & there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* maruelling that *Cæsar* wrote not to him himselfe, aunswered in anger, that he would do nothing vnworthy of his actes all the dayes of his life thitherto: and to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now *Cæsar* being gone into SPAYNE, *Cicero* imbarked immediatly to go to *Pompey*. So when he came vnto him, euery man was very glad of his comming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* secretly reproued him for comming vnto *Pompey*, saying: that for himselfe he had bene without all honesty at that time to haue forsaken that part, the which he had alwayes taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the commō wealth: but for him on the other side, that it had bene better for the safetie of his country, and chiefly for all his friends, that he had bene a newter to both, & so to haue taken things as they had fallen out: and that he had no manner of reason not instant cause to make him to become *Cæsars* enemie, and by comming thither to put himselfe into so great perill. These perswasions of *Cato* ouerthrew all *Ciceroes* purpose and determination, besides that *Pompey* himselfe did not employe him in any matter of seruice or importance. But hereof himselfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, because he confessed openly that he did repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained all *Pompeys* preparations and counsels, the which indeede made him to be had in ielousie and suspition. Also he would euer be fleering and gybing at those that tooke *Pompeys* part, though he had no list himselfe to be merie. He would also go vp and downe the campe very sad and heauie, but yet he would euer haue one iest or other to make men laugh, although they had as litle lust to be merie as he: and surely, it shall do no hurt to call some of them to minde in this place. *Domitius* being very desirous to preferre a gentleman to haue charge of men, to recommende him, he sayd he was an honest, wise, and sober man. Whereto *Cicero* presently answered. Why doest thou not keepe him thē to bring vp thy children? An other time when they commended *Theophanes* LESBIAN, (that was maister of all the artificers of the campe) because he had notablie comforted the RHODIANS when they had receiued a great losse of their nauy: see, sayd *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to haue a GRECIAN, maister of artificers in the campe? When both battels came to ioyne together, and that *Cæsar* had in manner all the aduantage, and kept them as good as besieged: *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard say all *Cæsars* friends were mad, and melancholie men. Why, quoth *Cicero* to him again: doest thou say that they do enuie *Cæsar*? An other called *Martius*, comming lately out of ITALIE, said, that there ranne a rumor in ROME, that *Pompey* was besieged. What, quoth *Cicero* to him againe: and diddest thou take shippe to come and see him thy selfe, because thou mightest beleeue it, when thou haddest seene it? *Pompey* being ouerthrowen, one *Nonius* sayd there was yet good hope left, because they had taken seuē Eagles within *Pompeys* campe. Thy perswasiō were not ill, quoth *Cicero*, so we were to fight but with pyes or dawes. *Labienus* reposed all his trust in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of necessitie must haue the vpper hand. Yea sayd *Cicero*, but

Cicero seeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwixt Pompey and Cæsar.

Ciceroes words of Pompey and Cæsar.

Cicero goeth vnto Pompey.

but for all this goodly ſtratageme of warre, we haue not long ſince loſt our whole campe. After the battell of Pharſalia, where *Cicero* was not by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe: *Pompey* being fled, and *Cato* at that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a great number of men of warre, & had alſo prepared a great nauie: he prayed *Cicero* to take charge of all this army, as it pertained vnto him, hauing bene Conſull. *Cicero* did not onely refuſe it, but alſo told them he would meddle no more with this warre. But this was enough to haue made him bene ſlaine: for the younger *Pompey* and his friendes called him traitor, and drewe their ſwordes vpon him to kill him, which they had done, had not *Cato* ſtepped betweene them and him, and yet had he much a doe to ſaue him, and to conuey him ſafely out of the campe. When *Cicero* came to BRVNDVSIVM, he ſtaied there a certaine time for *Cæſars* comming, who came but ſlowly, by reaſon of his troubles he had in ASIA, as alſo in ÆGYPT. Howbeit newes being brought at length that *Cæſar* was arriued at TARENTVM, and that he came by lande vnto BRVNDVSIVM: *Cicero* departed thence to goe meete him, not miſtruſting that *Cæſar* would not pardon him, but rather being aſhamed to come to his enemie being a conqueror, before ſuch a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to doe or ſpeake any thing vnſeemely to his calling. For *Cæſar* ſeeing him comming towardes him farre before the reſt that came with him: he lighted from his horſe and imbraced him, and walked a great way a foote with him, ſtill talking with him only, and euer after he did him great honor & made much of him. Inſomuch as *Cicero* hauing written a booke in praiſe of *Cato*: *Cæſar* on the other ſide wrote an other, and praiſed the eloquence and life of *Cicero*, matching it with the life of *Pericles*, and *Theramenes*. *Ciceroes* booke was intituled *Cato*, & *Cæſars* booke called *Anticato*, as much to ſay as againſt *Cato*. They ſay further, that *Quintus Ligarius* being accuſed to haue bene in the field againſt *Cæſar*, *Cicero* tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe: and that *Cæſar* ſaid vnto his friends about him, what hurt is it for vs to heare *Cicero* ſpeake, whom we haue not heard of long time? For otherwiſe *Ligarius* (in my opinion) ſtandeth alreadie a condemned man, for I know him to be a vile man, and mine enemie. But when *Cicero* had begunne his Oration, he moued *Cæſar* maruellouſly, he had ſo ſweete a grace, and ſuch force in his wordes: that it is reported *Cæſar* chaunged diuers colours, and ſhewed plainely by his countenance, that there was a marueilous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in the end when the Orator came to touch the battell of Pharſalia, then was *Cæſar* ſo troubled, that his bodie ſhooke withall, and beſides, certaine bookes he had, fell out of his handes, and he was driuen againſt his will to ſet *Ligarius* at libertie. Afterwardes, when the common wealth of ROME came to be a kingdome, *Cicero* leauing to practiſe any more in the ſtate, he gaue himſelfe to reade Philoſophie to the young men that came to heare him: by whoſe acceſſe vnto him (becauſe they were the chiefeſt of the nobilitie in ROME) he came againe to beare as great ſway and authoritie in ROME, as euer he had done before. His ſtudie and endeuour was, to write matters of Philoſophie dialogue wiſe, and to tranſlate out of Greeke into Latine, taking paines to bring all the Greeke wordes, which are proper vnto logicke and naturall cauſes, vnto Latin. For he was the firſt man by report that gaue Latin names vnto theſe Greeke words, which are proper vnto Philoſophers, as, φαντασία, he termed, *Viſio*. Κατάθεσις *Aſſenſus*. Εποχὴ, *Aſſenſus cohibitio*. Κατάληψις, *Comprehenſio*. Τὸ ἄτομον *Corpus individuum*. Τὸ ἁπλοῦς *Corpus ſimplex*. Τὸ κενον *Vacuum*, & many other ſuch like words. But though he were not the firſt, yet was it he that moſt did deuiſe and vſe them, and turned ſome of them by tranſlation, others into proper termes: ſo that at length they came to be well taken, knowen, and vnderſtanded of euerie man. And for his readineſſe in writing of verſes, he would vſe them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whenſoeuer he tooke in hand to make any, he would diſpatch fiue hundred of thē in a night. Nowe, all that time of his recreation and pleaſure, he would commonly be at ſome of his houſes in the country, which he had neere vnto THVSCVLVM, from whence he would write vnto his friends, that he led *Laertes* life: either ſpoken merily as his maner was, or elſe pricked forward with ambition, deſiring to returne againe to be a practiſer in the common wealth, being weatie with the preſent time and ſtate thereof. Howſoeuer it was, he came oftentimes to ROME, only to ſee *Cæſar* to keepe him his friend, and would euer be the firſt man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, and was alwaies ſtudious to vtter ſome newe matter to prayſe

Cato gaue place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the nauie at Dyrrachium.

The force of Ciceroes eloquence, how it altered Cæſar.

Ciceroes life vnder Cæſar.

him and his doings. As that was he saide touching the statues of *Pompey*, the which being ouerthrowen, *Cæsar* commaunded them to be set vp againe, and so they were. For *Cicero* said, that by that curtesie in setting vp of *Pompeys* statues againe, he did establish his owne. So *Cicero* being determined to write all the ROMAINE historie, and to mingle with them many of the GRECIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and deuises which they doe write and report: he was hindered of his purpose against his will, by many open and priuate troubles that came vpon him at once: whereof notwithstanding he himselfe was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his wife *Terentia*, because she had made but small account of him in all the warres: so that he departed from ROME hauing no necessary thing with him to entertaine him out of his country, and yet when he came backe againe into ITALIE, she neuer shewed any sparke of loue or good will towardes him. For she neuer came to BRVNDVSIVM to him, where he remained a long time: and worse then that, his daughter hauing the heart to take so long a iorney in hand to goe to him, she neither gaue her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture conuenient for her, but so handled the matter, that *Cicero* at his returne to ROME found bare walles in his house and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in debt besides. And these were the honestest causes alleaged for their diuorse. But besides that *Terentia* denyed all these, *Cicero* himselfe gaue her a good occasion to cleare her selfe, because he shortly after maried a young maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as *Terentia* said) for her beautie: or, as *Tyro* his seruant wrote, for her riches, to the ende that with her goods he might pay his debts. For she was very rich, and *Cicero* also was appointed her gardian, she being left sole heire. Now, because he ought a maruelous summe of mony, his parents & friends did counsell him to marry this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too old for her, because that with her goods he might satisfie his creditors. But *Antonius* speaking of this mariage of *Cicero*, in his answers & orations he made against the PHILIPPIANS: he doth reproue him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was growen olde, being merry with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and neuer went from the smoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroade in the warres in any seruice of his country or common wealth. Shortly after that he had maried his second wife, his daughter died in labor of child, in *Lentulus* house, whose second wife she was, being before maried vnto *Piso*, who was her first husband. So the Philosophers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he tooke her death so sorowfully, that he put away his second wife, because he thought she did reioyce at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the state and troubles of his house.

Cicero did put away his wife Terentia.

Cicero maried a young maiden.

Now touching the conspiracie against *Cæsar*, he was not made priuie to it, although he was one of *Brutus* greatest friendes, and that it grieued him to see things in that state they were brought vnto, and albeit also he wished for the time past, as much as any other man did. But in deede the conspirators were affraide of his nature, that lacked hardinesse: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the stoutest and most hardiest natures, faint hearted & cowardly. Notwithstanding, the conspiracie being executed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Cæsars* friends being gathered together, euerie man was affraide that the citie would againe fall into ciuill warres. And *Antonius* also, who was Consull at that time, did assemble the Senate, and made some speech and motion then to draw things againe vnto quietnesse. But *Cicero* hauing vsed diuers perswasions fit for the time, in the ende he moued the Senate to decree (following the example of the ATHENIANS) a generall oblivion of things done against *Cæsar*, and to assigne vnto *Brutus* and *Cassius* some gouernements of prouinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded: for the people of themselues were sorie, when they sawe *Cæsars* bodie brought through the market place. And when *Antonius* also did shew them his gowne all bebloudied, cut, & thrust through with swordes: then they were like madde men for anger, and sought vp and downe the market place if they could meete with any of them that had slaine him: and taking fire brandes in their handes, they ranne to their houses to set them a fire. But the conspirators hauing preuented this danger, saued themselues: and fearing that if they taried at ROME, they should haue many such alaroms, they forsooke the citie. Then *Antonius* began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he ment to make himselfe king: but yet most of all vnto *Cicero*, aboue all others. For *Antonius* perceiuing that *Cicero* began againe to increase in

Cicero not made priuy to the conspiracie against Cæsar.

Priuate grudge betwixt Antonius and Cicero.

in credit and authoritie, and knowing that he was *Brutus* very friend: he did mislike to see him come neere him, and besides, there was at that time some gealousie betwixt them, for the diuersitie and difference of their manners and dispositions. *Cicero* being affraid of this, was first of all in minde to goe with *Dolabella* to his prouince of SYRIA, as one of his Lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Consuls the next yeare following after *Antonius*, two noble citizens, & *Ciceroes* great friends, *Hircius* & *Pansa*: they intreated him not to forsake them, vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouergreat power of *Antonius*, so he would remaine with them. But *Cicero*, neither beleuing nor altogether mistrusting them, forsooke *Dolabella*, and promised *Hircius* and *Pansa*, that he would spend the sommer at ATHENS, and that he would returne againe to ROME so soone as they were entred into their Consulshippe. With this determination *Cicero* tooke sea alone, to goe into GREECE. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not saile, and newes came to him daily from ROME, as the manner is, that *Antonius* was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authoritie and consent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing but his person, to make all things well. Then *Cicero* condemning his dastardly feare, returned forthwith to ROME, not being deceiued in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meete him, that he could doe nothing all day long, but take them by the handes, and imbrace them: who to honour him, came to meete him at the gate of the citie, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning *Antonius* assembled the Senate, and called for *Cicero* by name. *Cicero* refused to goe, and kept his bedde, fayning that he was wearie with his iorney and paines he had taken the day before: but indeede, the cause why he went not, was, for feare and suspition of an ambush that was laide for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. *Antonius* was maruellously offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying of any ambush for him: and therefore sent souldiers to his house, and commaunded them to bring him by force, or else to sette his house a fire. After that time, *Cicero* and he were alwaies at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heede of an other: vntill that the young *Cæsar* returning from the citie of APOLLONIA, came as lawfull heire vnto *Iulius Cæsar* Dictator, and had contention with *Antonius* for the summe of two thousande fiue hundred Myriades, the which *Antonius* kept in his handes of his fathers goods. Thereupon, *Philip* who had married the mother of this young *Cæsar*, and *Marcellus*, who had also married his sister, went with young *Cæsar* vnto *Cicero*, & there agreed together, that *Cicero* should helpe young *Cæsar* with the fauour of his authoritie and eloquence, as well towardes the Senate, as also to the people: and that *Cæsar* in recompence of his good will should stand by *Cicero*, with his money and souldiers. For this young *Cæsar*, had many of his fathers old souldiers about him, that had serued vnder him. Now there was an other cause that made *Cicero* glad to imbrace the friendshippe of this young *Cæsar*, and that was this. Whilest *Pompey* and *Iulius Cæsar* were aliue, and in good case: *Cicero* dreamed one night that the Senators sonnes were called into the Capitoll, because *Iupiter* had appointed to shew them him, that one day should come to be Lord and king of ROME, and that the ROMAINES being desirous to see who it should be, ranne all vnto the temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntill that sodainely the dores of the temple were open, & then that all the children rose one after an other, & went and passed by the image of *Iupiter*, who looked vpon them all, and sent them discontented, sauing this young *Cæsar*, vnto whom he put forth his hande as he passed by, and saide: My Lordes of ROME this child is he that shall end all your ciuill warres, when he commeth to be Lord of ROME. Some say, that *Cicero* had this vision in his dreame, and that he caried in good memory the looke of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpose into the field of *Mars*, where these young boyes did exercise them selues, who, when they came thither, had broken vp from playing, and were going home, and that amongst them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him very well, and musing at him the more, asked him whose sonne he was. The boy answered, that he was the sonne of one *Octauius* (a man otherwise of no great calling) & of *Accia*, the sister of *Iulius Cæsar*: who hauing no childe, made him his heire by his last will and testament, and left him all

Cicero saileth into Greece.

Ill will betwixt Cicero and Antonius.

Cicero & Octauius Cæsar ioyned in friendship.

Ciceroes dream of Octauius, adopted sonne of Iulius Cæsar.

Octauius and Accia, the parents of Octauius Cæsar.

his landes and goods. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was very glad to speake to him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked *Ciceroes* friendshippe, and making of him: for by good happe the boy was borne the same yeare that *Cicero* was Consull. And these be the reasons alleaged, why *Cicero* did fauor this young *Cæsar*. But in truth, first of all the great malice he bare vnto *Antonius*, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honor, were (in my opinion) the chiefest causes why he became young *Cæsars* friend: knowing that the force and power of his souldiers, would greatly strengthen his authoritie and countenance in manedging the affaires of the state, besides that the young man could flatter him so well, that he called him father. But *Brutus* being offended with him for it, in his Epistles he wrote vnto *Atticus*, he sharply reproueth *Cicero*, saying, that for feare of *Antonius* he flattered this young *Cæsar*: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seeke for the libertie of Rome, as he did procure himselfe a louing and gentle maister. This notwithstanding, *Brutus* brought with him *Ciceroes* sonne that studied Philosophie at Athens, and gaue him charge of men vnder him and imployed him in great affaires, wherein he shewed himselfe very forwarde and valiant. Now *Ciceroes* authoritie & power grew againe to be so great in Rome, as euer in was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed *Antonius*, that he draue him out of the citie, and sent the two Consuls *Hircius* and *Pansa* against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that young *Cæsar* should haue sergeantes to carie roddes and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his country. After that *Antonius* had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were slaine, both the armies came vnto *Cæsar*. The Senate then being affraid of this young man, that had so great good fortune, they practised by honors and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and so to minish the greatnesse of his power: saying, that their country now stood in no neede of force nor feare of defence, sith her enemie *Antonius* was fled and gone. *Cæsar* fearing this, sent men secretly vnto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls and that when they should be in office, he should doe and appoint what he thought good, hauing the young man at his commaundement, who desired no more but the honor only of the name. *Cæsar* himselfe confessed afterwardes, that being affraide he should haue beene vtterly cast away, to haue bene left alone: he finely serued his turne by *Ciceroes* ambition, hauing perswaded him to require the Consulship, through the helpe and assistance that he would giue him. But there was *Cicero* finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to sue for the Consulship in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his friends presently reproued him for it, and shortly after he perceiued he had vndone himselfe, and together also lost the libertie of his countrie. For this young man *Octauius Cæsar* being growen to be very great by his meanes and procurement: when he saw that he had the Consulship vpon him, he forsooke *Cicero*, and agreed with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*. Then ioyning his armie with theirs, he deuided the Empire of Rome with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betwene them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and vpwards, whom they had appointed to be slaine. But the greatest difficultie and difference that fell out betwene them, was about the outlawing of *Cicero*. For *Antonius* would hearken to no peace betwene them, vnlesse *Cicero* were slaine first of all: *Lepidus* was also in the same mind with *Antonius*: but *Cæsar* was against them both. Their meeting was by the citie of Bolonia, where they continued three dayes together, they three only secretly consulting in a place enuironed about with a litle riuer. Some say that *Cæsar* stucke hard with *Cicero* the two first dayes, but at the third, that he yeelded and forsooke him. The exchaunge they agreed vpon betwene them, was this. *Cæsar* forsooke *Cicero*: *Lepidus*, his owne brother *Paulus*: and *Antonius*, *Lucius Cæsar* his vncle by the mothers side. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kinred nor bloud, and to speake more properly, they shewed that no brute or sauage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licentiousnes he haue libertie to execute his wil. While these matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a house of his in the country, by the citie of Thvscvlvm, hauing at home with him also his brother *Q. Cicero*. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine: they determined to goe to Astyra, a place by the sea side where *Cicero* had an other house, there to take sea,

Paulus Cæsar was borne in the yeare of Ciceros Consulship.

Ciceroes great power at Rome

Octauius Cæsar sueth to be Consull.

Octauius Cæsar forsaketh Cicero.

Note the fickelnesse of youth.

The meeting of the Triumuiri: Antonius, Lepidus, Octauius Cæsar.

Cicero appointed to be slaine

sea, and from thence to goe into MACEDON vnto *Brutus*. For there ranne a rumor that *Brutus* was very strong, and had a great power. So, they caused themselues to be conueyed thither in two litters, both of them being so weake with sorrow and griefe, that they could not otherwise haue gone their waies. As they were on their way, both their litters going as neere to eth other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who tooke it most grieuously. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from his house, and that *Cicero* his brother also had very litle for himselfe: he thought it best that *Cicero* should holde on his iorney, whilest he himselfe made an arrant home to fetch such things as he lacked, and so to make haste againe to ouertake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly imbracing one an other, the teares falling from their eyes, they tooke leaue of each other. Within few daies after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his owne seruants, vnto them that made search for him: he was cruelly slaine, and his sonne with him. *Quintus Cicero slaine.*

But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being caried vnto ASTYRA, and there finding a shippe ready, imbarked immediatly, and sayled alongst the coast vnto mount Circe, hauing a good gale of winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make saile againe, he came a shore, either for feare of the sea, or for that he had some hope that *Cæsar* had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithall returning towardes ROME by land, he had gone about a hundred furlong thence. But then being at a straight how to resolue, and sodainely chaunging his minde: he would needes be caried backe againe to the sea, where he continued all night maruellous sorowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe secretly vnto *Octauius Cæsars* house, & to kill himselfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to reuenge his bloud: but being affraid to be intercepted by the way, & cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other vnaduised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put himselfe againe into his seruantes handes, to be conueyed by sea to an other place called *CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleasant sommer house, where the North windes, called Etesiæ, doe giue a trimme fresh aire in the sommer season. In that place also there is a litle temple dedicated vnto *Apollo*, not farre from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of crowes, making a maruellous noyse, that came flying towards *Ciceroes* shippe, which rowed vpon the shore side. This shole of crowes came and lighted vppon the yard of their saile, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bils: so that euery man iudged straight, that this was a signe of ill lucke at hand. *Cicero* notwithstanding this, came a shore, and went into his house, and laide him downe to see if he could sleepe. But the most part of these crowes came and lighted vpon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a wonderfull great noyse: and some of them got vnto *Ciceroes* bedde where he lay, the clothes being cast ouer his head, and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bils pluckt off the clothes that couered his face. His men seeing that, and saying to themselues that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarie to see their master slaine before their eyes, considering that brute beasts had care to saue his life, seeing him so vnworthily intreated, and that they should not doe the best they could to saue his life: partly by intreatie, and partly by force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the sea. But in the meane time came the murderers appointed to kil him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Læna*, Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousande men, whose cause *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Iudges, when he was accused for the murther of his owne father) hauing souldiers attending vpon them. So *Ciceroes* gate being shut, they entred the house by force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They aunswered, they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the house called *Philologus*, a slaue infranchised by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought vp in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberall sciences: he tolde this *Herennius*, that his seruants caried him in a litter towardes the sea, through darke narrowe lanes, shadowed with wood on either side. *Popilius* the Colonell taking some souldiers with him, ranne about on the outside of the lanes to take him at his comming out of them: and *Herennius* on the other side entred the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him comming, commaunded his men to set downe his litter, and taking his beard in his left hande, as

Some doe read Caieta.

A wonderous matter foreshewed by crowes vnto Cicero.

Herennius, & Popilius, sent to kill M. T. Cicero.

M. T. Cicero slaine by Herennius.

his manner was, he ſtoutly looked the murtherers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face leane and wrinckled, for the extreame ſorrowes he had taken: diuerſe of them that were by, helde their handes before their eyes, whileſt *Herennius* did cruelly murder him. So *Cicero* being three ſcore and foure yeares of age, thruſt his necke out of the litter, and had his head cut off by *Antonius* commandement, and his hands alſo, which wrote the orations (called the Philippians) againſt him. For ſo did *Cicero* call the orations he wrote againſt him, for the malice he bare him: and doe yet continue the ſame name vntill this preſent time. When theſe poore diſmembred members were brought to ROME, *Antonius* by chaunce was buſily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers: who when he heard of them and ſaw them, he cried out aloude that now all his outlawries and proſcriptions were executed: and thereupon commaunded his head and his handes ſhould ſtraight be ſet vp ouer the pulpit for orations, in the place called Roſtra. This was a fearefull and horrible ſight vnto the ROMAINES, who thought they ſaw not *Ciceroes* face, but an image of *Antonius* life and diſpoſition: who among ſo many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act only that had ſome ſhew of goodneſſe, which was this. He deliuered *Philologus* into the hands of *Pomponia*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when ſhe had him, beſides other cruell torments ſhe made him abide, ſhe compelled him to cut his owne fleſh off by litle morſels, and to broyle them, and then to eate them. Some hiſtoriographers do thus report it. But *Tyro* who was a ſlaue infranchiſed by *Cicero*, made no mention of the treaſon of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I vnderſtood that *Cæſar Auguſtus* long time after that, went one day to ſee one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hande of *Ciceroes*: and he fearing leaſt his Vncle would be angrie to finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. *Cæſar* ſaw it, and tooke it from him, and read the moſt part of it ſtanding, and then deliuered it to the young boy, and ſaide vnto him: he was a wiſe man in deede, my childe, and loued his countrie well. After he had ſlaine *Antonius*, being Conſull: he made *Ciceroes* ſonne his colleague and fellow Conſull with him, in whoſe time the Senate ordained that the images of *Antonius* ſhould be throwen downe, and depriued his memory of all other honors: adding further vnto his decree, that from thence foorth none of the houſe and family of the *Antonij* ſhould euer after beare the chriſten name of *Marcus*. So, Gods iuſtice made the extreame reuenge and puniſhment of *Antonius* to fall into the houſe of *Cicero*.

Ciceroes head and hands ſet vp ouer the pulpit for orations.

A ſtrange and cruell puniſhment taken by Pomponia (Quintus Ciceroes wife) of Philologus for betraying of his maiſter.

Auguſtus Cæſars teſtimony of Cicero.

Ciceroes ſonne Conſull with Auguſtus Cæſar.

The decree of the Senate againſt Antonius being dead.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Cicero with Demosthenes.*

THis is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable actes and deedes worthy of memory, written of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*. Furthermore, leauing the comparison a side of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations: me thinkes I may say thus much of them. That *Demosthenes* did wholly imploy all his wit and learning (naturall or artificiall) vnto the art of Rethoricke, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excell all the Orators in his time: and for grauity and magnificent stile, all those also that onely write for shew or ostentation: and for sharpenesse and art, all the Sophisters and Maisters of Rethoricke. And that *Cicero* was a man generally learned in all sciences, and that had studied diuerse bookes, as appeareth plainely by the sundry bookes of Philosophy of his owne making, written after the manner of the Academicke Philosophers. Furthermore, they may see in his Orations he wrote in certaine causes to serue him when he pleaded: that he sought occasions in his by-talke to shew men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phrases a man may discerne some sparke of their manners and conditions. For *Demosthenes* phrase hath no maner of fineneſſe, geastes, nor grace in it, but is altogether graue and harshe, and smelleth not of the lampe, as *Pytheas* saied when he mocked him: but sheweth a great drinker of water, extreame paines, and therewith also a sharpe and sower nature. But *Cicero* oftentimes fell from pleasaunt tauntes, vnto plaine scurrility: and turning all his pleadings of matters of importaunce, to sport and laughter, hauing a grace in it, many times he did forget the comlinesse that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for *Calius*, where he sayeth, it is no maruell if in so great aboundance of wealth and fineneſſe he giue him selfe a litle to take his pleasure: and that it was a folly not to vse pleasures lawfull and tollerable, sith the famousest Philosophers that euer were, did place the chiefe felicity of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also that *Marcus Cato* hauing accused *Murena*, *Cicero* being Consull, defended his cause, and in his Oration pleasauntly girded all the sect of the Stoicke Philosophers for *Catoes* sake, for the straunge opinions they holde, which they call Paradoxes: insomuch as he made all the people and Iudges also fall a laughing a good. And *Cato* him selfe also smiling a litle, sayed vnto them that sate by him: what a laughing and mocking Consull haue we, my Lords? but letting that passe, it seemeth that *Cicero* was of a pleasaunt and merry nature: for his face shewed euer great life and mirth in it. Whereas in *Demosthenes* countenaunce on the other side, they might discerne a maruellous

Demosthenes eloquence.

Ciceroes rare and diuerse doctrines.

Demosthenes and Ciceroes manners.

diligence and care, and a penſiue man, neuer weary with paine: inſomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth him ſelfe) called him a peruerſe and froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is diſcerned, that the one ſpeaketh modeſtly in his owne praiſe, ſo as no man can iuſtly be offended with him: and yet not alwayes, but when neceſſity enforceth him for ſome matter of great importaunce, but otherwiſe very diſcreete and modeſt to ſpeake of him ſelfe. *Cicero* in contrary maner, vſing too often repetition of one ſelfe thing in all his Orations, ſhewed an extreame ambition of glorie, when inceſſantly he cried out:

Demoſthenes modeſt in praiſing of himſelf: Cicero too full of oſtentation.

Let ſpeare and shield giue place to gowne,
And giue the tongue the laurell crowne.

Yea furthermore, he did not onely praiſe his owne actes and deedes, but the Orations alſo which he had written or pleaded, as if he ſhould haue contended againſt *Iſocrates*, or *Aximenes*, a maiſter that taught Rethoricke, and not to goe about to reform the people of ROME:

VVhich were both fierce and ſtout in armes,
And fit to worke their enemies harmes.

For, as it is requiſite for a Gouernour of a common wealth to ſeeke authority by his eloquence: ſo, to couet the praiſe of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to beg it, that ſheweth a baſe mind. And therefore in this point we muſt confeſſe that *Demoſthenes* is farre grauer, and of a nobler minde: who declared him ſelfe, that all his eloquence came only but by practiſe, the which alſo required the fauor of his auditory: and further, he thought them fooles and madde men (as in deede they be no leſſe) that therefore would make any boaſt of them ſelues. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authority in their Orations to the people, and for obtayning that they would propound: Inſomuch as Captaines, and they that had armies in their hands, ſtood in neede of their eloquence. As *Chares*, *Diopithes*, and *Leoſthenes*, they all were holpen of *Demoſthenes*: and *Pompey*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the yong man, of *Cicero*: as *Cæſar* him ſelfe confeſſeth in his Commentaries he wrote vnto *Agrippa*, and *Mæcenas*. But nothing ſheweth a mans nature and condition more, (as it is reported, and ſo is it true) then when one is in authority: for that bewraieth his humor, and the affections of his minde, and layeth open alſo all his ſecret vices in him. *Demoſthenes* could neuer deliuer any ſuch proofe of him ſelfe, becauſe he neuer bare any office, nor was called forward. For hee was not Generall of the army, which he him ſelfe had prepared againſt king *Philip*. *Cicero* on the other ſide being ſent Treaſurer into CICILE, and Proconſull into CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, in ſuch a time as couetouſnes raigned moſt: (inſomuch that the Captains and Gouernors whom they ſent to gouerne their prouinces, thinking it villany and daſtardlineſſe to rob, did violently take things by force, at what time alſo to take bribes was reckonned no ſhame, but to handle it diſcreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it) he ſhewed plainely that he regarded not money, and gaue foorth many proofes of his curteſie and goodneſſe. Furthermore, *Cicero* being created Conſull by name, but Dictator in deede, hauing abſolute power and authority ouer all things to ſuppreſſe the rebellion and conſpirators of *Catiline*: he proued *Platoes* prophecy true, which was: That the cities are ſafe from danger, when the chiefe Magiſtrates and Gouernours (by ſome good diuine fortune) doe gouerne with wiſedome and iuſtice. *Demoſthenes* was reproued for his corruption, and ſelling of his eloquence: becauſe ſecretly he wrote one Oration for *Phormio*, and an other in the ſelfe ſame matter for *Apollodorus*, they being both aduerſaries. Further, he was defamed alſo for receiuing money of the king of PERSIA, and therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of *Harpalus*. And though ſome peraduenture would obiect, that the reports thereof (which are many) doe lye: yet they can not poſſibly deny this, that *Demoſthenes* had no power to refrain from looking of the preſents which diuers kings did offer him, praying him to accept them in good part for their ſakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take vſury by trafficke on the ſea, the extreameſt yet of all other. In contrary manner (as we haue ſaied before) it is certaine that *Cicero* being Treaſurer, refuſed the gifts which the SICILIANS offered him, there: and the preſents alſo which the king of the CAPPADOCIANS offred him whileſt he was Proconſull in CILICIA, and thoſe eſpecially which his friends preſſed vpon him to take of them, being a great ſumme of money, when

Demoſthenes and Ciceroes cunning in their Orations in the common wealth.

Authority ſheweth mens vertues and vices.

Ciceroes abſtinence from money.

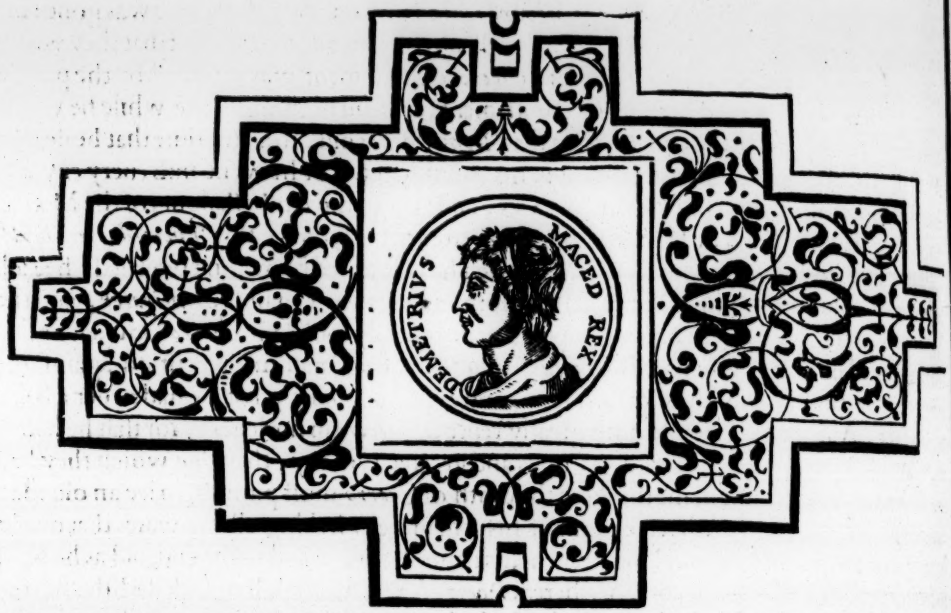
Demoſthenes a money taker.

when he went as a banished man out of ROME. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him, because by iudgement he was banished as a theefe. The banishment of the other was for as honorable an act as euer he did, being banished for ridding his countrey of wicked men. And therefore of *Demosthenes*, there was no speach after he was gone: but for *Cicero*, all the Senate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would passe no decree by their authority, before *Ciceroes* banishment was reuoked by the people. Indeede *Cicero* idlely passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACEDON: and one of the chiefest actes that *Demosthenes* did, in all the time that he dealt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his banishment. For he went into euery city, and did assist the Ambassadours of the GRECIANS, and refused the Ambassadours of the MACEDONIANS. In the which he shewed him selfe a better citizen, then either *Themistocles*, or *Alcibiades*, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, hee fell againe to his olde trade which he practised before, and was euer against *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS. Where *Lælius* in open Senate sharpely tooke vp *Cicero*, for that he sate still and sayed nothing, when that *Octauius Cæsar* the young man made petition against the law, that he might sue for the Consulshippe, and being so young, that he had neuer a haire on his face. And *Brutus* selfe also doth greatly reproue *Cicero* in his letters, for that he hadde maintained and nourished, a more grieuous and greater tyranny, then that which they had put downe. And last of all, me thinketh the death of *Cicero* most pittifull, to see an old man caried vp and downe, (with tender loue of his seruauntes) seeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long preuent his naturall course: and in the end, old as he was, to see his head so pittifully cut off. Whereas *Demosthenes*, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poyson long before, that he had kept it long, and also vsed it as he did, he can not but be marueilously commended for it. For sith the god *Neptune* denied him the benefite of his sanctuarie, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he saued him selfe out of the souldiers handes of the tyraunt, and also scorned the blouddy cruelty of *Antipater*.

Diuers causes of the banishment of Demosthenes and Cicero.

The difference betwixt Demosthenes and Ciceroes death.

THE LIFE OF *Demetrius.*



How sences and arts do agree & differ.

WHo first likened arts to our senses, seemeth to haue respected especially that one property of them both, in receiuing obiects of contrary quality: for, in the vse and end of their operation, there is great difference. The senses receiue indifferently, without discretion and iudgement, white and blacke, sweete and sower, soft and hard: for their office is only to admit their seuerall obiects, and to cary and referre the iudgement thereof to the common sense. But artes being the perfection of reason, receiue and allow those things only which make for their operatiō, regarding and eschewing the contraries. The one chiefly, and for vse: the other by the way, and with intent to auoide them. So Phisicke dealeth with diseases, Musicke with discords, to the end to remoue them, and worke their contraries, & the great Ladies of all other artes. Temperance, iustice, and wisedome, doe not onely consider honesty, vprightnes, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effects of lewdnes, corruption, and damage. And innocency, which vaunteth her want of experience in vndue practises: men call simplicity, and ignorance of things, that be necessary and good to be knowen. And therefore the ancient LACEDÆMONIANS in their solemne feastes forced their ILOTES the bondmen, to ouercharge themselues with wine: and such they shewed them vnto their youth, by the apparant beastlines of drunken men, to work in them an abhorring of so lothsome vice. Wherein, although I can not much praise them for humanity or wisdome, that corrupt and spoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime an other: yet (as I hope) it shall not be reprehended in me, if amongest the rest I put in one or two paire of such, as liuing in great place and accompt, haue increased their fame with infamy. Which in trueth, I do not, to please & draw on the reader with variety of report: but as *Ismenias* the THEBAN Musitian shewed his schollers, both those that strake a cleane stroke, with, do so, and such as bungled it, with, doe not so: and *Antigenidas* thought men should like better, & with greater desire contend for skil, if they heard and discerned vntuneable notes: so thinke I, we shall be the forwarder in reading and following the good, if we know the liues, and see the deformity of the wicked. This treaty containeth the liues of *Demetrius*, surnamed the Fortgainer, and *M. Anthony* the Triumuir, and great examples to confirme the saying of *Plato*: That from great minds, both great vertues and great vices do proceed. They were both giuen ouer to women & wine, both valiant & liberal, both sumptuous and high minded, fortune serued thē both alike, not only in the course of their liues,

The maner of the Spartans to make thei slaues drunke.

The cause of describing the liues of the wicked.

Plato of vertue and vice.

liues, in attempting great matters, ſometimes with good, ſomtimes with ill ſucceſſe, in getting and loſing things of great conſequence, ouerthrowing both when they feared not, reſtoring both when they hoped not. But alſo in their end there was no great difference, the one brought to his death by his mortall enemies, and the others fortune not much vnlike. But now to our hiſtory. *Antigonus* had two ſonnes by his wife *Stratonicè*, the daughter of *Corræus*, the one of them he named *Demetrius*, and the other *Philip*, after his fathers name. Thus farre the moſt writers doe agree: howbeit ſome hold opinion, that *Demetrius* was not the ſonne of *Antigonus*, but his Nephew. But becauſe his father died leauing him a childe, and that his mother was ſtraight maried againe vnto *Antigonus*: thereupon came the report that he was *Antigonus* ſonne. Howſoeuer it was, *Philip*, that was not much younger then *Demetrius*, died. Now for *Demetrius*, though he was a very bigge man, he was nothing ſo high as his father, but yet ſo paſſing and wonderfull faire, that no painter could poſſibly draw his picture and counterfeate to his likenes. For they ſaw a ſweete countenaunce, mixed with a kinde of grauity in his face, a feare with curteſie, and an incomparable Princely maieſty accompanied with a liuely ſpirit and youth, and his witte and manners were ſuch, that they were both fearefull, and pleaſaunt vnto men that frequented him. For as he was moſt pleaſaunt in company hauing leyſure, and moſt giuen to banketting, pleaſant life, and more wantonly giuen to follow any luſt and pleaſure, then any king that euer was: yet was he alwayes very carefull and diligent in diſpatching matters of importance. And therefore he maruellouſly commended, and alſo endeuoured to follow *Dionyſius*, (as much to ſay, as *Bacchus*) aboue all the other goddes, as he that had beene a wiſe and valiant Captaine in warre, and that in peace inuented and vſed all the pleaſure that might be. He maruellouſly loued and reuerenced his father, and it ſeemeth that the duetifulnes he ſhewed vnto his mother, was more to diſcharge the due obedience and duety of a ſonne, then otherwiſe to entertaine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for proofe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his father *Antigonus*, giuing audience to certaine Ambaſſadors, and after he had done his duetie to him, and kiſſed him: he ſate downe by him euen as he came from hunting, hauing his dartes in his hand, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambaſſadors aloude as they went their way, hauing receiued their aunſwere: my Lords, ſaied he, you ſhall cary home this report of my ſonne and me, be witneſſes I pray you, how wee liue one with an other. As meaning to ſhew thereby, that the agreement betwixt the father and the ſonne together, is a great ſafety to the affaires of a king, as alſo a manifeſt proofe of his greatneſſe: ſo iealous is a king to haue a companion, beſides the hate and miſtruſt it ſhould breede. So that the greateſt Prince and moſt auncienteſt of all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, boaſted that he ſtoode not in feare of his ſonne, but did ſuffer him to ſitte by him, hauing a dart in his hand. So was this houſe onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kings, leaſt defiled with ſuch villany, many ſucceſſions after: and to confeſſe a troth, in all *Antigonus* race there was not one, but *Philip* onely, that ſlue his owne ſonne. But we haue many examples of diuers other houſes of kings, that haue put their ſonnes, wiues, and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinary thing with them to kill them, and neuer ſticke at it. For like as Geometricians would haue men graunt them certaine propoſitions which they ſuppoſe without proofe: euen ſo was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the ſafety of their eſtate. But further, to ſhew you more plainely that *Demetrius* was of a noble and curteous nature, and that he dearely loued his friendes: we may alleadge this example. *Mithridates*, the ſonne of *Ariobarzanes*, was his familiar friend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* court, and neuer practiſed any villany or treaſon to him, neither was he thought ſuch a man: yet *Antigonus* did ſomewhat ſuſpect him, becauſe of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he ſowed of theſe ſcrapings of gold, and that of that ſeede, firſt of all came vp goodly wheate which had eares of gold: howbeit that ſhortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the ſtraw, and the eares of the wheate cut off, and that he being angry and very ſory for it, ſome tolde him that *Mithridates* had cut off theſe golden eares of wheate, and had caried them with him into the realme of PONT. *Antigonus* being maruellouſly troubled with this dream, after he had

Demetrius parentage.

The death of Philip the yonger brother of Demetrius.

Demetrius beauty.

Demetrius manners.

Demetrius loue to his father.

A king can abide no equall.

The ſport of the Eaſtlings was to kill their owne children, wiues and mothers.

Demetrius curteſie.

Antigonus dreame.

made his ſonne ſweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue priuy to that he would tell him: he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was maruellous ſory for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to paſſe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durſt not by word of mouth vtter that he knew, becauſe of his oth: howbeit, taking him aſide from his other familiars, when they were both together by themſelues, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* looking on him: flie *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* found ſtraight what he ment, and fled the very ſame night into CAPPADOCIA: and ſhortly after it was his deſtiny to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered manie goodly countries, and it was he only that eſtabliſhed the houſe of the kingdome of PONT, the which the ROMAINES afterwardes ouerthrew, about the eight ſucceſſion. By theſe examples we may eaſily coniecture the good nature and curteſie of *Demetrius*. For like as the elementes (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are euer at * ſtrife together, but ſpecially thoſe that are neareſt each to other: euen ſo, though all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* were at continual warres together, yet was it ſooneſt kindled, and moſt cruell between them which bordered neareſt vnto each other, and that by being neare neighbours, had alwaies occaſion of brawle together, as fell out at that time betweene *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*. This *Antigonus* lay moſt commonly in the countrey of PHRYGIA: who hauing intelligence that *Ptolomy* was gone into CYPRVS, and that he ouerranne all SYRIA, winning by force, or faire meanes, all the townes and cities ſubiect vnto them: he ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thither, being at that time but two and twenty yeares of age, and it was the firſt time that euer he tooke charge as generall to his father, in matters of great importaunce. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battell with an old ſouldier (trained vp in the diſcipline of warres vnder *Alexander* the great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battels) was ſoone ouerthrowen, and his army put to flight, by the city of GAZA. At which ouerthrow were ſlaine fiue thouſand men, and almoſt eight thouſand taken: and beſides, *Demetrius* loſt his tents and pauilions, his gold and ſiluer, and to be ſhort, all his whole cariage. But *Ptolomy* ſent him all his things againe, and his friendes alſo that were taken after the battell, with great curteous wordes: that he would not fight with them for all things together, but onely for honor, and Empire. *Demetrius*, receiuing them at his handes, beſought the gods that hee might not long liue a debter vnto *Ptolomy* for this great curteſie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like again. Now *Demetrius* tooke not this ouerthrow like a yong man, though it was his firſt ſouldierfare: but like an olde and wiſe Captaine, that had abidden many ouerthrowes, he vſed great diligence to gather men againe to make new armors, and to keepe the cities and countries in his handes vnder obedience, and did traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers in armes, whom he had gathered together. *Antigonus* hauing newes of the ouerthrow of his ſon *Demetrius*, ſaid no more, but that *Ptolomy* had ouercome beardles men: and that afterwardes he ſhould fight with bearded men. But now, becauſe he would not diſcorage his ſonne altogether, who craued leaue once againe to fight a battell with *Ptolomy*: he graunted him. So, ſhortly after came *Cilles*, *Ptolomyes* generall, with a great puiſant army, to driue him altogether out of SYRIA. For they made no great accompt of *Demetrius*, becauſe he had bene once ouerthrowen before. Howbeit *Demetrius* ſtale vpon him, gaue him charge on the ſodaine, and made him ſo afraid, that he tooke both the campe, and the generall, with ſeuen thouſand priſoners beſides, and wanne a maruellous treaſure of money: which made him a glad man, not ſo much for the gaine he ſhould haue by it, as for the oportunity hee had thereby to come out of *Ptolomyes* debt, nothing regarding the treaſure nor the honour he had gotten by this victory, but onely the benefite of this requitall of *Ptolomyes* curteſie towardes him. But yet he did nothing of his owne head, before he had written to his father: and then receiuing full graunt and commiſſion from him to diſpoſe of all things as he thought good, he ſent backe *Cilles* vnto *Ptolomy*, and al his other friends beſides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully beſtowed on them. This misfortune and ouerthrow did vtterly put *Ptolomy* out of all SYRIA, and brought *Antigonus* alſo from the city of CELÆNES, for the exceeding ioy he had of this victory, as alſo for the great deſire he had to ſee his ſonne. After that, he ſent *Demetrius* into ARABIA, againſt a people

Demetrius ſaueth Mithridates life.
Mithridates king of Pont.
** Becauſe he ſayd, that loue and diſcord were euer the efficient cauſes of generation and corruption of all things.*
Enmity betwixt Antigonus and Ptolomy.
Demetrius generall to Antigonus, againſt Ptolomy.
Demetrius ouerthrowen in battell, by Ptolomy
The bountifulnes of Ptolomie the conqueror, vnto Demetrius conquered.
Demetrius victory of Ptolomy.
Demetrius thankefulnes vnto Ptolomy.

people called the NABATHÆIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great daunger and distresse in the deserts for lacke of water, howbeit he neuer shewed any signe that he was afraid. Thereby he so astonied the barbarous people, that he had leasure enough to retire with safety, and with a great bootie of a thousand camels, which he brought away with him. About that time *Seleucus* (whom *Antigonus* had driuen from BABYLON) returning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other ayd then of himselfe: and went with a great armie against the people and nations confining vpon the INDIANS, and the prouinces adioyning vnto mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereupon *Demetrius* hoping to find MESOPOTAMIA without any gard or defence, sodainly passed ouer the riuer of Euphrates, & came vnlooked for vnto BABYLON, & there distressed the garrison of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the castells or citadels of the citie, being two of them: and then putting in seuen thousand souldiers to keepe them, he commanded the rest of his men to get what they could, and to bring it away with them. After that he marched towardes the sea to returne home, leauing thereby the Realme and kingdome of *Seleucus* in better state and safetie, then it was when he inuaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the cõtrie from *Seleucus*, leauing him nothing in it, by spoyling and foraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes were brought him that *Ptolomy* lay at the siege of the citie of HALYCARNASSVS: whereupon he drew thither with speed to make him raise the siege, and thereby saued the citie from him. Now because by this exploite they wanne great fame, both of them (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a maruellous desire to set all GRECE at libertie, the which *Ptolomy* and *Cassander* kept in seruitude and bondage. Neuer king tooke in hand a more honorable nor iuster warre and enterprise, then that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people: he bestowed it all in restoring the GRECIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in consultation what way to take, to bring their purpose and desire to passe, and hauing taken order to begin first at ATHENS: one of *Antigonus* chiefest friends about him, told him that he should take the citie, and place a good garrison there for themselues, if they could once winne it: for, said he, it will be a good bridge to passe further into all GRECE. *Antigonus* would not harken to that, but said, that the loue and good will of men was a surer bridge, & that the citie of ATHENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings shine through the world, as a cresset light, vpon the toppe of a keepe or watch tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoysed saile, hauing fiue thousand siluer talents, and a fleete of two hundred and fiftie saile, and sailed towardes the citie of ATHENS: in the which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was gouernor in the behalf of *Cassander*, & kept a great strong garrison there within the hauen and castle of MVNICHEA. He had an excellent good winde to further his iorney, so that with his good foresight and speede he made, he arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, the fiue and twentie day of the moneth Thargelion (now called May) before any man knew of his comming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the city, and lesse, that they might easily see them from thence: euery man prepared him selfe to receiue them, taking them to be *Ptolomyes* shippes. But in fine, the Captaines and gouernours vnderstanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe themselues: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, and to repulse them, comming so sodainely vpon them. *Demetrius* hauing found the barre of the hauen open, launched in presently. Then being come to the view of them all, and standing vppon the hatches of his galley, he made signes with his hand that he prayed silence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimed aloud by one of his Heraulds, that his father had sent him in a happy hower to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garrisons, and to restore them againe to their auncient liberty and freedome, to enioy their lawes and auncient gouernment of their forefathers. After the proclamation made, all the common people straight threwe downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clappe their handes with great shoutes of ioy: praying him to land, and calling him aloud their Sauior, and benefactor. Now for them that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although he performed not that he promised, and also sent Ambassadours vnto him to treate of peace. *Demetrius* receiued them very curteously, and sent with them for pledge, one of the dearest

Demetrius inuaded Arabia.

Demetrius inuadeth Mesopotamia.

Antigonus and Demetrius do goe about to set Greece at libertie.

Demetrius Phalerian, gouernor of Athens for Cassander.

Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their libertie.

friends his father had, *Aristodemus* MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not careles of the health and safety of *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, who by reason of the change and alteration of the gouernment of the common wealth of ATHENS, stood more in feare of the people of ATHENS, than of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conueyed (according to his desire) vnto THEBES, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for *Demetrius* himselfe, although he was very desirous to see the citie, he sayed he would not come into it, before he had first restored it vnto her ancient libertie and freedome, and also driuen away the garrison thence: and thereuppon he cast trenches round about the castle of MVNYCIA. In the meane season because he would not be idle, he hoysed sayle, and coasted toward the citie of MEGARA, within the which *Cassander* also kept a strong garrison. *Demetrius* busily following these matters, was aduertised that *Crateſipolis*, surnamed *Polyperchon*, (who had bene *Alexanders* wife) a Lady of passing fame and beautie, and lay at that time in the citie of PATRAS, would be glad to see him: he leauing his armie within the territorie of the MEGARIANS, took his iorney presently vnto her, with a few of his lightest armed men, and yet he stole from them, and made his tent to be set vp a good way from them, because this Ladie might not be seene when she came vnto him. Some of his enemies hauing present intelligence thereof, came and set vpon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was so scared, that he had no further leysure, but to cast an ill fauored cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising himselfe to flie for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they missed him, they took his tent and all his money in it. After that, the citie of MEGARA was taken and won from *Cassanders* men, where *Demetrius* souldiers would haue sacked all: howbeit the ATHENIANS made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoyled. *Demetrius* thereupon, after that he had driuen out *Cassanders* garrison, he restored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that he called to mind the Philosopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in MEGARA, though he liued a quiet and contemplatiue life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* aunswered him, they had not: For, q͛ he, I saw no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaues of the citie were in manner caried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way said vnto him: well, *Stilpo*, I leaue you your citie free. It is true, O king, q͛ he, for thou hast left vs neuer a slaue. Shortly after, he returned againe vnto ATHENS, and laide siege to the castle of MVNICHIA, the which he tooke, and draue out the garrison, & afterwards rased it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earnest desire of the ATHENIANS, who praied him to come and refresh himselfe in their citie: he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to assemble, and then restored vnto them their auncient lawes and libertie of their country, promising them besides, that he would procure his father to sende them an hundred and fiftie thousande bushels of wheate, and as much wodde and timber as should serue to make them a hundred and fiftie gallies. Thus, the ATHENIANS through *Demetrius* means, recouered the Democratia againe, (to wit, their populer gouernment) fifteene yeares after they had lost it, and liued all the time betweene their losse and restitution from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that was fought by the city of CRANON, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, vnder the gouernment of a few gouernors in sight, but in truth a Monarchy or kingdome, because they were vnder the gouernment of one man *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, that had absolute authority ouer them. But by this meanes they made their sauior and preseruer of their country, *Demetrius* (who seemed to haue obtained such honor and glory through his goodnes and liberality) hatefull and odious to all men, for the ouergreat and vnmeasurable honors which they gaue him. For first of all, they called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings, who before that time had alwaies refused the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors and prerogatiues graunted) they that had deuided betweene them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durst neuer once presume to chalenge, nor to take vppon them. So vnto them onely they gaue the stile and names of the goddes sauiors, and tooke away their yearely Maior, whom they called *Eponymos*, because they did shew the yeares of old time, by the names of them that had bene Maiors. Furthermore, in stead thereof they ordained in the councell of the city, that there should yearely be

Demetrius Antigonus honoreth Demetrius Phalerius.

Demetrius daunger for lecherie.

Demetrius winneth the citie of Megara, and restoreth it to her libertie.

Stilpo a famous Philosopher in Megara.

Stilpoes sayings vnto Demetrius.

Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their lawes and liberty.

Democratia: populer gouernment.

Oligarchia: the gouerment of a few.

Too much honors decreed to Demetrius by the Athenians.

be choſen one by voices of the people, whom they ſhoulde name the Prieſt of their Sauiors whoſe name they ſhould write and ſubſcribe in all publike grants and couenantes, to ſhewe the yeare: and beſides all this, that they ſhould cauſe their pictures to be drawen in the veyle or holy banner, in the which were ſet out the images of their goddes, the patrons and protectors of their citie. And furthermore they did conſecrate the place where *Demetrius* firſt came out of his coch, and there did ſet vp an aulter, and called it *Demetrius* aulter comming out of his coch: and vnto their tribes they added two other, the ANTIGONIDES, and the DEMETRIADES. Their great councell at large which they created yearely of fiue hundreth men, was then firſt of all brought into ſixe hundreth, becauſe euery tribe muſt needes furniſh of themſelues, fifty counſellers. But yet the ſtrangeſt acte, and moſt newe found inuention of flatterie, was that of *Stratocles*, (being the common flatterer and people pleaſer) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordained: that thoſe whom the common wealth ſhould ſend vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, ſhould in ſtead of Ambaſſadors be called Theori, as much to ſay as miniſters of the ſacrifices. For ſo were they called, whom they ſent to DELPHES, to *Apollo Pythius*, or vnto ELIDE, to *Iupiter Olympius*, at the common and ſolemne feaſts of all GREECE, to doe the ordinarie ſacrifices and oblations for the health and preſeruation of the cities. This *Stratocles* in all things elſe was a deſperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked and diſſolute life: and for his ſhameles boldnes, he ſeemed wholly to followe the ſteps of *Cleons* foole hardines, and old inſolencie, which (when he liued) he ſhewed vnto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his houſe called *Phylacion*. One day ſhe hauing bought for his ſupper, beaſtes heads and neckes commonly eaten, he ſaid vnto her: why, how now? thou haſt bought me rotes which we toſſe like bals, that haue to doe in the common wealth. Another time when the armie of the ATHENIANS was ouerthrowen by ſea, by the Ile of AMORGOS: he would needes preuent the newes of this ouerthrowe, and came through the ſtreete of Ceranicus, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell: and was alſo the author of a decree, whereby they did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes for the victorie: and meate was giuen amongſt euery tribe, in token of common ioy. But ſhortly after the Meſſengers arriued, which brought report of the ſhipwracke and ouerthrowe. The people were in an vprore withal, and ſent for *Stratocles* in a maruellous rage. But he with a face of braſſe came vnto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt haue I done you, If I haue made you merry theſe two daies? Such was *Stratocles* impudencie and raſhneſſe. But, as the Poet *Ariſtophanes* ſaith:

The boldneſſe of Stratocles Athenian.

Stratocles cruel ſaying.

But whether matters were that time in hand,
Than fire that waſteth both by ſea and land.

For there was another that paſſed *Stratocles* in knauerie. Who procured a decree, that as ſoone as *Demetrius* came into the citie of ATHENS, he ſhould be receiued with all ceremonies and like ſolemnitie, as they vſe in the feaſtes of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further that they ſhould giue vnto him that did excell all the reſt in ſumptuouſnes and riches, at ſuch time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the citie, ſo much money out of the common treaſure, as ſhould ſerue to make an image or other offring, which ſhould be conſecrated to the temples in memorie of this liberalitie. And laſt of all, they chaunged the name of the moneth Munichion (to wit the moneth of Ianuarie) and called it Demetrion: and the laſt day of the moneth which they called before the new and old moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feaſtes of *Bacchus* alſo called then Dionyſia, they preſently named Demetria. But the goddes by diuers ſignes and tokens ſhewed plainely, that they were offended with theſe chaunges and alterations. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order ſet downe) they had painted the images of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Iupiter* and *Minerua*: as they caried it a proceſſion through the ſtreete Ceranicus, it was torne a ſunder in the middeſt by a tempeſt of winde. And furthermore, about the aulters which were ſet vp in the honor of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of hemlock, the which otherwiſe was vnpoſſible to grow there. On the feaſt day alſo of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leaue the pompe of proceſſion for that day, it was ſuch an extreame hard froſt out of all ſeaſon: and beſides, there fell ſuch a myll dew and great froſt vpon it, that not onely their vines and oliues were

The moneth of Munychion altered & called Demetrion, for the honor of Demetrius name.

Wonders.

Hemlocke the vſuall herbe, with the iuyce whereof they poyſoned offenders at Athens.

killed with it, but also the most part of the wheate blades which were newly sprong vp. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* (an enemie of the aforesaide *Stratocles*) in one of his comedies writeth certaine verses against him to this effect.

Philippides the Poet.

The party for whose wickednes the vayle was rent in twaine,
VVhich with the honor due to God did worship men most vaine,
Is he for whom our budding vines were blasted with the frost.
Those things and not our comedies haue vs so derely cost.

This *Philippides* was very well beloued of king *Lysimachus*, insomuch that for his sake the king had done many pleasures to the common wealth of ATHENS. For he loued him so dearly, that as often as he sawe him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For in deed he did not so much esteeme him for the excellencie of his arte, but he was much more to be beloued and esteemed, for his vertuous and honest conditions. He was no troublesom man, neither was he infected with the finenes of court, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him, and giuing him good countenance sayed vnto him: what wilt thou haue me giue thee of my things *Philippides*? euen what it shall please thee, O king, so it be none of thy secretes. Thus much we thought good to speake of him in bytalke, because an honest player of comedies should match with a shameless and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was another *Democlides*, of the village of SPHETTVS, that dreamed out a more straunger kinde of honor, touching the consecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, that is to say, that they should go & aske the oracle of *Demetrius*. But I wil shew you the very effect and forme of the law as it was set downe. In good houre: the people ordeine that he should be chosen one of the Citizens of ATHENS, which shall goe vnto our sauiour: and after that he hath done due sacrifice vnto him, he shall aske *Demetrius* our sauior, after what sort the people shall with greatest holines and deuotion, without delay, make consecration of their holiest giftes and offerings: and according to the oracle it shall please him to giue them, the people shall duely execute it. Thus, laying vpon *Demetrius* al these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wise man, they made him a very foole. *Demetrius* being at that time at leasure in ATHENS, he maried a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and ancient house of *Miltiades*, and had bene married before vnto one *Opheltas* Prince of the CYRENIANS, and that after his death returned againe to ATHENS. The ATHENIANS were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honor that came to their citie, supposing he had done it for their sakes. Howbeit he was soone wonne to be married, for he had many wiues, but amongst them all, he loued *Phila* best, and gaue her most honor and preheminence aboue them all: partly for the respect of her father *Antipater*, and partly also for that she had bene first maried vnto *Craterus*, whom the MACEDONIANS loued best when he liued, and most lamented after his death, aboue all the other successors of *Alexander*. His father I suppose made him to mary her by force, although in deede her yeares was not meet for him: for he was maruellous young, and shee very old. And when *Demetrius* seemed not to be contented withall, his father rowned him softly in the eare with this saying:

Philippides notable answer vnto king Lysimachus not desiring to heare his secrets.

Demetrius maried vnto Eurydicé at Athens.

Demetrius had many wiues together.

Phila Demetrius wife.

Antipaters daughter, and Craterus widdow.

Refuse no woman nere so old,
VVhose mariage bringeth store of gold.

The iudgement of mariage, and obedience.

Wherein he alluded cunningly to these verses of *Euripides*.

Refuse not to become a thrall,
VVhere lucre may insue withall.

But so much did *Demetrius* honor his wife *Phila*, and all his other wiues he maried, that he was not ashamed to keepe a number of Curtisans, and other mens wiues besides: so that hee onely of all other kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lechery. While these things passed on in this sort, he was commanded by his father, to fight with *Ptolomy* for the Realme of CYPRVS. So there was no remedy but he must needes obey him, although otherwise he was very sory to leaue the warre he had begunne, to set the GRECIANS at liberty, the which had bene farre more honorable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from ATHENS, hee sent vnto *Cleonides Ptolomyes* generall, that kept the cities of CORINTHE and SICYONE,

ONE, to offer him money if he would ſet their cities at liberty. But *Cleonides* would not be delt withall that way. Thereupon *Demetrius* ſtraight way tooke ſea, and ſayled with all his armie towards CYPRVS, where at his firſt comming he ouercame *Menelaus Ptolomyes* brother. But ſhortly after, *Ptolomy* went thither in perſon with a great armie both by ſea and land, and there paſſed betwixt them fierce threatnings and proud words to ech other. For *Ptolomy* ſent to *Demetrius* to bid him to depart if he were wiſe, before all his army came together: which would tread him vnder their feet, and martch vpon his belly, if he taried his comming. *Demetrius* on the other ſide ſent him word, that he would doe him this fauor to let him eſcape, if he would ſweare and promiſe vnto him to withdrawe his garriſons which he had in the cities of CORINTHE, and SYCIONE. So the expectation of this battell made theſe two Princes not only very penſiue to fight one with the other, but alſo all the other Lordes, Princes, and Kings: becauſe the ſucceſſe therof was vncertaine, which of them two ſhould preuaile. But euery man iudged this, that which of them obtained the victory, he ſhould not only be Lord of the realm of CYPRVS and SYRIA, but therewith alſo of greater power then all the reſt. *Ptolomy* in perſon with fifty ſaile began to row againſt his enemie *Demetrius*, and commanded his brother *Menelaus* that when he ſawe them faſt grappled in fight together, he ſhould lanch out of the hauen of SALAMINA, and giue charge vpon the rereward of *Demetrius* ſhips, to breake their order, with the threeſcore gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius* on the other ſide prepared tenne gallies againſt theſe three ſcore, thinking them enow to choke vp the hauen mouth being but narrow, ſo that none of the gallies that were within could come out: and furthermore, he diſperſed his armie by land vpon the foreland points which reach into the ſea, and went himſelfe into the maine ſea with nine ſcore gallies, and gaue ſuch a fierce charge vppon *Ptolomy*, that he valiantly made him flie. Who when he ſawe his armie broken, fled as ſpeedily as he could with eight gallies only: for all the reſt were either broken or ſuncke in fight, and thoſe eight only eſcaped, beſides three ſcore and tenne which were taken, and all their ſouldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends, his officers, & houſhold ſeruants, his wiues, his gold and ſiluer, his armor, engines of batterie, and all ſuch other warlike furniture & munition as was conueyed abord his carects and great ſhips riding at anker: of all theſe things nothing eſcaped *Demetrius* hands, but all was brought into his campe. Among thoſe ſpoiles alſo was taken that famous curtiſan *Lamia*, who at the firſt had her name only, for her paſſing playing vpon the flute: but after ſhe fell to curtiſan trade, her countenance and credit increaſed the more. So that euen then when her beautie through yeares fell to decay, and that ſhe founde *Demetrius* much younger than her ſelfe: yet ſhe ſo wan him with her ſweete conuerſation and good grace, that he only liked her, and al the other women liked him. After this victory by ſea, *Menelaus* made no more reſiſtance, but yeelded vp SALAMINA and his ſhips vnto *Demetrius*, and put into his hands alſo twelue hundred horſmen, and twelue thouſand footemen well armed. This ſo famous and triumphant victory was yet much more beautified, by *Demetrius* great bounty and goodnes which he ſhewed in giuing his enemies ſlaine in battell honorable buriels, ſetting the priſoners at liberty without ranſom paying, and giuing moreouer twelue hundred complet armors vnto the ATHENIANS. After this, *Demetrius* ſent *Ariſtodemus* MILESIAN vnto his father *Antigonus*, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victory. *Ariſtodemus* was the greateſt flatterer in all *Antigonus* Court, who deuiſed then, as it ſeemed vnto me, to adde vnto this exploit the greateſt flattery poſſible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Ile of CYPRVS, he would in no wiſe haue the ſhip he came in to come near the ſhoare, but commanded them to ride at anker, and no man ſo hardy to leaue the ſhip: but he him ſelfe got into a litle boat, and went vnto *Antigonus*, who all this while was in marueilous feare & perplexity for the ſucceſſe of this battell, as men may eaſily iudge they are, which hope after ſo great incertainties. Now when word was broght him that *Ariſtodemus* was comming to him all alone, then was he worſe troubled then afore, inſomuch that he could ſcant keepe within dores him ſelfe, but ſent his ſeruaunts and friends one after an other to meete *Ariſtodemus*, to aske him what newes, and to bring him word preſently againe how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on ſtill faire and ſoftly with a ſad countenance, and verie demurely, ſpeaking neuer a worde. Wherefore *Antigonus* heart

Battell by ſea in the Ile of Cyprus betwixt Demetrius Antigonus & Ptolomy.

Demetrius victorie of Ptolomy.

Lamia, the famous curtiſan taken by Demetrius, vpon the defeating of Ptolomy.

Salamina yeelded vp to Demetrius.

Ariſtodemus a notorious flatterer in Antigonus Court.

being cold in his belly, he could ſtay no longer, but would himſelfe goe and meet with *Ariſtodemus* at the gate, who had a maruellous preaſe of people following of him, beſides thoſe of the court which ranne out to heare his anſwer. At length when he came neare vnto *Antigonus*, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cryed out aloud, God ſaue thee, ô king *Antigonus*: we haue ouercome king *Ptolomy* in battell by ſea, and haue wonne the realme of CYPRVS, with ſixteen thouſand and eight hundreth priſoners. Then anſwered *Antigonus*, & God ſaue thee to. Truly *Ariſtodemus* thou haſt kept vs in a traunce a good while, but to puniſh thee for the paine thou haſt put vs to, thou ſhalt the later receiue the reward of thy good newes. Then was the firſt time that the people with a loude voice called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings. Now for *Antigonus*, his friends and familiars did at that preſent inſtant put on the royal band or diadeame vpon his head: but for *Demetrius*, his father ſent it vnto him, and by his letters called him king. They alſo that were in EGYPT with *Ptolomy*, vnderſtãding that, did call and ſalute him by the name of king: becauſe it ſhould not ſeeme that for one ouerthrow receiued, their hartes were dead. Thus this ambition by iealouſie and emulation, went from man to man to all *Alexanders* ſucceſſors. For *Lyſimachus* then alſo began to weare the diadeame, and likewiſe *Seleucus*, as often as he ſpake with the GRECIANS: for before that time, he dealt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But *Caſſander*, though others wrote themſelues kings, he only ſubſcribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increaſe of a new name, or changing of apparell, but it was ſuch an honor, as it lift vp their hearts, and made them ſtand vpon themſelues: and beſides it ſo framed their maner of life and conuerſation with men, that they grew more proud and ſtately, then euer they were before: like vnto common players of tragedies, who apparelling themſelues to play their partes vpon the ſtage doe change their gate, their countenance, their voice, their manner of ſitting at the table, and their talke alſo. So that afterwardes they grewe more cruell in commaunding their ſubiects, when they had once taken away the viſer & diſſimulation of their abſolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought ſuch a wonderfull chaunge in the world. *Antigonus* therefore puffed vp with the glory of the victorie of his ſonne *Demetrius*, for the conqueſt of CYPRVS: he determined forthwith to ſet vpon *Ptolomy*. Himſelfe led the army by lande, hauing his ſonne *Demetrius* ſtill rowing by the ſhore ſide with a great fleete of ſhips. But one of his familiars called *Medius*, being a ſleepe had a viſion one night that told him, what ſhould be the end and ſucceſſe of this iorney. He thought he ſawe *Antigonus* runne with all his armie who ſhould haue the vpper hand, and that at the firſt he ranne with great force and ſwiftneſſe: but that afterwardes his ſtrength and breath failed him ſo much, that when he ſhould returne, he had ſcant any pouſſe or breath, and with much a doe retyred againe. And euen ſo it chanced vnto him. For *Antigonus* by land, was eftſoones in great danger: and *Demetrius* alſo by ſea was often in hazard to leaue the coaſt, and by ſtorme and weather to be caſt into places, where was neither hauen, creekes, nor harborough for his ſhippes. And at length, hauing loſt a great number of his ſhippes, he was driuen to returne without any attempt giuen. Now *Antigonus* was at that time litle leſſe then foure ſcore yeare old, but yet his fatte and corpulent body was more comberſome to him then his yeares: therefore being growen vnmeete for wars, he vſed his ſonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as alſo skilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wiſely gouerne the waightieſt matters. His father beſides did not paſſe for his youthfull partes, lauiſhe expences, and common drunkennes he gaue himſelfe vnto. For in time of peace, he was giuen ouer to all thoſe vices: but in time of warre, he was as ſober and continent, as any man ſo borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that *Lamia* being manifeſtly knowen to be Miſtreſſe ouer him, one day when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kiſſe his father: and that *Antigonus* ſmiling vppon him ſaied, what, how now Sonne, doeſt thou thinke thou art kiſſing of *Lamia*? Another time *Demetrius* was many daies together, drinking and ryoting, and ſaw not his father: and then to excuſe him ſelfe vnto him, he tolde him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard, ſayed *Antigonus*: but was it of THASOS or CHIOS, that rewme? he ſpake it, becauſe that in either of thoſe two Ilandes, there were

The firſt time Antigonus & Demetrius were called kings.

Note the force of flattery by Ariſtodemus Mileſian.

Antigonus & Demetrius iorney againſt Ptolomy.

Medius dream

Antigonus mirth with his ſon Demetrius.

were excellent good wines: another time *Demetrius* sent his father word that he was not wel. Thereupon *Antigonus* went to see him, and comming thither, he met a faier young boye at his dore. So he went vp to his chamber, and sitting down by his beddes side, he tooke him by the hand to feele his poulse. *Demetrius* told him that his feuer had left him but a litle before. I know it well saied *Antigonus*: for I met the young boy euen at the dore as I came in. So *Antigonus* did gently beare with his sonnes faults, in respect of his many other vertues he had. The voice goeth that the SCYTHIANS, when they are disposed to drink drunk together, do diuerse times twang the strings of their bowes, as though that would serue to keepe the strength of their courage & hardines, which otherwise the pleasantnes of the wine would take frō them. But *Demetrius* gaue himselfe to one thing at one selfe time. Somtime to take his pleasure, sometime to deale in matters of waight, and in all extremity he euer vsed but one of them, & would neuer mingle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no lesse politike and circumspect to prepare all maner of munition for warres. For as he was a wise Captaine to leade an armie, so was he also very carefull to prouide all things meet for their furniture, and would rather haue too much, then too litle. But aboue al, he exceeded in sumptous building of ships, and framing of all sorts of engines of batterie, and specially for the delight he tooke to inuent and deuise them. For he had an excellent naturall witte to deuise such workes, as are made by witte and hand, and did not bestow his witte and inuention in handie crafts, in trifling toyes and bables: as many other kings that haue giuen themselues to playe on flutes, others to paint and draw, and others also to Turners crafte. As *Aeropus* king of MACEDON, who delighted to make fine tables, and pretie lampes. And *Attalus*, surnamed *Philometor* (to say, as louer of his mother) that would plant and set phisicall herbes, as Helleborum, Lingwort, or Beares foote: Hoscynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Woolfebaine, and Dorycinum: for the which we haue no English word: all these would he set himselfe with his owne handes in the gardaines of his owne pallace, and also gather them in time of the yeare, to know the vertue and power of them. As: *Arsaces* the kings of PARTHIA, that boasted they could themselues make their arrowes heades, and sharpen them, But the artificers workes which *Demetrius* practised, shewed that they came from a King. For his manner of workemanshippe had a certen greatnesse in it, the which euen with the subtiltie and fineneſse of his workes, shewed the trimme handling of the workeman. So that they appeared not onely worthie the vnderstanding and riches of a king, but also the forging and making by the handes of a great king. For his friends did not onely wonder at their greatnesse, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more true then meet to be spoken: the enemies could not but maruell when they sawe his gallies rowing alongest the coast,, with fifteene or sixteene bancks of owers: and his engines of batterie which they called Elepolis (as much to saye, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great admiration vnto those whom he besieged, as the euents following did throughly witnesse. For *Lysimachus* who of all other kings did malice *Demetrius* most comming to raise the siege from the citie of SOLI in CILICIA, the which *Demetrius* besieged, he sent vnto him to pray him to let him see his engines of batterie, & his gallies rowing vpon the sea. *Demetrius* granting him, *Lysimachus* returned with wonderfull admiration. The RHODIANS also hauing long time defended his siege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leaue some one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall testimonie and remembrance both of his power, & also of their corage and valiantnes. The cause why *Demetrius* made war with the RHODIANS was, because they were confederates with king *Ptolomy*, he brought against their walles the greatest engine he had, the foot whereof was like a tile, more long then broad, and at the base on either side it was eight and fortie cubits long, and threescore and sixe high, rising still narrow euen to the very top: so that the vpper parts were narrower then the nether, and within it were many pretie roomes and places conueied for souldiers. The forepart of it was open towards the enemy, & euery roome or partition had windowes out of which they bestowed all kind of shot, because they were full of armed men fighting with all sorts of weapons. But nowe, because it was so well framed and counterpeased, that it gaue no waye nor reeld on either side, which way soeuer they remoued it, but that it stood fast and vpright vpon

A strange custom of the Scythians in their drunkennesse.

Demetrius a skilfull Captain & an excellent shipwright.

Sundry delightes of Princes.

Demetrius wonderfull workes.

Demetrius besieged Rhodes.

The description of Demetrius greatest engine of battery, called Elepolis.

her foundation, making a terrible noise and sound: that made the worke as wonderfull to behold, as it was a maruellous pleasure for men to see it. In this warre were brought vnto *Demetrius* two notable armors weighing forty pound a peece, and made by one *Zoilus* an armorer, who to shew the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, suffered them to be proued and shot at, at sixe score paces, with the engines of their battrie: and albeit the armors were shot at and hit, yet were they neuer pierced, and but onely a litle race or scratch seene, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurt. *Demetrius* alwaies wore one of them in these warres, and *Alcimus* ALBANIAN the other, the strongest and valiantest man he had in all his hoast; and that onely caried a complet armor weighing six score pound, where all other souldiers wore none aboue three score. This *Alcimus* was slaine at RHODES valiantly fighting by the Theater. In this siege the RHODIANS did valiantly defend themselues, that *Demetrius* could doe no acte worthy memorie. This notwithstanding, although he saw he could not prehaile, but lose his time, yet was he the more obstinately bent against them, to be euen with them: because they had taken a ship of his, in the which his wife *Phila* had sent vnto him certen hangings of tapestrie, linnen, apparell, and letters, and because they had sent them all vnto *Ptolomy*, assoone as they had taken them. But therein they did not follow the honest curtesie of the ATHENIANS: who hauing intercepted certaine currers of king *Philips* that made war against them, they opened all the letters they caried, and read them, sauing onely his wife *Olympiaes* letters she sent him, the which they sent vnto king *Philip* sealed, as they were when they receiued them. Now though this part did much grieue and offend him, yet he could not find in his hart to serue the in that sort, when he might haue done it not long after. For by chance at that time, *Protogenes* an excellent painter, borne in CAVNVS, did paint them the draught of the citie of IALYSVS. *Demetrius* found this table in a house in the suburbes of the citie, being almost ended. The RHODIANS thereupon sending an Heraulde vnto him, to beseech him to spare the defacing of so goodly a worke: he returned them answer, that he would rather suffer his fathers images to be burnt, then so excellent and passing a worke as that to be lost, and brought to nothing. For it is reported, that *Protogenes* was seuen yeares drawing of the same: and it is said also that *Apelles* himselfe when he saw it, did so wonder at it, that his speech failed him, and he stood mute a long time, and at last sayed: surely there is a wonderfull peece of worke and of great labor, yet they want those graces and ornamentes whereby those that I paint doe reach vnto heauen. This table afterwardes being brought to ROME, and hanged vp with others, was in the end burnt by fire. Now as the RHODIANS were desirous to be rid of this warre, and that *Demetrius* also was willing to take any honest occasion to doe it: the Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS came happely to serue both their desires, who made peace betwene them with these conditions. That the RHODIANS should be confederates with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* against all men, but *Ptolomy* only. The ATHENIANS sent for *Demetrius*, vpon *Cassanders* comming to laye siege to their citie. Whereupon *Demetrius* immediately hoysed sayle towards ATHENS, with three hundreth and thirtie gallies, and a great number of men of warre besides: so that he did not only driue *Cassander* out of the prouince of ATTICA, but followed him euen to the straight of THERMOPYLES, & there ouerthrew him in set battell, and receiued the citie of HERACLEA, which willingly yeelded vnto him, & six thousand MACEDONIANS that came vnto him to take his part. So in his returne backe, he set all the GREEKIANS at libertie on this side the straight: he made league with the BOEOTIANS, and tooke the citie of CENCHREES, and the castles of PHYLE and PANACTOS, in the frontiers and confines of ATTICA, in the which *Cassander* had left garrisons to keep the country in subiection: and after he had driuen them out of the counttie, he rendred the forts again vnto the ATHENIANS. Therfore though it seemed the ATHENIANS had before bestowed to their vttermost power al kinds of honors that could be offred him, euery man striuing for life to preferre the same: yet they found out new deuises to flatter and please him. For they ordained that the place behind the temple of *Minerua* called Parthenon (as who would say, the temple of the virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in: and they sayd, that the goddesse *Minerua* did lodge him with her. But to say truly, he was too vnchast a gheſt, to thinke that a maiden goddesse would be content he should lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiuing that they had lodged his sonne

The armors made of notable temper by Zoilus an armorer.

Alcimus Albanian, wore an armor of six score pound weight.

The discurtesie of the Rhodians.

The great curtesie of the Athenians vnto king Philp.

Protogenes, borne in the citie of Caunus: an excellent painter.

Protogenes table of the city of Ialysus greatly commended by Apelles himselfe.

Demetrius concludeth peace with the Rhodians.

Demetrius victories in Grece

sonne *Philip* on a time in a house, where there were three young women, he sayd nothing to *Philip* himselfe, but before him he sent for the harbinger, and sayed vnto him: wilt thou not remoue my sonne out of this straight lodging, and prouide him of a better? And *Demetrius*, that should haue reuerenced the goddesse *Minerua*, though for no other respect but because he called her his eldest sister, (for so he would she should be called) he defiled all the castle where was the temple of these holy virgins, with horrible and abhominable insolencies, both towards young boyes of honest houses, as also vnto yong women of the citie. So that this place seemed to be most pure and holy, at such time as he lay with his common curtisans, *Chrysis*, *Lamia*, *Demo*, and *Anticyra*. It shall not be greatly for the honor of the citie of ATHENS, to tell particularly all the abhominable partes he committed there. But *Demacles* vertue and honestie deserueth worthy and condigne remembrance. This *Demacles* was a young boye that had no haire on his face, of whose beautie *Demetrius* being informed by the surname he had, as commonly called through the citie, *Demoples* the faire: he sought diuerse wayes to intise him, both by faire meanes, large promises and giftes, and also with threates besides. But when he saw no man could bring him to the bent of his bow, and that the young boy in the end seeing him so importunate vpon him, came no more to the common places of exercise, where other children vsed to recreate themselues, and that to auoide the common stooues, he went to wash himselfe in another secret stooue: *Demetrius* watching his time and hower of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy seing himselfe alone, and that he could not resist *Demetrius*, tooke off the couer of the kettle or cauldron where the water was boyling, and leaping into it, drowned himselfe. Truely he was vnworthie of so lamentable an end, but yet he shewed a noble hart, worthy of his beautie and countrie. But he did not as another called *Cleanetus*, the son of *Cleomedon*, who brought letters from *Demetrius*, directed to the people, whereby through *Demetrius* intercession and request, his fathers fine of fiftie talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained prisoner) was clerely remitted and forgiuen. But by this acte, he not onely shamed and dishonored himselfe, but also troubled all the citie. For the people thereupon released *Cleomedon* of his fine, but therwith they made a decree that no Citizen should thenceforth bring any more letters from *Demetrius*. But afterward vnderstanding that *Demetrius* was maruellously offended with this decree: they did not only reuoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further they made a law, that the people of ATHENS should account all religions to the gods, and iust vnto men, whatsoeuer it pleased *Demetrius* to order and appoint. At that time there was one of the chiefest men of the citie, that sayd *Stratocles* was a mad man to preferre such matters. Indeed quoth *Demochares* surnamed LACONIAN, he were a mad man if he were otherwise: and he spake it, because this *Stratocles* had many great pleasures at *Demetrius* hands for this flatterie. Howbeit, *Demochares* being accused & condemned vpon these words, he was banished ATHENS. See the ATHENIANS how they vsed themselues, who seemed to be deliuered from the garrison they had before, and to be restored vnto their former libertie and freedome. From thence *Demetrius* went into PELOPONNESVS, and neuer an enemie of his durst tarie his comming, but all fled before him, and left him their castles & towns. This *Demetrius* wan vnto himself all the countrie called ACTE, and all ARCHADIA, sauing the citie of MANTINEA: and for the sum of an hundreth talents giuen amongst them: he deliuered the cities of ARGOS, SICYONE, and of CORINTHE, from the garrisons that laye amongst them. About that time fell out the great feast of *Iuno* in ARGOS, called Heræa. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honor this feast with the GRECIANS, married *Deidamia* (the daughter of *Eacides*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, & sister of *Pyrrhus*) and perswaded the SICYONIANS to leaue their citie, and to come and build in another goodly place neare vnto it, where they nowe doe dwell: and so with the place and situation, he changed also the name of the citie. For in stead of SICYONE, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE Then at a generall assemblie of the states of GRECE, which was kept in the straight of PELOPONNESVS, called ISTHMOS: *Demetrius* was chosen Lieutenant generall of all the GRECIANS, as *Philip* and *Alexander* (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not only compare himselfe, but thought himselfe greater then they,

Antigonus shamefastnes.

Demetrius wantonnes.

The names of Demetrius curtisans.

Demetrius iorney into Peloponnesus

Demetrius maried Deidamia king Pyrrhus sister: and changed the name of the citie of Sicyone and called it Demetriade.

Demetrius chosen generall of all Grece.

becauſe fortune ſmiled on him, and for that he had ſo good ſucceſſe in all his affaires. Whereas *Alexander* did neuer take away the title and name of king, from any other kings: neither did euer call himſelfe king of kings, although he had giuen vnto diuerſe of them the name and power of a king: and in contrary manner alſo, *Demetrius* laughed them to ſcorne which called any other Princes, kings but his father and himſelf. Moreouer he tooke great pleaſure to hear his flatterers, who being at banquets called for wine to drinke to king *Demetrius*, and then to *Seleucus* maiſter of the elephants, to *Ptolomy* Admirall, to *Lyſimachus*, keeper of the treaſure, & to *Agathocles* SICILIAN, gouernor of the Iles. All the kings, but *Lyſimachus*, laughed at theſe toyes when they were reported to him: but *Lyſimachus* was very angrie, & thought great ſcorn that *Demetrius* ſhould reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old cuſtom cõmonly to giue an Eunuch the charge of keeping the treaſure. So *Lyſimachus* of all other Princes did beare him moſt malice, and becauſe he would finely taunt him for that he euer kept *Lamia* his Curtiſan with him: vntill this preſent time, ſayd he, I neuer ſaw harlot play in a tragedie before. *Demetrius* anſwered him againe, that his harlot was chaſter then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that time out of PELOPONNESVS, tooke his iorney towards ATHENS, & wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be receiued into the fraternitie of the holy miſteries, and that he ment they ſhould ſhew him at one ſelfe time, all that was to be ſeene, euen from the leaſt to the higheſt ſecrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptices, becauſe they made the brethren of the fraternitie ſee them long time after that they had bene firſt receiued into the leſſer ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was euer heard of before. For theſe ſmaller miſteries, in old time were celebrated in the moneth of Nouember, and the greater in the month of Auguſt: and beſide it was not lawfull to celebrate or vſe theſe ceremonies within the ſpace of a yeare one of the other. When theſe letters were openly read, no man durſt ſpeake againſt them, but *Pythodorus* the Prieſt, who caried the torche lighted when they ſhewed theſe miſteries. Howbeit his words preuailed not, for by the deuiſe of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an aſſembly of the citie, that the moneth of March in the which they were at that time, ſhould be called and reputed Nouember. And ſo as they could beſt helpe it, by their ordinances of the citie they did receiue *Demetrius* into the fraternitie of the miſteries: and afterwardes againe, this ſelfe moneth of March which they had tranſlated into Nouember, became ſodainely Auguſt: and in the ſelfeſame yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of theſe great miſteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to ſee the moſt ſtraight and ſecret ceremonies. Therfore *Philippides* the Poet inueighing againſt the ſacriledge, and impietie of religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made theſe verſes of him:

Demetrius pride.

Philippides verſes againſt Stratocles the boaſter.

Into one moneth his comming hither
Hath thruſt vp all the yeare togither.

And afterwards becauſe *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the temple of *Minerua* within the caſtle:

Of chaſt Mineruaes holy church he makes a filthy ſtewes,
And in that virgins very ſight his harlots doth abuſe.

But yet of all the inſolent partes done at that time in ATHENS, (although many were committed) none of all the reſt grieued the ATHENIANS more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commanded them they ſhould preſently furniſh him with two hundreth & fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very hard vnto them, both for the ſhortneſſe of the time appointed them, as alſo for the impoſſibilitie of abating any part of it. When he had ſeene all this maſſe of money layed on a heape before him, he commanded it ſhould be giuen to *Lamia*, & among his other Curtiſans, to buy them ſope. The ſhame the ATHENIANS receiued by this gift, grieued them more, than the loſſe of their money: & the words he ſpake to the great contempt of them and their citie, did more trouble them, then the payment they made. Some ſay notwithſtanding, that *Demetrius* did not alone vſe the ATHENIANS thus ſhamfully, but the THESSALIANS alſo in the ſame manner. But paſſing this ouer: *Lamia* of her ſelfe & through her owne countenance did get a great ſumme of money together of diuerſe perſons for one ſupper ſhe made vnto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of ſuch exceeding charge, that *Lycæus* borne in the Ile of SAMOS, did ſet downe the order thereof in writing. And therfore a certen

Demetrius prodigall gift of 250 talents to his curtiſans to buy them ſope.

Lamia made Demetrius a ſupper of her owne coſt.

Poet

Poet no leſſe pleaſantly, then truly, called this *Lamia*, Elepolis: to witte, an engine to take cities. And *Demochares* alſo borne in the citie of SOLI, called *Demetrius* a fable, becauſe he had *Lamia* euer with him: as in the fables which olde women tell litle children, there is euer lightly a *Lamia*, as much to ſay, as a witch, or ſorcereſſe. So that the great credit and authoritie this *Lamia* had, and the loue which *Demetrius* bare her: did not onely cauſe his wiues ſuſpect and enuy him, but made him hated alſo of all his friends & familiars. And therfore certen gentlemẽ, whom *Demetrius* ſent in ambaſſade vnto king *Lyſimachus*, he talking familiarly with thẽ, & paſſing the time away, ſhewed them great wounds of the clawes of a lyon vpon his armes and legges, telling them alſo how he was forced to fight with a lyon, when through king *Alexanders* fury he was ſhut vp in his denne with him: they ſmiling to heare him, told him that the king their maiſter had alſo certen markes and bitings on his necke, of a wilde beaſt called *Lamia*. And to ſay truly, it was a wonderfull thing, that marying (as he did) his wife *Phila* ſo much againſt his will, becauſe ſhe was too old for him: howe he was ſo rauiſhed with *Lamia*, and did ſo conſtantly loue her ſo long together, conſidering alſo that ſhe was very old, & paſt the beſt. Therefore *Demo*, ſurnamed *Mania*, (as much to ſaye the mad woman) pleaſantly anſwered *Demetrius*, asking her one night when *Lamia* had played on the flute all ſupper time, what ſhe thought of *Lamia*? an old woman, ô king ꝙ ſhe. Another time when frute was ſerued in, after the bourd was taken vp: do you ſee ſaid *Demetrius*, how many prety fine knacks *Lamia* ſendeth me? My mother, anſwered *Demo* againe, will ſend you more then theſe, if you pleaſe to lye with her. It is reported of this *Lamia*, that ſhe ouerthrew *Boccheris* iudgment in a matter. In EGYPT there was a young man that had a maruellous fancie vnto a famous Curtiſan called *Thonis*: who did aske him ſuch a great ſumme of money to lye with her, that it was vnpoſſible for him to giue it her. At length, this amarous youth being ſo deepe in loue with her, dreamed one night he laye with her, and enioyed her: ſo that for the pleaſure he tooke by his conceit and imagination, when he awaked, his earneſt loue was ſatisfied. This Curtiſan whom he had caſt fancie to, hearing of this his dreame, did put him in ſute before the iudges, to be payed her hyer for the pleaſure the young man had taken of her by imagination. *Boccheris* hearing the ſumme of her complaint, commaunded the young man to bring before him in ſome veſſell, at a certen day appointed, as much money as ſhe did ask him to lye with her. Then he bad him to toſſe it to and fro in his hand before the Curtiſan, that ſhe ſhould not only haue the ſhadow and ſight of it: for ꝙ he, imagination and opinion is but a ſhadow of truth. *Lamia* ſaid this was no equall iudgment: for ſaith ſhe, the ſhadow only or the ſight of money, did not ſatisfie the couetouſnes of the Curtiſan, as the young mans luſt was quenched by his dreame. Thus enough ſpoken of *Lamia*. But now the miſfortunes and ieaſts of him we preſently write of: they doe tranſport our hiſtorie, as from a comicall into a tragicall theater, that is to ſaye, from pleaſant and light matter, into lamentable and bitter teares. For all the Princes and Kings conſpired generally againſt *Antigonus*, and ioyned all their force and armies together. Therefore *Demetrius* departed forthwith out of GREECE, and came to ioyne with his father, whoſe courage he found more liuely and better giuen to this warre then his yeares required: beſides that *Demetrius* comming made him the bolder, and did lifte vp his heart the more. And yet ſeemeth to me, that if *Antigonus* would but haue yeelded vp a fewe trifling things, or that he either could or would haue bridled his ouer immoderate couetous deſire to raigne: he had both kept for himſelfe all the time of his life, and alſo lefte after his death vnto his ſonne, the ſupreameſt dignitie and power, aboue all the other Kings and ſucceſſors of *Alexander*. But he was ſo cruell, and ſo raſh of nature, and as inſolent and braue in his doings, as in his words: that thereby he ſtirred vp and brought vpon him as his enemies, many great and mightie Princes. For euen at that preſent time he ſaid, that he would as eaſily diſperſe and ſcatter aſunder that conſpiracie againſt him, as chowghes or other litle birdes comming to pecke vp the corne newely ſowen, are eaſily ſcared away with a ſtone or making any litle noyſe. So he caried to the field with him, aboue threeſcore and tenne thouſand footemen, tenne thouſand horſemen, and threeſcore and fifteene Elephantes. His enemies had threeſcore and foure thouſande footemen, and fiue hundreth horſemen more then he, with foure hundreth Elephants, and ſix ſcore carts of warre. When the two armies were

Lamia Elepolis

The ſaying of Demo a curtiſan, touching Lamia and Demetrius

A prety ſute commenced vpon a louers dreame, and the iudgement reuerſed by Lamia the Curtiſan.

The ſubtilty of Lamia, reuerſing Boccheris ſentence.

The conſpiracy of the kings againſt Antigonus.

Antigonus & his enemies armie.

one neare vnto the other, me thinkes he had some imagination in his head that changed his hope, but not his courage. For in al other battels and conflicts, hauing cõmonly vsed to looke big on the matter, to haue a loud high voice, and to vse braue words, and sometime also euen in the chiefest of all the battell to giue some pleasant mocke or other, shewing a certaine trust he had in himselfe, and contempt of his enemie: then they sawe him oftentimes alone and verie pensiue, without euer a word to any man. One day he called all his armie together, and presented his sonne vnto the souldiers, recommending him vnto them, as his heire and successor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men maruelled the more, because that he neuer vsed before to impart to any man the secrets of his counsell & determination, no not to his owne sonne, but did all things of himselfe: and then commanded that thing openly to to be done which he had secretly purposed. For proofe hereof it is said, *Demetrius* being but a young man, asked him on a time when the campe should remoue: and that *Antigonus* in anger answered him, art thou affraid thou shalt not heare the sound of the trũpet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill signes and tokens that killed their harts. For *Demetrius* dreamed that *Alexander* the great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and that he asked him what word or signall of battell they were determined to giue, at the day of battell, he answered that they were determined to giue, *Iupiter* and *Victorie*. Then saied *Alexander*, I will goe to thine enemies that shall receiue me: & afterwards at the very day of the ouerthrow, when all their army were set in battell ray: *Antigonus* comming out of his tent: had such a great fall, that he fell flat on his face to the ground, and hurt himselfe verie sorely. So when he was taken vp, then lifting vp his hands to heauen, he made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would please them to grant him victorie, or sodaine death without great paine, before he should see himselfe vanquished and his armie ouerthrowen. When both battels came to ioyne, and that they fought hand to hand: *Demetrius* that had the most part of the horsmen with him, went & gaue charge vpon *Antiochus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, and fought it out so valiantly on his side, that he ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to flight. But too fondly following the chase of them that fled, and out of time: he marred all, and was the occasion of the losse of his victorie. For when he returned from the chase, he could not ioyne againe with their footemen, because the Elephants were betwene both. Then *Seleucus* perceiuing *Antigonus* battell was naked of horsemen, he did not presently set vpon them, but turned at one side as though he would enuirone them behind, and made them affraid: yet making head as he would charge them, only to giue them leasure to come on their side as they did. For the most part of *Antigonus* hoast did forsake him and yeelded vnto his enemies: the rest of them fled euery man. And when a great troupe of men together went with great furie to giue charge on that side where *Antigonus* was: one of them that were about him saide vnto him: your grace had neede take heede, for these men come to charge vs. He aunswered againe: but how should they knowe me? and if they did my sonne *Demetrius* wil come & help me. This was his last hope, and still he looked euery way, if he could see his sonne comming towards him: till at length he was slaine with arrowes, darts and pikes. For of all his friends & souldiers, there taried not one man by his body, but *Thorax* of the city of LARISSA in THESSALIE. Now the battell hauing such successe as you haue heard. The Kings and Princes that had won so noble a victorie, as if they had cut a great body into sundry peeces: they deuided *Antigonus* kingdom among them, and euery man had his part of all the prouinces and coũtries which *Antigonus* kept adding that vnto their other dominions which they possessed before. Now *Demetrius* flying with all possible speede that might be, with fiue thousand footmen & foure thousand horsemen, he got to the citie of EPHESVS: where euery man mistrusted, that being needie of money as he was, he would not spare the temple of *Diana* in EPHESVS, but would rifle all the gold and siluer in it. And in contrarie manner also *Demetrius* being affraied of his souldiers, least they would spoyle it against his will: he sodainly departed thence, and sayled towards GREECE, putting his greatest confidence & affiance in the ATHENIANS, because he had left his wife *Deidamia* at ATHENS, with shippes and some money, supposing he could goe no whither with better safetie in his aduersitie, then to ATHENS, of whose good willes he thought himselfe assured. Wherefore when Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS came vnto him. and found him not far from the Iles of Cy-

Demetrius dreame and signes.

Demetrius vpon the first onset, made Antiochus the sonne of Seleucus flie. Ouerrashly chasing the enemies, he lost his victorie and was ouercome.

The death of king Antigonus.

Demetrius flight.

CLADES, as he sayled with great speede towardes ATTICA, and that they had declared vnto him, he should forbeare to come vnto their citie, because the people had made an ordinaunce to suffer no mo kings to come into ATHENS, and that they had sent *Deidamia* his wife honorably accompanied vnto the citie of MEGARA: then was *Demetrius* for very anger & passion of minde, cleane out of countenaunce, although vntill that time he had patiently borne his aduersitie, and his hart had neuer failed him. But this nipped him to the hart, when he saw (that contrary to expectation) the ATHENIANS had deceiued and sayled him in his greatest neede, and that in his aduersitie he found their former friendship counterfeit, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainly appeareth, that the most vncertaine and deceiueable proofe of peoples good wils and cities towardes Kings and Princes, are the immeasurable and extreme honors they do vnto them. For sith it is so, that the truth and certaintie of honour proceedeth from the good will of those that giue it: the feare which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause for them to mistrust that the people do it not with good will and from their harts, considering that for feare they do the selfe same things, which they will also do for loue. Therefore graue and wise Princes should not passe so much for the images and statues they set vp for them, or the tables or diuine honours they do decree vnto them: as to regard their owne workes and deedes, and weying them truly, so to beleeue and receiue their honours for true, or otherwise to reiect and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they do accept these immeasurable and extreme honours done vnto them, but those sortes chiefly hate them most, that against their wils are forced to do them those honors. *Demetrius* seeing thē how iniuriously the ATHENIANS had vsed him, & at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them: he modestly sent vnto them only to make his complaints, and to demaund his shippes, among the which was that galley of sixteen banckes of owers. The which when he had receiued, he hoysed saile immediatly towards the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and there found all things to go against him. For in euery place where he had left any garrison, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them vp, or else reuolted, & kept them against him. Therefore leauing *Pyrrbus* his Lieutenant in GREECE, he tooke sea againe, & sailed towards CHERRONESVS, & there with the mischieues he did, & with the spoyles he got in king *Lysimachus* land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increase, & to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for *Lysimachus*, the other kings made no great account of him, neither did they sturre to giue him aide, because he was nothing inferiour vnto *Demetrius*: and for that he was of greater power and possessiōs then themselues, they therefore were the more affrayed of him. Shortly after, *Seleucus* sent vnto *Demetrius*, to require his daughter *Stratonice* in mariage, notwithstanding that he had a sonne already called *Antiochus*, by his wife *Apama* a PERSIAN. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnesse of his estate and kingdome, was able enough to maintaine many successours after him. And furthermore, he considered with himselfe that he should haue neede of *Demetrius* allyance, because he saw *Lysimachus* himselfe matche with one of *Ptolomyes* daughters, & his sonne *Agathocles* with his other daughter. *Demetrius* seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently tooke his daughter with him, & sayled with all his shippes directly towardes SYRIA. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessitie to land sometimes, and specially in CILICIA, the which *Pliſtarchus* the brother of *Cassander* kept at that time, being giuen him by the other kings for his part and portion of the spoyle of *Antigonus*, after he was ouerthrowen. This *Pliſtarchus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refresh himselfe, but to forrage and spoyle because he would complaine of *Seleucus* for the allyance he made with their common enemie, without the consent and priuitie of all the other Kings and Princes confederates, he went purposly vnto his brother *Cassander*. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence thereof, sodainly inuaded the land, and spoyled as farre as the citie of CYNDES, and carried away (which he had leauied) twelue hundred talentes, which he found yet left of his fathers treasure: and then with all the speede he could possible he returned to his ships, and hoysed sayle. Shortly after, his wife *Phila* also came vnto him. So *Seleucus* receiued them all neare vnto the citie of OROSSVS, and there their meeting was Princely, without sorow or suspition

The vnfaithfulnesse of the Athenians towardes Demetrius.

Ouer great honours are signes of vnconstāt friendship.

Seleucus requireth Stratonicè (Demetrius daughter) in mariage.

Pliſtarchus, the brother of Cassander, at that time Gouernour of Cilicia.

Demetrius inuadeth Cilicia.

one of the other. First of all *Seleucus* did feast *Demetrius* in his tent, in the middest of his campe: and afterwardes *Demetrius* feasted him againe in his galley, with thirteen bankes of owers. Thus they passed many dayes together, feasting and reioycing ech with other, being vnarmed, and hauing no souldiers to wait vpon them: vntill at length *Seleucus* with his wife *Stratonice* departed, and tooke his way with great pompe towards the citie of ANTIOCH. Now for *Demetrius*, he kept the prouince of CILICIA, and sent his wife *Phila* vnto her brother *Cassander*, to aunswere the complaints and accusations of *Plistarchus* against him. In the meane time *Deidamia* his wife departed out of GREECE to come vnto him: who after she had remained with him a few dayes, dyed of a sickenesse. Afterwardes *Demetrius* comming againe in fauour with *Ptolomie*, by *Seleucus* his sonne in lawes meanes: he maried his daughter *Ptolemaide*. Hitherunto *Seleucus* vsed *Demetrius* very curteously: but afterwardes he prayed him to deliuer him CILICIA again, for a summe of money that he offered him: but *Demetrius* plainly denied him. Then did *Seleucus* shew a cruell and tyrannicall couetousnes: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenaunce he asked him the cities of TYR, and SIDON. But therein me thinks he lacked honestie and ciuilitie: as though he that had vnder his obedience and subiection all that which lay betwixt the INDIANS, and the sea of SYRIA, was in such neede and pouertie: that for two cities only, he should driue his father in law from him, who had sustained so hard and bitter chaunge. But thereby he rightly confirmed *Platoes* saying: that he that will be rich in deede, must endeuour himselfe not to increase his riches, but rather to diminish his couetousnesse. For he shall neuer be but a begger, and needy, whose couetous desire hath no end. This notwithstanding, *Demetrius* yeelded not for feare, but prouided to repleniſh the cities with good garrisons to keepe them against him: saying, that though he had bene ouercome ten thousand times more in battell, yet it should neuer sincke into his head that he should be contented, and thinke himselfe happy to buy *Seleucus* allyance so deare. On the other side, being aduertised that one *Lachares* hauing spied oportunitie when the ATHENIANS were in ciuill warres one against the other, and that he had ouercome them, and did tyrannically vsurpe the gouernement: he then perswaded himselfe that he might easely winne it againe, if he came thither vpon the sodaine. Thereupon he crossed the seas with a great fleete of shippes, without any daunger: but he had such a great storme and tempest vpon the coast of ATTICA, that he lost the most part of his shippes, and a great number of men besides. But for himselfe he scaped, and began to make a litle warre with the ATHENIANS. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but lost his time: he sent some of his men to gather a number of his ships againe together, & he himselfe in the meane time went into PELOPONNESVS, to lay siege to the citie of MESENA, where his person was in great daunger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blow with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ranne through his cheeke. Notwithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subiection againe, certaine townes that had rebelled against him. After that, he returned again into ATTICA, & tooke the cities of ELEVSIN, and of RHAMNVS: & then spoyled all the country, & tooke a ship fraught with corne, & hong vp the marchaunt that ought it; & the maister of the ship that brought it. Thereby to terrifie all other marchaunts, that they should be affrayed to bring any more corne thither, & so to famish the citie, by keeping them from all things necessarie for their sustenance: and so it happened. For a bushell of salt was sold at ATHENS for fortie siluer Drachmas, and the bushell of wheate for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreme necessitie, the ATHENIANS had but a short ioy for the hundred and fiftie gallies they saw neare vnto ÆGINA, the which *Ptolomie* sent to aide them. For when the souldiers that were in them saw that they brought vnto *Demetrius* a great number of ships out of PELOPONNESVS, out of CYPRVS, & diuers other parts, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred sayle: they weyed their anckers, and fled presently. Then *Lachares* forsooke the city, and secretly saued himselfe. Now the ATHENIANS, who before had commaunded vpon paine of death, that no man should make any motion to the councell, to treate of any peace with *Demetrius*: they did then vpon *Lachares* flying, presently open the gates next vnto *Demetrius* campe, and sent Ambassadours vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but because necessitie draue them to it. During this so hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderfull and straunge things: but among

Seleucus marieth Stratonice, Demetrius daughter.

The death of Deidamia Demetrius wife.

Demetrius marieth Ptolemæide, Ptolomies daughter.

Diſſention betwixt Demetrius and Seleucus.

Platoes saying of riches.

Demetrius iorney against the Athenians.

The Athenians do yeeld vnto Demetrius.

among others, this one is of speciall note. It is reported that the father and the sonne sitting in their house, voyde of all hope of life: there fell a dead rat before them from the toppe of the house, and that the father and sonne fought who should haue it to eate, Moreouer, that at the selfe same siege the Philosopher *Epicurus* maintained himselfe and his schollers, by giuing them a proportion of beanes euery day, by the which they liued. Thus the citie of ATHENS being brought vnto this extremitie, *Demetrius* made his entrie into it, and gaue commaundement to all the citizens, that they should assemble euery man within the Theater: where he made them to be compassed in with armed souldiers, and then placed all his gard armed about the stage. After wardes he came downe himselfe into the Theater, through high galleries and entries by the which the common players vsed to come to play their partes in tragedies, in somuch as the ATHENIANS were then worse affrayed then before: howbeit *Demetrius* presently pacified their feare, as soone as he began to speake vnto them. For he did not fashion his oration with a hastie angry voyce, neither did he vse any sharpe or bitter wordes: but onely after he had curteously told them their faultes and discurtesie towardes him, he sayd he forgaue them, and that he would be their friend againe: and furthermore, he caused ten millions of bushels of wheate to be giuen vnto them, and stablished such Gouernours there, as the people misliked not of. Then *Democles* the Orator, seeing that the people gaue out great shoutes of ioy in the prayse of *Demetrius*, & that the Orators dayly contended in the pulpit for orations, who should exceede other in preferring new honors for *Demetrius*: he caused an order to be made, that the haues of PIRÆVS & MVNYCHIA should be put into *Demetrius* hãds, to vse at his pleasure. This being stablished by voyces of the people, *Demetrius* of his owne priuate authoritie did place a great garrison within the forte called MVSÆVM, because the people should rebell no more against him, nor diuert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken ATHENS, he went to set vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Archidamus* king of LACEDÆMON, came against him with a puissant army, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the citie of MANTINEA. After that he inuaded LACONIA with all his army, & made an inrode to the citie of SPARTA, where he once againe ouerthrew the LACEDEMONIANS in set battell, tooke fiue hundred of them prisoners, and slue two hundred: in somuch that euery man thought he might euen then go to SPARTA without any daunger to take it, the which had neuer yet bene taken afore by any. But there was neuer king that had so often and sodaine chaunges of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affaires was euer so often lifte, and then great: so sodainly downe, and vp againe: so weake, and straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great aduersities whē fortune turned so cōtrary against him, he was wont to cry out vpon fortune, that which *AEschylus* speaketh in a place:

Thou seemst to haue begotton me, of purpose for to show
Thy force in lifting of me vp, me downe againe to throw.

Now againe when his affaires prospered so well, and that he was likely to recouer a great force and kingdome: newes were brought him, first that *Lysimachus* had taken all his townes from him, which he held in ASIA: and on the other side, that *Ptolomie* had won from him all the realme of CYPRVS, the citie of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very straightly besieged. This notwithstanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman *Archilochus* speaketh of, who,

Did in the one hand water show,
And in the other fire bestow.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the citie of SPARTA also out of his handes by these dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to haue won it: she presently offered him hopes of other great and new things, by this occasion following. After the death of *Cassander*, *Philip* who was the eldest of all his other sonnes, and left his heire and successour in the kingdome of MACEDON: he reigned no long time ouer the MACEDONIANS, but deceased soone after his father was dead. The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and warres together: so that the one called *Antipater*, slue his owne mother *Thessalonica*: and the other being *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius*, and *Pyrrhus*, the one out of the realme of EPIRVS, and the other out of PELOPONNESVS. *Pyrrhus* came first before *Demetrius*, and kept a great

A rare deuise of Epicurus, at the straight siege of Athens, to keepe his schollers aliue with beanes.

Demetrius clemencie vnto the Athenians.

Demetrius iourney against the Lacedamonians.

Demetrius variable fortune.

Demetrius misfortunes.

Great dissention and striue for the realme of Macedon, after the death of Cassander. Antipater and Alexander, the sonnes of Cassander.

part of MACEDON for recompence of his paynes, comming to aide him at his desire: so that he became a dreadfull neighbour vnto *Alexander* himself, that had sent for him into his country. Furthermore, when he was aduertised that *Demetrius* did presently vpon the receite of his letters, set forward with all his armie to come to ayde him: the young Prince *Alexander*, was twise as much more amazed and affrayed, for the great estate and estimation of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithstanding, and receiued him at a place called *Deion*, and there imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were now in so good state, that praysed be the goddes he should not now neede his presence to aide him. After these wordes the one began to mistrust the other. So it chaunced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexanders* lodging where the feast was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he should thinke to be merie at the banket. But *Demetrius* was nothing abashed at the newes, and onely went a litle softlier, not making such hast as he did before, and in the meane time sent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to haue them in readinesse: and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many then those of *Alexanders* side) euery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he rose from the table. By this meanes the men whom *Alexander* had appointed to assault him, they durst not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* fayning that he was not well at ease at that time to make merie, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleeue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importance: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no longer keepe him companie, for that he was driuen of necessitie to depart from him, and that an other time they would meete together, with better leasure and libertie. *Alexander* was very glad to see that *Demetrius* went his way out of MACEDON not offended, but of his owne good will: whereupon he brought him into THESSALY, and when they were come to the citie of LARISSA, they began againe to feast one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered *Demetrius* occasion to haue *Alexander* in his hand, as he would wish himselfe. For *Alexander* of purpose would not haue his gard about him fearing least thereby he should teach *Demetrius* also to stand vpon his gard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practise for an other, vpon himselfe: for he was determined not to suffer *Demetrius* to scape his handes, if he once againe came within daunger. So *Alexander* being bidden to supper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* rising from the bord in the middest of supper, *Alexander* rose also, being affrayed of that straunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the very doore. Then *Demetrius* sayd but to his warders at the gate, kill him that followeth me. With those wordes he went out of the doores, and *Alexander* that followed him was slaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him sayd, that *Demetrius* had preuented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of vprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the MACEDONIANS being maruellously troubled and affrayed of *Demetrius* great power, whē they saw that no man came to assaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrary maner sent vnto them to tell them that he would speake with them, and deliuer them reason for that he had done: then they all began to be bold againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Now *Demetrius* needed not to vse many wordes, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto him: for, because they hated *Antipater* as a horrible māqueller and murtherer of his mother, and because they had no better man to preferre, they easily chose *Demetrius* king of MACEDON, and thereupon brought him backe into MACEDON, to take possession of the kingdome. This chaunge was not misliked of the other MACEDONIANS that remained at home in their country, for that they yet remembred the traiterours and wicked fact of *Cassander*, against *Alexander* the great: for which cause they vtterly hated & detested all his issue and posteritie. And furthermore, if there were any sparke of remembrance in their harts, of the bounty and goodnesse of their grandfather *Antipater*: *Demetrius* receiued the fruite and benefit, for his wife *Philaes* sake, by whom he had a sonne that should succeede him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. *Demetrius* hauing this great good happe and fortune come vnto

Demetrius inuaded Macedon.

Wyles betwixt Alexander & Demetrius.

Demetrius killeth Alexāder the sonne of Cassander.

Demetrius proclaymed king of Macedon.

vnto him, he receiued newes also that *Ptolomy* had not onely raised his siege from the citie of SALAMINA, where he kept his mother and children straightly besieged: but further, that he had done them great honour, and bestowed great giftes vpon them. On the other side also he was aduertised, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before bene maried vnto *Seleucus*, was now maried againe vnto *Antiochus*, the sonne of the sayd *Seleucus*, and how that she was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high prouinces of ASIA: and that came to passe in this maner. It chaunced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as loue ouercometh all men) became in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who already had a sonne by *Seleucus* his father. She being young, & passing fayre, he was so rauished with her, that though he proued all the wayes possible to maister his furie and passion that way: yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning himselfe to death because he found his desire abhominable, his passion incurable, and his reason vtterly ouercome: he resolued to kill himselfe by litle and litle, with abstinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedy his griefe, faining to haue some secret inward disease in his body. Yet could he not so finely cloke it, but that *Erasistratus* the Phisitian easily found his griefe, that loue, not sickenesse, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. *Erasistratus* being earnestly bent to finde out the partie he loued, he sat by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any fayre young boy or wife came to see him, he earnestly looked *Antiochus* in the face, and carefully obserued all the partes of the body, and outward mouings, which do commonly bewray the secret passions & affections of the minde. So hauing marked him diuers times, that when others came to see him, what soeuer they were, he still remained in one selfe state, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in law came alone or in company of her husband *Seleucus* to visite him, he commonly perceiued those signes in him, which *Sappho* writeth to be in louers (to wit, that his wordes & speach did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes still rowled to & fro, and then a sodaine sweat would take him, his pulse would beate fast and rise high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, and shewed all these signes, he became like a man in an extasie and traunse, & white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true coniecture by these so manifest signes and declarations, that it was onely *Stratonice* whom this young Prince fansied, and the which he forced himselfe to keepe secret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him much, but yet trusting to his great affection & fatherly loue he bare to his sonne, he ventured one day to tell him, that his sonnes sickenesse was no other but loue, and withall, that his loue was impossible to be enioyed, and therefore that he must of necessitie dye, for it was incurable. *Seleucus* was cold at the hart to heare these newes: so he asked him, what, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, answered the Phisitian, because he is in loue with my wife. Then replied *Seleucus* againe, alas *Erasistratus*, I haue alwayes loued thee as one of my deerest friends, and wouldest thou not now do me this pleasure, to let my sonne marry thy wife, sith thou knowest it well that I haue no mo sonnes but he, and that I see he is but cast away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not do it your selfe, sayd *Erasistratus*: if he were in loue with *Stratonice*. O, sayd *Seleucus* to him againe, that it were the will of the gods, some god or man could turne his loue that way: for mine owne part, I would not onely leaue him the thing he loued, but I would giue my kingdome also to saue his life. Thē *Erasistratus* seeing that the king spake these wordes frō his hart, and with abundance of teares he tooke him by the right hand, and told him plainly, your grace needeth not *Erasistratus* helpe in this. For being father, husband, and king, your selfe also may onely be the Phisitian, to cure your sonnes disease. When *Seleucus* heard that, he called an assemblie of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to crown his sonne *Antiochus* king of the high prouinces of ASIA, & *Stratonice* Queene, to marry them together: and that he was perswaded that his sonne, (who had alwayes shewed himselfe obedient to his fathers will) would not disobey him in this mariage. And as for *Stratonice*, if she misliked this mariage, and would not consent vnto it because it was no common matter: then he prayed that his friends would perswade her she should thinke all good & comely that should please the king; and withall that concerned the generall benefit of the realme and common wealth. Hereupon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were married together. But now to returne

Antiochus, the sonne of Seleucus maried his mother in law Stratonice, with his fathers good will.

Erasistratus Phisitian to Seleucus.

Erasistratus the Phisitians care, to finde out the young Prince Antiochus loue.

Sappho describeth the signes and tokens of a passioned louer.

Seleucus loue vnto his sonne Antiochus.

again to the history of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the kingdome of MACEDON & THESSALIE, by this meanes as you haue heard, and did moreouer possesse the best part of PELOPONNESVS, and on this side the straight, the cities of MEGARA, & ATHENS. Furthermore he led his army against the BOEOTIANS, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA was come into the citie of THEBES with his army, the BOEOTIANS encouraged by the faire words & allurement of one *Pisis*, borne in the city of THESPIS, who at that time bare all the sway & chiefe authoritie amongst them: they gaue vp their treaty of peace they had begun with *Demetrius* & determined to make warre. Therupon *Demetrius* wēt to besiege the city of THEBES, & layd his engines of battery vnto it: in somuch as *Cleonymus* for feare, stale secretly out of the citie. Thereupon the THEBANS being also afrayed, yeelded themselues vnto *Demetrius* mercy: who putting great garrisons into the cities, & hauing leauied a great summe of money of the prouince, left them *Hieronymus* the historiographer, his Lieutenant & Gouernour there. So it appeared that he vsed them very curteously, & did them many pleasures, and specially vnto *Pisis*. For when he had taken him prisoner, he did him no hurt, but receiued him very curteously, and vsed him well: and furthermore, he made him Polemarchus, (to wit, campe maister) in the city of THESPIS. Shortly after these things were thus brought to passe, king *Lysimachus* by chaunce was taken by an other barbarous Prince called *Dromichetes*. Thereupon, *Demetrius*, to take such a noble occasion offred him, went with a great army to inuade the coūtry of THRACIA, supposing he should find no man to withstand him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soone as *Demetrius* backe was turned, the BOEOTIANS reuolted again from him, & therwithall newes was brought him, that *Lysimachus* was deliuered out of prison. Then he returned backe with all speede, maruellously offended with the BOEOTIANS, whom he found already discomfited in battell, by his sonne *Antigonus*, & went againe to lay siege to the citie of THEBES, being the chiefe city of all that prouince of BOEOTIA. But at that present time, *Pyrrhus* came & forraged all THESSALIE, and entred euen to the straight of THERMOPILES. Therfore *Demetrius* was constrained to leaue his sonne to continue the siege at THEBES, whilest he himselfe went against *Pyrrhus*, who sodainly returned againe into his realme. So *Demetrius* left ten thousand footemen, & a thousand horsemen in THESSALY to defend the country, & returned with the rest of his army to win THEBES. Thereupon he brought his great engine of batterie called Elepolis, against the wall, as you haue heard before, the which was thrust forward by litle and litle, with great labour, by reason of the waight & heauines of it: so that it could scant be driue forward two furlongs in two months. But the BOEOTIANS & the THEBANS did valiātly defend themselues: and *Demetrius* of a malitious minde and desire of reuenge, (more oftner then needefull, or to any purpose) compelled his men to go to the assault, and to hazard themselues: so that there were daily a great number of them slaine. *Antigonus* his sonne perceiuing it: alas, sayd he, why do we thus suffer our men to be slaine and cast away to no purpose? Wherefore *Demetrius* angrily aunswered him againe: what needest thou to care? Is there any* corne to be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, because men should not thinke he still meant to put others in daunger, and durst not venture himselfe: he fought with them, till at length he was shot through the necke with a sharpe arrow head, that was shot at him from the wall. Wherewithall he fell very sicke, but yet raised not his siege, nor remoued his campe, but tooke the citie of THEBES againe by assault: the which being not long before againe replenished with people, was in ten yeares space twise won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a maruellous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his cōming into THEBES: so that they looked to haue receiued the extremest punishment the vanquished could haue, through the iust wrath and anger of the conquerour. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirteen of them to death, and banished some: he pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia, in the honour of *Apollo*: and because the ÆTOLIANS kept all the high wayes to bring them vnto the city of DELPHAS in the which of old time they did vse to celebrate those sports aforesaid: he caused them to be kept and solemnised at ATHENS as in a place where this god in reason should be best honored & reuerenced, because he was patrone of the citie, and for that the ATHENIANS maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned

The citie of Thebes yeelded vnto Demetrius.

Hieronymus the historiographer, Demetrius Lieutenaunt.

**Corne monethly distributed to the souldiers, as their wages.*

returned into MACEDON, & knowing that it was againſt his nature to liue idlely, & in peace, & ſeing on the other ſide alſo that the MACEDONIANS did him more ſeruice, & were more obediēt to him in warres, & that in time of peace they grew ſeditious, full of vanity & quarell: he went to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, & after he had ſpoiled & deſtroyed their country, he left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. *Demetrius* himſelfe went in the meane time with the reſt of his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: and *Pyrrhus* alſo againſt him, but they miſſed of meeting ech with other. Wherupon *Demetrius* paſſed further vnto the realme of EPIRVS, the which he ſpoiled & forraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other ſide went on ſo farre that he met with *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* Lieutenant with whom he fought a battell, & came to the ſword with him: ſo that he did both hurt him, and was alſo hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus* had the vpper hand, he put *Pantauchus* to flight, & ſlue a great number of his men, & tooke fiue thouſand priſoners: the which was the chiefe ouerthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* wan not the MACEDONIANS ill will ſo much for the miſchieues & hurts he had done vnto thē, as he got himſelfe great fame & renowne with thē, becauſe himſelfe alone had with his own hands done all the noble exploits of warre in that iourney: for the which, he was afterwardes had in great eſtimation among the MACEDONIANS. Now many of them began to ſay, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the liuely image of the hardines & valiantnes of *Alexander* the great was to be ſeene: and that all the reſt, (but ſpecially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeit his grauitie and Princely countenaunce, like players vpon a ſtage that would counterfeit his countenance & geſture. And to ſay truly, there was much fineneſſe and curioſity about *Demetrius*, to make him a playing ſtocke in cōmon playes. For ſome ſay, that he did not only weare a great hat with his diademe vpon his head, & was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but alſo that he did vſe to weare certaine wollen ſhooes on his feete died in purple colour, not wouen, but faſhioned together like a felt, & gild vpon it. And furthermore, he had long before cauſed a cloke to be made of a maruellous rich & ſumptuous peece of worke. For vpon it was drawen the figure of the world, with ſtarres and circles of heauen, the which was not throughly finiſhed by the chaunge of his fortune. So, there was neuer king of MACEDON after him that durſt weare it: albeit there were many proud and arrogant kings that ſucceeded him. Now the MACEDONIANS were not onely ſory, and offended to ſee ſuch things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more miſliked this curious maner of life, & ſpecially becauſe he was ill to come to, and worſe to be ſpoken with. For he gaue no audiēce, or if he did, he was very rough, & would ſharply take them vp that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambaſſadors of the ATHENIANS two yeares, & would geue thē no anſwere: & yet made as though he loued them better, then any other people of GREECE. An other time alſo he was offended, becauſe the LACEDÆMONIANS had ſent but one mā only Ambaſſador vnto him, taking it that they had done it in deſpight of him. And ſo did the Ambaſſador of the LACEDÆMONIANS anſwer him very gallātly, after the LACONIAN maner. For whē *Demetrius* asked him, how chaūceth it that the LACEDÆMONIANS do ſend but one man vnto me? No more but one, ſaid he, O king, vnto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly & popular like, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the eaſilier ſpeake with him, and that he would more curteouſly heare their complaints. Thereupon many came, and put vp their humble ſupplications and bils of petition vnto him. He receiued them, & put them vp in the lappe of his cloke. The poore ſuters were glad of that, and waited vpon him at his heeles, hoping they ſhould quickely be diſpatched: but when he was vpon the bridge of the riuer of Axius, he opened his cloke, & caſt them all into the riuer. This went to the harts of the MACEDONIANS, who then thought they were no more gouerned by a king, but oppreſſed by a tyrant. & it grieued them ſo much more, becauſe they did yet remember (either for that they had ſeene themſelues, or otherwiſe heard their forefathers ſay) how courteous king *Philip* was in all ſuch matters, and how that one day as he paſſed through the ſtreete, a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftſoones humbly beſought him to heare her, but he anſwered her he was not then at leaſure. Wherupon the poore woman plainly cried out to him, leatie then to be king. This word ſo nettled him, and he tooke ſuch a conceit of it, that he returned preſently to his pallace, and ſetting all other matters a part, did no-

Demetrius iorney againſt Pyrrhus.

Demetrius inſolencie.

Demetrius cloke drawen with the figure of the world, and ſtarres.

The plaine anſwere of the Ambaſſador of Sparta, vnto Demetrius.

Axius ſt.

The prayſe of king Philips curteſie.

The bold ſpeach of a poore woman to king Philip.

The chiefest office of a king.

thing elſe many dayes but gaue himſelfe to heare all ſuites, and began with this poore old woman. For truly nothing becommeth a Prince better, thē to miniſter iuſtice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* ſaith) ſignifieth force, & is a tyrant: but iuſtice & law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queene of all the world. Moreouer, the wiſe Poet *Homer* ſaith not that Princes and Kings haue receiued the cuſtody of engines, & of munitiō, neither alſo ſtrōg & mighty ſhips of *Iupiter*, to keepe thē to deſtroy townes withall: but with them to maintaine law & iuſtice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell & bloudy king, but the iuſt and mercifull Prince, *Iupiters* friend & ſcholler. And *Demetrius* boaſted that he had a name & title contrary vnto *Iupiter*, whom they called *Polieus*, or *Poliouchos*, ſignifying protector and preſeruer of cities: and that he was called *Poliorcetes*, a Fortgainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, & vice preferred for vertue: becauſe he could not diſcerne the truth frō falſehood, which turned his iniuſtice to glory, & iniquity to honour.

Demetrius called a Fortgainer.

But now to returne where we left: *Demetrius* fell into a great & daungerous ſickeneſſe in the citie of PELLA, during which time he almoſt loſt all MACEDON, by a ſodaine inuaſion *Pyrrhus* made, who in maner rode it all ouer, & came as farre as the city of EDESSA. Howbeit ſo ſoone as he recouered health again, he eaſily draue him out, & afterwardes made peace with him, becauſe he would not fighting with him (whō he ſhould haue daily at his doores ſtil skirmiſhing ſometime here, ſometime there) loſe the oportunity, and weaken himſelf to bring that to paſſe which he had determined. For he had no ſmall matters in his head, but thought to recouer all the realmes his father had: and beſides, the preparation he made was no leſſe ſufficiēt, then the purpoſe of ſuch an imagination required. For he had leauied & aſſembled an army of a hūdred thouſand footemen, lacking but two thouſand: and vnto them he had alſo well neare twelue thouſand horſemen, and had beſides gotten aboue fiue hundred ſhippes together, which were built part in the hauen of PIRÆVS, part at CORINTH, part in the city of CHALCIS, and part about PELLA. He himſelfe in perſon went through their workehouſes, & ſhewed the artificers how they ſhould make them, & did helpe to deuiſe them: ſo that euery man wondred not only at his infinite preparation, but at the greatnes & ſumptuouſnes of his workes. For at that time there was no man liuing that euer ſaw a gally of fifteen or ſixteen bankes of owers. But this is true, that afterwardes *Ptolomie*, ſurnamed *Philopator*, built a gally of forty bankes of owers, the which was two hundred foure ſcore cubits long, & from the keele in height to the top of the poope, eight & forty cubits: & to looke to the tackle & guide her, required foure hundred mariners, & foure thouſand water men to row her, & beſides all that ſhe could yet cary aboue the hatches, well neare three thouſand fighting mē. Howbeit this gally neuer ſerued to other purpoſe but for ſhew, & was like to a houſe that neuer ſturred: & it was neuer remoued out of the place where it was built but with maruellous a do, & great daūger, more to make men wōder at it, then for any ſeruice or commodity it could be imployed vnto. But now, the beauty of *Demetrius* ſhips did nothing hinder their ſwiftneſſe & goodnes for fight, neither did the hugenes of their building take away the vſe of them, but their ſwiftneſſe and nimblenes deſerued more commendation, then their ſumptuouſnes & ſtatelineſſe. Thus as this great power & preparation was in hand, being ſuch as neuer king before (ſince the time of *Alexander* the great) had aſſembled a greater to inuade ASIA: theſe three kings, *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lyſimachus*, did all ioyne together againſt him. And afterwardes alſo they ſent Ambaſſadours vnto *Pyrrhus* in the name of thē all, to draw him to their ſide, alluring him to come into MACEDON, perſwading him not to repoſe any truſt in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make account of it as a good & ſure place: for, they ſaid that *Demetrius* did not giue him pledge that he would neuer make warre with him, but rather firſt tooke oportunity himſelf to make warre with whō he thought good. *Pyrrhus* conſidering ſo much, & finding their words true, there roſe a ſharpe & cruell warre on euery ſide againſt *Demetrius*, who tracted time, & ſtayed yet to begin. For at one ſelfe time, *Ptolomie* with a great fleete of ſhippes came downe into GREECE, and made all GREECE reuoult frō him: & *Lyſimachus* alſo on THRACIANS ſide, & *Pyrrhus* vpon the borders of EPIRVS, cōfining with the realme of MACEDON, they entred with a great army, & ſpoyled and ſacked all as they went. Thereupon *Demetrius* leauing his ſonne *Antigonus* in GREECE, he returned with all poſſible ſpeed into MACEDON, to go firſt againſt *Lyſimachus*. But as he was preparing to go againſt him, newes were brought him that *Pyrrhus* had already taken the city of

Demetrius armie & preparation for the recouering of his realme againe.

Ptolomies wōderfull galley of forty bankes of owers.

Three kings Seleucus, Ptolomie, and Lyſimachus conſpired againſt Demetrius.

in Berrhoea. This newes being blowen abroad amõgst the Macedonians, all *Demetrius* affaires were turned topsie turuey. For all his campe was straight full of teares & complaints, & his men begã openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him, & that they would tary no lõger, but euery one prayed leaue to depart, pretending to looke to their businesse at home, but in truth to go & yeeld themselues vnto *Lysimachus*. Wherfore *Demetrius* thought it best for him to get him as farre from *Lysimachus* as he could, and to bend all his army against *Pyrrhus*: because the other was their coũtry man, & familiarly knowen amõg the most of them, for that they had serued together vnder *Alexander* the great, and that as he thought, the Macedonians would not preferre *Pyrrhus* a strãger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him. For as soone as *Pyrrhus* had pitched his campe hard by him, the Macedonians that had euer loued valiantnesse, and had of ancient time esteemed him worthier to be king, that was the best souldier and valianteſt in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency & curtesie he had shewed to the prisoners he had taken: they hauing had good will of long time sought but good occasion to forsake *Demetrius*, and to yeeld them selues vnto *Pyrrhus*, or to any other Prince whatsoeuer he were. Then they secretly began to *Demetrius armie forsaketh him, and goeth to Pyrrhus.* stale away one after an other, by small companies at the first: but afterwardes there rose such a generall tumult against him throughout all the campe, that some of thẽ were so desperat to go to his tent to bid him flie, and saue himselfe, because the Macedonians were too weary with fighting for his curiositie. And yet *Demetrius* found these words more gentle, & modest, in respect of the vile & cruell words which others gaue him. So he went into his tent, & cast a darke cloke about his face, in stead of his rich and stately cloke he was wont to weare: not like vnto a king, but like a cõmon player when the play is done, & then secretly stale away. When it was knowen in the campe, many of his souldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and euery man tooke such hold of it to haue his part, that they tare it in peeces, and drew their swords to fight for it. But *Pyrrhus* cõming in the middest of the tumult, pacified this sturre, & presently without blow giuẽ, wan all *Demetrius* campe: & afterwardes he deuided the realme of Macedon with *Lysimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly raigned the space of seuen yeares. Now *Demetrius* being thus miserably ouerthrowẽ, & turned out of his realme: he fled vnto the citie of Cassandria. There he found his wife *Phila*, who tooke it maruellous heauily, and could not abide to see him againe a priuate man, driuen out of his kingdome, and the most miserable liuing that euer was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, and detesting the fortune of her husband: she being more constant in calamitie then in prosperitie, killed her selfe with poyson she tooke. *Demetrius* went from thence into Greece, purposing to *Phila, Demetrius wife poysoneth her self.* gather together the rest of his shipwrackes: and there assembled all his Captaines and friendes that he had. So it seemeth to me, the comparison *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of *Sophocles*, in these verses:

Demetrius straunge fortune.

My state doth turne continually about on fortunes wheele,
Whose double dealing diuers times inforst I am to feele:
Resembling right the moone whose face abideth at no stay
Two nights together, but doth chaunge in shape from day to day:
At first she riseth small with hornes. And as in age she growes,
With fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face she shewes.
And when she commeth to the full, and shineth fayre and bright,
Among the goodly glistring starres the goodlyest in the night:
She fades and falles away againe, and runnes a counterpace,
Vntill she haue forgone the light and figure of her face.

This comparison might I say much better be applied vnto *Demetrius* fortune, to his rising & falling, and to his ouerthrow and reliefe againe. For when euery man thought his force & power vtterly ouerthrowen, then began he to rise againe by repayre of souldiers, which little and little came vnto him, and straight reuiued him with good hope. This was the first time that he was euer seene meanely apparelled, like a priuate man vp and downe the country, without some shew or tokens of a king. And there was one that seeing him in this estate at Thebes, pleasauntly applied these verses of *Euripides* vnto him:

Demetrius miserie from Princely happinesse.

Of god immortall, now become a mortall wight:
Ismenus bankes and Dirces streames he haunteth in our sight.

Now when he began to haue some hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of kings, and had gotten souldiers about him, which made a body and shew of royall power: he restored the THEBANS their libertie and gouernement againe. But the ATHENIANS once more reuolted from him, and did reuoke the dignitie and Priesthood of *Diphilus*, who had bene that yeare created Priest of the sauiours, in stead of the Gouernour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we haue told you before: and made a law, that from thenceforth the auncient and common Gouernours of their citie should be restored againe to their auncient manner: and they sent also into MACEDON vnto king *Pyrrhus*, rather to terrifie *Demetrius* (whom they saw begin to rise againe) then for any hope they had he would come and helpe them. Howbeit *Demetrius* came against them with great furie, and did straightly besiege the citie of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS sent *Crates* the Philosopher to him, a man of great estimation and authoritie, who so handled him, partly by intreatie, and partly also through his wise perswasions and counsels he gaue him for his profit: that *Demetrius* presently raised his siege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together so many shippes as were left him, and had imbarked twelue thousand footemen, and a small number of horsemen: he presently tooke sea, and sailed towardes ASIA, meaning to take the prouinces of CARIA & LYDIA from *Lysimachus*, and to make them to rebell against him. There *Eurydice*, sister to his wife *Phila*, receiued him by the citie of MILETVM, hauing with her one of *Ptolomyes* daughters and hers, called *Ptolemæide*, the which had bene afore affianced to him by *Seleucus* meanes. So he maried *Ptolemæide* there, with the good will and consent of her mother *Eurydice*. After his mariage he presently went into the field againe, and did set forwardes to winne some cities, whereof many willingly receiued him, and others he tooke by force. Amongst them he tooke the city of SARDIS, whither came diuers Captaines vnto him of king *Lysimachus*, who yeelded themselues, and brought him a great number of men, and much money besides. But *Demetrius* receiuing aduertisement that *Agathocles*, *Lysimachus* sonne, followed him with a great army: he went thence into PHRYGIA, making account, and also hoping, that if he could winne ARMENIA, he might easily make MEDIA rebell, and then that he would see if he could conquer the high prouinces of ASIA, where he might haue many places of refuge, if fortune turned against him. *Agathocles* followed him very neare, and yet skirmishing diuers times with him, *Demetrius* alway had the better: howbeit *Agathocles* did cut off his victuals from him euery way and kept him at such a straight, that his mē durst no more stray from the campe to forrage: wherefore, they susteined great want of victuals, and then began his men to be affrayed, and to mistrust that he would make them follow him into ARMENIA and MEDIA. The famine dayly increased more and more in his army, and it chaunced besides, that missing his way, and failing to gage the forde well as he passed ouer the riuer of Lycus, the furie and force of the riuer caried his men downe the streame, and drowned a great number of them: and yet notwithstanding these great troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entry and comming into his tent, the first verse of the tragedie of *Oedipus* COLONIAN, written by *Sophocles*, chaunging onely, some word.

Crates the Philosopher deliuereth Athens from Demetrius siege.

Demetrius maried Ptolemaide.

Demetrius troubles in Asia.

Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus.
To what a point hast thou now caried vs?

But in the end, the plague began also in the middest of this famine, (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessitie, it should so be) becausse that men being driuen to neede and necessitie, do frame themselues to eate all that comes to hand: whereupon he was driuen to bring backe those few men that remained, hauing lost of all sortes (good and bad) not so few as eight thousand fully told. When he came into the prouince of TARSVS, he commaunded his men in no case to meddle with any thing, becausse the country was subiect vnto king *Seleucus*, whom he would in no wise displeasse. But when he saw it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to such extremitie and neede, & that *Agathocles* had bard vp the straights and passages of mount Taurus against him: he wrote a letter vnto *Seleucus*, first declaring his miserable state and hard fortune, and then presenting his humble petition and request vnto him,

Plague, by ill meate.

Demetrius famine.

him, praying him to take pitie vpō his friend, whom ſpightfull fortune had throwen into ſuch miſerie & calamitie, that could not but moue his greateſt enemies to haue compaſsion of him. Theſe letters ſomewhat ſoftened *Seleucus* hart, in ſomuch that he wrote to his Gouernours & Lieutenants of thoſe parts, to furniſh *Demetrius* perſon with all things needefull for a Princes houſe, & victuals ſufficient to maintaine his men. But one *Patrocles*, a graue wiſe man accounted, and *Seleucus* faithfull friend alſo, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine *Demetrius* ſouldiers, was not the greateſt fault he made therin, & moſt to be accounted of: but that he did not wiſely looke into his affaires, to ſuffer *Demetrius* to remaine in his country, conſidering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterpriſe any matters of great importāce, & now he was brought to ſuch deſpaire & extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowardes (contrary to their nature) to be moſt deſperat and hardy in greateſt daungers. *Seleucus* being moued with theſe perſwaſions, preſently tooke his iourney into CILICIA with a great army. *Demetrius* being aſtonied with this ſodaine chaunge, and dreading ſo great an army, got him to the ſtrongeſt places of mount Taurus. Then he ſent vnto *Seleucus*, firſt of all to pray him to ſuffer him to conquer certain barbarous people there abouts, who liued according to their owne lawes, and neuer had king: to the end that he might yet there with ſafetie end the reſt of his life and exile, ſtaying at length in ſome place where he might be ſafe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it would yet pleaſe him to victuall his men for the winter time onely, in the ſame place where they were, and not to be ſo hard harted vnto him as to driue him thence, lacking all needefull things, and ſo to put him into the mouth of his moſt cruell and mortall enemies. But *Seleucus* miſtruſting his demands, ſent vnto him that he ſhould winter if he thought good, two monethes, but no more, in the country of CATAONIA, ſo he gaue him the chiefeſt of his friends for hoſtages: howbeit in the meane time he ſtopped vp all the wayes and paſſages going from thence into SYRIA. *Demetrius* now ſeeing himſelf kept in of all ſides, like a beaſt to be taken in the toyle: he was driuē to truſt to his own ſtrength. Therupō he ouerranne the countrey there abouts, & as oftē as it was his chaunce to haue any skirmiſh or conflict with *Seleucus*, he had euer the better of him: and ſometime alſo when they draue the armed cartes with ſithes againſt him, he ouercame them, & put the reſt to flight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the paſſages to keepe him that he ſhould not go into SYRIA, and ſo kept them himſelfe. In fine, finding his mens harts lift vp againe, & pretily encouraged: his hart alſo grew ſo bigge, that he determined to fight a battel with *Seleucus*, and to ſet all at ſix and ſeuen. So that *Seleucus* was at a ſtraight with himſelfe, and wiſt not what to do. For he had returned backe the ayde which *Lyſimachus* ſent vnto him, becauſe he was affrayed of him, and miſtruſted him. On the other ſide alſo he durſt not fight with *Demetrius* alone, being affrayed to venture himſelf with a deſperate man: and alſo miſtruſting much his vnconſtant fortune, the which hauing brought him to great extremitie, raiſed him vp againe to great proſperitie. But in the meane ſpace *Demetrius* fell into a great ſickeneſſe, the which brought his body very weake & low, and had almoſt vtterly ouerthrowen his affaires. For his ſouldiers, ſome of them yeelded themſelues to his enemies, and others ſtale away without leaue, and went where they liſted. Afterwardes when he had hardly recouered his health, and within forty dayes ſpace was pretily growen to ſtrength againe: with thoſe few ſouldiers that remained with him, he ſeemed to his enemies, that he would go and inuade CILICIA. But then ſodainly in the night without ſounding any trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went an other way: and hauing paſſed ouer mount Amanus, he ſpoyled all the countrey vnder it, as farre as the region of CYRRESTICA. But *Seleucus* followed him, and camped hard by him. Therupon *Demetrius* ſodainly armed his men, and went out by night to aſſault *Seleucus*, & to take him ſleeping when he miſtruſted nothing. So that *Seleucus* knew nothing of his ſtealing on him but late enough, vntill that certaine traitours of *Demetrius* campe that fled before, went quickly to aduertiſe him finding him a ſleepe, and brought him newes of the daunger he was in. Then *Seleucus* in a maze and feare withall, got vp, and ſounded the alarme: and as he was putting on his hoſe and making him ready he cryed out, (ſpeaking to his friendes and familiars about him) we haue now a cruell and daungerous beaſt to deale with. *Demetrius* on the other ſide perceiuing by the great ſturre & noyſe

Patrocles ſtirreth vp Seleucus againſt Demetrius.

Deſperate men are not to be fought with.

Amanus mons.

Demetrius deſpairing of his good ſucceſſe: attempteth to aſſault Seleucus by night.

he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterprise was discouered: he retired againe with speed, and the next morning by breake of day, *Seleucus* went and offred him battell. *Demetrius* prepared himselfe to ioyne with him, and hauing giuen one of his faithfull friendes the leading of one of the wings of his army, himselfe led the other, and ouerthew some of his enemies on his side. But *Seleucus* in the middest of the battell lighted from his horse, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the first rankes of his armie, to make himselfe knowen vnto *Demetrius* men: perswading them to yeeld themselues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had so long time deferred to giue them battell, rather to saue them, then to spare *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* souldiers hearing him say so, they did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yeelded vnto him. *Demetrius* hauing sundry times before proued so many chaunges & ouerthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to escape this last also, & to passe it ouer: he fled vnto the gates Amanides, which are certaine straightes of the mount Amanus. There he founde certaine litle thicke groues, where he determined to stay all night with certaine gentlemen of his house, and a few other of his houshold seruants & officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could possible, to take his way towardes the citie of CAYNVS, to go to that sea coast, hoping to heare of his shippes there. But when it was told him he had no victuals nor prouision left onely to serue him that day: he began then to deuise some other way. At length, one of his familiar friendes *Sosigenes* came vnto him, that had foure hundred peeces of gold about him in his girdle. So hoping that with the same money he might flie to the sea, they tooke their way by night directly, to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceiued that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great store of fires hard by them: they then dispayred to passe any farther, least they should be seene. So they returned to the selfe same place from whence they came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remained also any life in them as before. So, one among the rest tooke vpon him, to say, that there was no other way to scape, but to put *Demetrius* into *Seleucus* hands. *Demetrius* therewithall drew out his sword, and would haue slaine himselfe: but his friendes about him would not suffer him, but perswaded him to yeeld himselfe vnto *Seleucus*. Thereupon he sent vnto *Seleucus*, to tell him that he yeelded himselfe vnto him. *Seleucus* was so ioyfull of the newes, that he sayd it was not *Demetrius* good fortune that saued him, but his owne: who besides many other happy good turnes she had done him, gaue him yet so honorable occasion and good happe, as to make the world to know his clemencie & curtesie. Thereupon immediatly he called for his officers of houshold, and commaunded them to set vp his richest pauilion, and to prepare all things meete to receiue him honorably. There was one *Appolonides* a gentleman in *Seleucus* Court, who sometime had bene very familiar with *Demetrius*: Him *Seleucus* sent immediatly vnto *Demetrius*, to will him to be of good cheare, and not to be affrayed to come to the king his Maister, for he should find him his very good friend. So soone as the kings pleasure was knowen, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meete him: but afterwardes, euery man striued who should go meete him first, because they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of, and grow in credit with *Seleucus*. But hereby they turned *Seleucus* pitie into enuie, and gaue occasion also to *Demetrius* enemies and spightfull men, to turne the kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and daungers, saying, that certainly so soone as the souldiers saw him, there would grow great sturre and chaunge in their campe. And therefore, shortly after that *Appollonides* was come vnto *Demetrius*, being glad to bring him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after an other, bringing him some good newes from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* himselfe after so great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to haue yeelded his body into his enemies hands) chaunged his minde at that time, and began then to grow bold, and to haue good hope to recouer his state againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Captaines called *Pausanias*, accompanied with a thousand footemen & horsemen in all, who compassed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the rest depart that were come vnto him before, hauing charge giuen him not to bring him to the Court, but to cõuey him into CHERRONESVS of SYRIA, whither he was brought, and euer after had a strong garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwise, *Seleucus*

Demetrius armie forsooke him, & yelded themselues to Seleucus.

Demetrius flyeth from Seleucus.

Demetrius yeeldeth him selfe vnto Seleucus.

Demetrius kept as prisoner in Syria, by Seleucus.

Seleucus sent him officers, money, and all things else meete for a Princes house: and his ordinarie fare was so delicate, that he could wish for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie & pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasant walkes, and goodly arbors to walke or sit in, and fine parkes full of beasts where he might hunt: moreouer, the king suffered his owne houshold seruants that followed him when he fled, to remain with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other vnto him from *Seleucus*, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that so soone as *Antiochus* & *Stratonice* were come, they would make some good agreement & peace betwene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this estate, wrote vnto his sonne *Antigonus*, and to his friendes and Lieutenants which he had at CORINTH and ATHENS, that they should giue no credite to any letters written in his name, though his seale were to thē: but that they should keepe the townes they had in charge for his sonne *Antigonus*, and all the rest of his forces, as if he himselfe were dead. When *Antigonus* heard the pitifull captiuitie of his father, he maruellous grieuously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for sorrow, and wrote vnto all the other kings, but vnto *Seleucus* specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, and that he was readie to yeeld vp all that he kept; to haue his fathers libertie. The like request did many cities make vnto him, and in manner all Princes, but *Lysimachus*: who promised *Seleucus* a great summe of money to put *Demetrius* to death. But *Seleucus*, who of long time had no great fancie to *Lysimachus*, but rather vtterly despised him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made vnto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, because he would haue *Demetrius* deliuered by his sonne *Antiochus* & *Stratonices* meanes, for that *Demetrius* should be bound to them for his deliuerie, and for euer should acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forget the miserie he was in. For first of all, he gaue himselfe to riding & hunting, as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very grosse, and to giue ouer such pastimes, and therewithall he fell into drunkennes and dicing: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seeme, either to auoid the grieuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober: or els vnder cullor of drunkennes and eating, to shadowe the thoughts he had: or else finding in himselfe that it was that maner of life he had long desired, and that through his vaine ambition and folly till that time he could neuer attaine vnto, greatly turmoyling and troubling himselfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by sea & land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in ease & idlenes, when he neither thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better end can euill and vnaduised kings and princes looke for, of all their troubles, dangers, and warres? who in deede deceiue themselues greatly, not onely for that they follow their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicitie, in steede of vertue and honest life: but also, because that in truth they can not be mery & take their pleasure as they would. So, *Demetrius* after he had bene shut vp in CHERRONESUS three yeares together, by ease, grossenes, and drunkennes, fell sicke of a disease whereof he died, when he was foure & fifty yeare old. Therefore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed, and he himselfe also did much repent him that he so suspected him as he did, & that he followed not *Dromichetes* curtesie, a barbarous man borne in THRACIA, who had so royally and courteously intreated *Lysimachus*, whom he had taken prisoner in the warres. But yet there was some tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his sonne *Antigonus* vnderstanding that they brought him the ashes of his bodie, he tooke sea with all his ships, and went to meete them, to receiue them in the Iles: and when he had receiued them, he set vp the funerall pot of gold (in the which were his embers) vpon the poope of his Admirall galley. So all the cities & townes whereby they passed or harboured, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of men thither in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuoy, to the very solemnitie of his funerals. In this sort sailed all the whole fleete towards the citie of CORINTHE, the pot being plainely seene farre off, standing on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple, & ouer it, the diademe or royall band, and about it, also were goodly young men armed, which were as Pensioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famousest Musition in that time, being set hard

The naturall loue of Antigonus to his father Demetrius

Demetrius turned his captiuitie into pleasure.

The death of Demetrius in Cherronesus.

The funerals of Demetrius.

Xenophantus a famous musition.

by it, played a sweete and lamentable song on the flute, where withall the ores keeping stroke and measure, the sound did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuoy where the mourners doe knocke their breasts, at the foote of euery verse. But that which most made the people of CORINTH to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongst the shore side to see it: was *Antigonus*, whom they saw all beblubbered with teares, apparelled as a mourner in blackes. Now, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and nosegayes, and cast them vpon the funerall pot, and had solemnized all the honors possible for the funerals at CORINTH: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burie it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of *Demetrius* that was dead, and was a newe citie, that had beene replenished with people, and built of litle townes which are about IOLCOS. *Demetrius* left two children by his first wife *Phila*, to wit, *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*: and two other sonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one surnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, & the other king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife *Ptolemæide*: and another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who liued in ÆGYPT. And it is reported also, that he had another son called *Corrhebus*, by his wife *Eurydice*, and that his posteritie raigned by succession from the father to the sonne, vntill the time of *Perseus*: who was the last king of MACEDON, whom the ROMAINS ouercame by *Paulus Æmylius*, and wan all the Realme of MACEDON vnto the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath plaied his part, giue the ROMAIN also leaue to come vpon the stage.

Demetrius posteritie.

Perseus king of Macedon (the last king of Macedon) came of the posteritie of Demetrius.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Antonius.*

Antonius parentage.

ANTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whom *Marius* slew, becausse he tooke *Syllaes* part. His father was an other *Antonius* surnamed **Cretan*, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the common wealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his wife would not let him vse his liberalitie and franke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to pray him to helpe him to some money, hauing great neede: *Antonius* by chance had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bring him some water in a siluer basen, and after

** Because that by his death he ended the warre which he vnfortunately made against those of Creta.*

The liberalitie of Antonius father.

after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he ment to haue shauen it, and then found an arrant for his man to send him out, and gaue his friend the siluer basen, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great sturre in the house among the seruants, seeking out this siluer basen. Insomuch as *Antonius* seeing his wife maruellously offended for it, & that she would examine all her seruants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confessed he had giuen it away, & prayed her to be contented. His wife was *Iulia*, of the noble house and family of *Iulius Cæsar*: who for her vertue & chastitie, was to be compared with the noblest Ladie of her time. *M. Antonius* was brought vp vnder her, being married after her first husbands death, vnto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Cicero* put to death with *Cethegus*, and others, for that he was of *Catilines* conspiracie against the common wealth. And this seemeth to be the originall cause and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate *Antonius* bare vnto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* selfe saith, that he would neuer giue him the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went first to intreat *Ciceroes* wife: the which vndoubtedly was a flat lie. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now *Antonius* being a faire young man, and in the prime of his youth: he fell acquainted with *Curio*, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a dissolute man, giuen ouer to all lust and insolencie, who to haue *Antonius* the better at his commandement, trained him on into great follies, and vaine expences vpon women, in rioting and banqueting. So that in short time, he brought *Antonius* into a maruellous great debt, and too great for one of his yeares, to wit: of two hundred and fiftie talents, for all which summe *Curio* was his suertie. His father hearing of it, did put his sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with *Clodius*, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great sturre and mischiefe in Rome: but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of thē that were bent against *Clodius*. Thereupon he left Italy, & went into Greece, & there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in warres, and otherwhile in the studie of eloquence. He vsed a manner of phrase in his speech, called Asiatike, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, fooolish brauerie, and vaine ambition. After he had remained there some time, *Gabinius* Proconsull going into Syria, perswaded him to goe with him, *Antonius* told him he would not goe as a priuate man: Wherefore *Gabinius* gaue him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So, first of all he sent him against *Aristobulus*, who had made the Iewes to rebell, & was the first man himselfe that got vp to the wall of a castle of his, and so draue *Aristobulus* out of all his holds: & with those few men he had with him, he ouercame all the Iewes in set battle, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke *Aristobulus* himselfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards *Ptolomy* king of Ægypt, that had bene driuen out of his country, went vnto *Gabinius* to intreat him to go with his armie with him into Ægypt, to put him againe into his kingdome: and promised him if he would goe with him, tenne thousand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to goe thither, and *Gabinius* himselfe made it daintie to enter into this warre: although the couetousnesse of these tenne thousand talents stucke sorely with him. But *Antonius* that sought but for oportunitie and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie *Ptolomyes* request: he went about to perswade *Gabinius* to goe this voyage. Now they were more affraid of the way they should goe, to come to the citie of Pelvsivm, then they feared any daunger of the warre besides: because they were to passe through deepe sandes and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marisses thorough, which are called the marisses Serbonides, which the Ægyptians call the exhalations or fume, by the which the Gyant *Typhon* breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out vnder the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So *Antonius* was sent before into Ægypt with his horsemen, who did not only winne that passage, but also tooke the citie of Pelvsivm (which is a great citie) with all the souldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the

Iulia the mother of M. Antonius.

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

Antonius vsed in his pleading the Asiatike phrase.

Antonius had charge of horsemen vnder Gabinius Proconsull, going into Syria.

Antonius acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius tooke Aristobulus prisoner.

Antonius acts in Aegypt vnder Gabinius.

hope of the victorie also certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies themselues feele the frutes of *Antonius* curtesie, and the desire he had to winne honor. For when *Ptolomy* (after he had entred into the citie of PELVSIVM) for the malice he bare vnto the citie, woud haue put all the ÆGYPTIANS in it to the sword: *Antonius* withstood him, & by no meanes would suffer him to doe it. And in all other great battels and skirmishes which they fought, and were many in number, *Antonius* did many noble actes of a valiant and wise Captaine: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behinde, giuing them the victory that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valiantnes deserued. So was his great curtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed vnto *Archelaus*. For hauing bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while he liued: but after his death he sought for his bodie, and gaue it honorable buriall. For these respects he wanne himselfe great fame of them of ALEXANDRIA, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the souldiers in the ROMAINES campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, abroad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene in *Hercules* pictures, stamped or grauen in mettall. Now it had bene a speech of old time, that the familie of the *Antonij* were discended from one *Anton*, the sonne of *Hercules*, whereof the family tooke name. This opinion did *Antonius* seeke to confirme in all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenesse of his bodie, as we haue saide before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe himselfe abroad before many people, he would alwaies weare his cassocke girt downe low vppon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and vpon that, some ill fauoured cloke. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to ieast with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with euery bodie, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull loue it wanne him amongst them. And furthermore, being giuen to loue: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further euery mans loue, and also would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and aduancement, was his liberalitie, who gaue all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for himselfe: and when he was growen to great credite, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding himselfe did ouerthrowe, by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shewe you one example onely of his wonderfull liberalitie. He commanded one day his coferer that kept his money, to giue a friend of his fiue and twentie Myriades: which the ROMAINES call in their tongue, *Decies*. His coferer maruelling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money, in a heape together, to shewe him what a marueilous masse of money it was. *Antonius* seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer answered him, it was the money he willed him to giue vnto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiuing the spight of his man, I thought, said he, that *Decies* had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therfore he gaue his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the ROMAINS maintaining two factions at ROME at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did ioyne with *Pompey* being then in ROME: and the contrarie side taking part with the people, sent for *Cæsar* to aide them, who made warres in GAVLE. Then *Curio* *Antonius* friend, that had chaunged his garmentes, and at that time tooke part with *Cæsar*, whose enemie he had bene before: he wanne *Antonius*, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credite and sway he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money hee made which *Cæsar* gaue him: that *Antonius* was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtherance to *Cæsars* practises. For so soone as *Antonius* became Tribune he did oppose himselfe against those things which the Consull *Marcellus* preferred: (who ordeined that certaine legions which had beene alreadie leauied and billed, should be giuen vnto *Cneus Pompey*, with further commission and authoritie to leauie others vnto them) and set downe an order, that the souldiers which were alreadie leauied and assembled, should be sent

Antonius curtesie vnto Archelaus being dead.

Antonius shape and presence.

The house of the Antonij discended from Hercules.

Antonius liberalitie.

Antonius Tribune of the people, and Augure.

ſent into SYRIA, for a newe ſupply vnto *Marcus Bibulus*, who made warre at that time againſt the PARTHIANS. And furthermore, prohibition that *Pompey* ſhould leauie no more men, and alſo that the ſouldiers ſhould not obey him. Secondly, where *Pompeys* friends and followers would not ſuffer *Cæſars* letters to be receiued, and openly read in the Senate: *Antonius* hauing power and warrant by his perſon, through the holines of his tribuneſhip, did read them openly, and made diuers men chaunge their mindes: for it appeared to them that *Cæſar* by his letters required no vnreaſonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of conſideration vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that *Pompey* or *Cæſar*, ſhould leaue their armie: there were fewe of the Senators that thought it meete *Pompey* ſhould leaue his armie, but they all in manner commanded *Cæſar* to doe it. Then *Antonius* riſing vp, asked whether they thought it good that *Pompey* and *Cæſar* both, ſhould leaue their armies. Thereunto all the Senators iointly together gaue their whole conſent, and with a great crie commending *Antonius*, they prayed him to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. But the Conſuls would not allow of that. Therefore *Cæſars* friendes preferred other reaſonable demaundes and requeſts againe, but *Cato* ſpake againſt them: and *Lentulus*, one of the Conſuls draue *Antonius* by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grieuous curſes againſt him. After that, he tooke a ſlaues gowne, and ſpeedily fled to *Cæſar*, with *Quintus Caſſius*, in a hyred coch. When they came to *Cæſar*, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand ouer head at ROME: for the Tribunes of the people might not ſpeake their mindes, and were driuen away in great daunger of their liues, as many as ſtoode with law and iuſtice. Hereupon *Cæſar* incontinently went into ITALY with his army, which made *Cicero* ſay in his Philippicles: that as *Hellen* was cauſe of the warre of TROY, ſo was *Antonius* the author of the ciuill warres, which indeede was a ſtarke lie. For *Cæſar* was not ſo fickle headed, nor ſo eaſily caried away with anger, that he would ſo ſodainly haue gone & made warre with his country, vpon the ſight onely of *Antonius* and *Caſſius*, being fled vnto him in miſerable apparell, and in a hyred coch: had he not long before determined it with himſelfe. But ſith in deede *Cæſar* looked of long time but for ſome colour, this came as he wiſhed, & gaue him iuſt occaſion of warre. But to ſay truely, nothing elſe moued him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one ſelfe cauſe, which firſt procured *Alexander* and *Cyrus* alſo before him: to wit, an inſatiable deſire to raigne, with a ſenſeles couetouſnes to be the beſt man in the world, the which he could not come vnto, before he had firſt put downe *Pompey*, and vtterly ouerthrowen him. Now, after that *Cæſar* had gotten ROME at his commandement, & had driuen *Pompey* out of ITALY, he purpoſed firſt to goe into SPAYNE, againſt the legions *Pompey* had there: and in the meane time to make prouiſion for ſhippes and marine preparation, to follow *Pompey*. In his abſence, he left *Lepidus* that was Prætor, gouernor of ROME: and *Antonius* that was Tribune, he gaue him charge of all the ſouldiers, and of ITALY. Then was *Antonius* ſtraight maruellouſly commended and beloued of the ſouldiers, becauſe he commonly exerciſed himſelfe among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and alſo be liberall vnto them, according to his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchaſed diuers other mens euill wilies, becauſe that through negligence he would not doe them iuſtice that were iniuried, & delt very churliſhly with them that had any ſute vnto him: and beſides all this, he had an ill name to intiſe mens wiues. To conclude, *Cæſars* friends that gouerned vnder him, were cauſe why they hated *Cæſars* gouernment (which in deede in reſpect of himſelfe was no leſſe than a tyrannie) by reaſon of the great inſolencies & outragious parts that were committed: amongſt whom *Antonius*, that was of greateſt power, and that alſo committed greateſt faultes, deſerued moſt blame. But *Cæſar* notwithſtanding, when he returned from the warres of SPAYNE, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp againſt him: but contrarily, becauſe he found him a hardy man, & a valiant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefeſt affayres, and was no whit deceiued in his opinion of him. So he paſſed ouer the IONIAN ſea vnto BRVNDVSIVM, being but ſlenderly accompanied: & ſent vnto *Antonius* & *Gabinius*, that they ſhould imbarke their men as ſoone as they could, and paſſe them ouer into MACEDON. *Gabinius* was affraide to take the ſea, becauſe it was very rough, and in the winter time: & therefore fetched a great compaſſe about by land. But *Antonius* fearing ſome daunger might come vnto *Cæſar*, becauſe

Antonius aſts for Cæſar.

Antonius flyeth from Rome vnto Cæſar.

Cicero reproued for lying. Alexander, Cyrus, & Cæſar: all contended to raigne. Cæſars ambition the onely cauſe of the ciuill warre. Cæſar gaue the charge of Italy vnto Antonius. Antonius vices.

he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he draue away *Libo*, who rode at ancker with a great armie, before the hauen of BRVNDYSIVM. For he manned out such a number of pynnasies, barkes, and other small boates about euery one of his gallyes, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into shippes twentie thousande footemen, and eight hundred horsemen, and with this armie he hoysed saile. When the enemies sawe him, they made out to followe him: but the sea rose so high, that the billowes put backe their gallies that they could not come neere him, and so he scaped that daunger. But withall he fell vpon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the sea wrought verie high: so that he was out of all hope to saue himselfe. Yet by good fortune, sodainely the winde turned South-west, and blew from the gulfe, driuing the waues of the riuer into the maine sea. Thus *Antonius* loosing from the lande, and sayling with safetie at his pleasure, soone after he sawe all the coastes full of shipwrackes. For the force and boysterousnesse of the winde, did cast away the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and diuers also cast away, & *Antonius* tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great summe of money also. Besides all these, he tooke the citie of LYSSVS, and brought *Cæsar* a great supply of men, and made him couragious, comming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Nowe there were diuers hotte skirmishes and encounters, in the which *Antonius* fought so valiantly, that he caried the praise from them all: but specially at two seuerall times, when *Cæsars* men turned their backes, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: so that the victorie fell on *Cæsars* side. For this cause he had the second place in the campe among the souldiers, and they spake of no other man vnto *Cæsar*, but of him: who shewed plainely what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of PHARSALIA (which in deede was the last triall of all, to giue the Conquerour the whole Empire of the worlde) he himselfe did leade the right wing of his armie, and gaue *Antonius* the leading of the left wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest souldier of all those he had about him. After *Cæsar* had wonne the victorie, and that he was created Dictator, he followed *Pompey* steppe by steppe: howbeit before he named *Antonius* generall of the horsemen, and sent him to ROME. The generall of the horsemen is the second office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the onely man that remaineth, and all the other officers and Magistrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, *Dolabella* being at that time Tribune, and a young man desirous of chaunge and innouation: he preferred a law which the ROMAINES call Nouas tabulas (as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and specialties, and were called the new tables, because they were driuen then to make bookes of daily receit and expence) and perswaded *Antonius* his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this lawe. But *Trebellius* and *Asinius* disswaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that *Antonius* mistrusted *Dolabella* for keeping of his wife, and tooke such a conceite of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house being his cosin Germane, and the daughter of *C. Antonius*, who was Consull with *Cicero*: and ioyning with *Asinius*, he resisted *Dolabella*, & fought with him. *Dolabella* had gotten the market place where the people doe assemble in councell, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to haue this law of the new tables to passe by force. *Antonius* by cõmandement of the Senate, who had giuen him authoritie to leauie men, to vse force against *Dolabella*: he went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slaine on both sides. But by this meanes, he got the ill will of the common people, & on the other side, the noble men (as *Cicero* saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him for his naughtie life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at vnseasonable times, & his extreame wastfull expences vpon vaine light huswiues, & then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his drunkennesse, thinking to weare away the fume of the aboundance of wine which he had taken ouer night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and maske: and himselfe passed away the time in hearing of foolish playes, or in marrying these plaiers, tumblers, iesters, & such sort of people. As for proofe hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* mariage, one of his iesters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people assembled

Antonius taketh sea with his army at Brundisium, and goeth vnto Cæsar.

Antonius manhood in warre.

Antonius led the left wing of Cæsars battell at Pharsalia where Pompey lost the field.

The dignitie of the generall of the horsemen.

Dissention betwixt Antonius and Dolabilla.

Antonius abominable life.

assembled in councell, who had sent for him: he being quesie stomached with his surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gown in stead of a basen. He had an other pleasant player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called *Cytheride*, of the same profession, whom he loued dearly: he caried her vp and downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went; and had as many men waiting vpon her litter, she being but a plaier, as were attending vpon his own mother. It grieued honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the countrey, he caried with him a great number of cubbords full of siluer and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had bene the pompe or shew of some triumph: and that eftsoones in the middest of his iourney hee would set vp his hals & tents hard by some greene groue or pleasant riuer, & there his Cookes should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lions were harnessed in trases to draw his carts: and besides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where he came, he would haue common harlots, curtisans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieued men much, to see that *Cæsar* should be out of ITALY following of his enemies, to end this great war, with such great perill and danger: and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authority, should commit such insolent and outragious parts vnto their Citizens. This me thinks was the cause that made the conspiracy against *Cæsar* increase more and more, and layed the rynes of the bridle vppon the souldiers neckes, whereby they durst boldlier commit many extortions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore *Cæsar* after his returne pardoned *Dolabella*, and being created Consull the third time, he tooke not *Antonius*, but chose *Lepidus*, his colleague and fellow Consull. Afterwardes when *Pompeys* house was put to open sale, *Antonius* bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very strange, and was offended with them, and writeth him selfe that he would not goe with *Cæsar* into the warres of AFRICKE, because he was not well recompenced for the seruice hee had done him before. Yet *Cæsar* did somewhat bridle his madnesse and insolency, not suffering him to passe his fault so lightly away, making as though he saw them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and maried *Fuluia* that was *Clodius* widdow, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewiuery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroade, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: so that *Cleopatra* was to giue *Fuluia* thankes for that shee had taught *Antonius* this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commandement. Now, because *Fuluia* was somewhat sower and crooked of condition, *Antonius* deuised to make her pleasaunter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would play her many very youthfull partes to make her merry. As he did once, when *Cæsar* returned the last time of all Conquerour out of SPAINE, euery man went out to meete him: and so did *Antonius* with the rest. But on the sodaine there ranne a rumor through ITALY, that *Cæsar* was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great army. Thereuppon he returned with speede to ROME, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying that he had brought *Fuluia* letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowen: but she taking the matter heauily, asked him if *Antonius* were well. *Antonius* gaue her the letters, and sayd neuer a word. So when shee had opened the letters, and beganne to read them: *Antonius* ramped of her necke, and kissed her. We haue told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Now when *Cæsar* was returned from his last warre in SPAINE, all the chiefest nobility of the city, road many daies iorney from ROME to meete him, where *Cæsar* made maruellous much of *Antonius*, aboue al the mē that came vnto him. For he alwaies tooke him into his coche with him, through out all ITALY: and behind him, *Brutus Albinus* and *Octauius*, the son of his Neece, who afterwards was called *Cæsar*, and became Emperor of ROME long time after. So *Cæsar* being afterwards chosen Consull the fift time, he immediately chose *Antonius* his colleague and companion: and desired by deposing him selfe of his Consulship, to make *Dolabella* Consull in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senat. But *Antonius* did stoutly withstand it, and openly reuiled *Dolabella* in the Senate: and *Dolabella* also spared him as lite. Thereuppon *Cæsar* being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. An other time also when

Antonius laid vp his stomack before the whole assembly.

Antonius insolency.

Cæsar, & Lepidus, Consuls, Antonius buyeth Pompeys house.

Antonius maried Fulvia, Clodius widow Fuluia ruled Antonius at home, and abroad.

Cæsar, and Antonius, Consuls.

Cæsar attempted againe to substitute *Dolabella* Consull in his place, *Antonius* cried out, that the signes of the birds were against it: so that at length *Cæsar* was compelled to giue him place, and to let *Dolabella* alone, who was maruellosly offended with him. Now in truth, *Cæsar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cæsar* answered one that did accuse *Antonius* and *Dolabella* vnto him for some matter of conspiracy: tush saied he, they be not those fat fellowes and fine comed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who afterwardes conspired his death, and slue him. *Antonius* vnwares afterwards, gaue *Cæsars* enemies iust occasion and colour to doe as they did: as you shall heare. The ROMAINS, by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and *Cæsar* being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they vse to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chiefe officers for that yeare: who running naked vp and downe the city annointed with the oile of oliue, for pleasure do strike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they haue in their hands. *Antonius* being one among the rest that was to runne, leauing the ancient ceremonies and old customes of that solemnity: he ranne to the Tribune where *Cæsar* was set, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, hauing a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he was come to *Cæsar*, he made his fellow runners with him lift him vp, and so he did put this laurell crowne vpon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserued to be king. But *Cæsar* making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so reioyced at it, that they all clapped their handes for ioy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his heade: *Cæsar* againe refused it, and thus they were striuing off and on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this laurell crowne vnto him, a few of his followers reioyced at it: and as oft also as *Cæsar* refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they suffered all things subiects should doe by commaundement of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the vtter destruction of their liberty. *Cæsar* in a rage rose out of his seate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he shewed it naked, bidding any mã strike off his head that would. This lautell crown was afterwards put vpon the head of one of *Cæsars* statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cæsar* did turne thẽ out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for *Brutus* & *Cassius* to conspire his death, who fel into a consort with their trustiest frends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtfull whether they should make *Antonius* priuy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, sauing *Trebonius* only. He told them, that when they rode to meet *Cæsar* at his returne out of SPAIN, *Antonius* and he alwaies keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind a far off: but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would hearken no more vnto it, and yet notwithstanding neuer made *Cæsar* acquainted with this talk, but had faithfully kept it to himself. After that they consulted whether they should kil *Antonius* with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would in no wise consent to it, saying: that venting on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and iustice, it ought to be cleare from all villany. Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, and the authority of his office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that when *Cæsar* were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe *Antonius* in a talke out of the Senat house. Euen as they had deuised these matters, so were they executed: and *Cæsar* was slaine in the middest of the Senat. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, cast a slaues gowne vpon him, and hid him selfe. But afterwardes when it was told him that the murtherers slue no man else, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he sent his son vnto them for a pledge, and bad them boldly come downe vppon his word. The selfe same day he did bid *Cassius* to supper, and *Lepidus* also bad *Brutus*. The next morning the Senat was assembled, & *Antonius* himself preferred a law that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint prouinces, vnto *Cassius* & *Brutus*: the which the Senat confirmed, and further ordained, that they should cancel none of *Cæsars* lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more praised, and better esteemed, then euer man was: because it seemed

Antonius vnwittingly gaue Cæsars enemies occasion to conspire against him.

Antonius Lupercian putteth the diademe vpon Cæsars head.

Brutus & Cassius conspire Cæsars death.

Consultation about the murther of Antonius with Cæsar.

seemed to euery man that he had cut off all occasion of ciuill warres, and that he had shewed him selfe a maruellous wise gouernour of the common wealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great waight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceiued of him selfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him selfe the chiefest man if he might ouercome *Brutus*: did easily make him alter his first minde. And therefore when *Cæsars* body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funerall oration in commendation of *Cæsar*, according to the ancient custome of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to heare *Cæsar* spoken of, and his praises vttered: he mingled his oration with lamentable words, and by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their hearts and affections vnto pity and compassion. In fine to conclude his oration, he vnfolded before the whole assembly the blouddy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors, cruell and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently tooke *Cæsars* body, and burnt it in the market place, with such tables & fourmes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they tooke firebrands, and ran to the murtherers houses to set them a fire, and to make them come out to fight. *Brutus* therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driuen to flie the city. Then came all *Cæsars* frends vnto *Antonius*, and specially his wife *Calpurnia* putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her money into his house, which amounted to the summe of foure thousand talents, and furthermore brought him all *Cæsars* bookes and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done and ordained. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, and deliuered those that were prisoners: and then hee sayed that all those things were so appointed and ordayned by *Cæsar*. Therefore the ROMAINES mocking them that were so moued, they called them CHARONITES: because that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe but to say, that thus they were found in *Cæsars* memorials, who had sailed in *Charons* boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consull, and *Caius* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now things remayning in this state at ROME, *Octauius Cæsar* the yonger came to ROME, who was the sonne of *Iulius Cæsars* Neece, as you haue heard before, and was left his lawfull heire by will, remayning at the time of the death of his great Vncle that was slaine, in the city of APOLLONIA. This yong man at his first arriuall went to salute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæsars* frends, who by his last will & testament had made him his heire: and withall, he was presently in hand with him for money and other things which were left of him in his hands, because *Cæsar* had by will bequeathed vnto the people of ROME, three score and fifteene siluer Drachmas to be giuen to euery man, the which he as heire stoode charged withall. *Antonius* at the first made no reckonning of him, because he was very young: and sayed he lacked witte, and good friends to aduise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand, as to vndertake to be *Cæsars* heire. But when *Antonius* saw that he could not shake him off with those wordes, and that he was still in hand with him for his fathers goods, but specially for the ready money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when *Octauius Cæsar* beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chaire of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor *Cæsar* with: he threatned to send him to prison, and moreouer desisted not to moue the people in an vprore. This yong *Cæsar* seeing his doings, went vnto *Cicero*, and others, which were *Antonius* enemies, and by them crept into fauor with the Senate: and he himselfe wrought the peoples good will euery manner of way, gathering together the olde souldiers of the late deceased *Cæsar*, which were dispersed in diuers cities and colonies. *Antonius* being afrayd of it, talked with *Octauius* in the Capitoll, and became his frend. But the very same night *Antonius* had a strange dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, and burnt his right side. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cæsar* lay in wait to kil him. *Cæsar* cleared him selfe vnto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleue the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then euer they were: insomuch that

Antonius maketh vprore among the people, for the murther of Cæsar.

Calpurnia, Cæsars wife.

Charonites, why so called.

M. Antonius Consull. Caius Antonius Prætor. Lucius Antonius Tribune, all three brethren.

Variance betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæsar, heire vnto Iulius Cæsar.

Octauius Cæsar ioyned in frendship with Cicero.

Antonius and Octauius became frends.

Antonius dreame.

both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through ITALY, that were dispersed in diuers townes: and made them large promises, & sought also to win the legions on their side, which were already in armes. *Cicero* on the other side being at that time the chiefest man of authority and estimation in the city, he stirred vp all men against *Antonius*: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed yong *Cæsar* Sergeants to cary axes before him, and such other signes as were incident to the dignity of a Consull or Prætor: and moreouer sent *Hircius* and *Pansa*, then Consuls, to driue *Antonius* out of ITALY. These two Consuls together with *Cæsar*, who also had an army, went against *Antonius* that besieged the city of MODENA, and there ouerthrew him in battel: but both the Consuls were slaine there. *Antonius* flying vpon this ouerthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would ouercome any aduersitie, and the heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more constant shewed he himselfe. Euery man that feeleth want or aduersity, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should doe: but when in deede they are ouerlayed with extremity, and be sore oppressed, few haue the hearts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much lesse to auoide that they reproue and mislike. But rather to the contrary, they yeeld to their accustomed easie life: and through faint heart, & lacke of corage, doe chaunge their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the souldiers, to see *Antonius* that was brought vp in all fineneſſe and superfluity, so easily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes: and moreouer it is reported, that euen as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barkes of trees, and such beasts, as neuer man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to ioyne with the legions that was on the other side of the Mountains, vnder *Lepidus* charge: whom *Antonius* tooke to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at *Cæsars* hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where *Lepidus* was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him selfe, and to goe vnto *Lepidus*. Since the ouerthrow he had at MODENA, he suffred his beard to grow at length and neuer clipt it, that it was maruellous long, and the haire of his head also without koming: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of *Lepidus* campe. Then he beganne to speake vnto the souldiers, and many of them their hearts yerned for pity to see him so poorely arrayed, and some also through his wordes beganne to pity him: insomuch that *Lepidus* beganne to be affrayed, and therefore commaunded all the trumpets to sound together to stoppe the souldiers eares, that they shoulde not hearken to *Antonius*. This notwithstanding, the souldiers tooke the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him by *Clodius* and *Lælius* meanes, whom they sent vnto him disguised in womens apparel, and gaue him counsell that he should not be afraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of souldiers that would receiue him, and kil *Lepidus*, if he would say the word. *Antonius* would not suffer thē to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a litle riuer that ran betweene them: and him selfe was the foremost man that tooke the riuer to get ouer, seeing a number of *Lepidus* campe that gaue him their handes, plucked vp the stakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trenche to let him in to their campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commandement: he vsed *Lepidus* very curteously, imbraced him, and called him father: and though in deede *Antonius* did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue *Lepidus* the name and honor of the Captaine. *Munatius Plancus*, lying also in campe hard by with an army: vnderstanding the report of *Antonius* curtesie, he also came and ioined with him. Thus *Antonius* being a foote againe, and growen of great power, repassed ouer the Alpes, leading into ITALY with him seuenteene legions, and tenne thousand horsemen, besides sixe legions he left in garrison among the GAVLES, vnder the charge of one *Varius*, a companion of his that woulde drinke lustely with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed *Cotylon*: to wit, a bibber. So *Octauius Cæsar* would not leane to *Cicero*, when he saw that his whole trauell & endeuor was onely to restore the common wealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together, (to wit,

Antonius iudged an enemy by the Senate.

Hircius and Pansa Consuls.

Antonius ouerthrowen in battell by the city of Modena.

Antonius patient in aduersity.

Antonius hardnes in aduersity, notwithstanding his fine bringing vp.

Antonius wan all Lepidus army from him.

Varius, surnamed Cotylon.

wit, *Cæsar*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*) in an Iland enuironned round about with a litle riuer, and there remained three daies together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did deuide all the Empire of ROME betweene them, as if it had bene their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for euery one of them would kill their enemies, and saue their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their greedy desire to be reuenged of their enemies, they spurned all reuerence of bloud, and holines of frendship at their feete. For *Cæsar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius* wil, *Antonius* also forsooke *Lucius Cæsar*, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered *Lepidus* to kill his owne brother *Paulus*. Yet some writers affirme, that *Cæsar* and *Antonius* requested *Paulus* might be slaine, and that *Lepidus* was contented with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnaturall, and crueller change then this was. For thus chaunging murther for murther, they did aswell kil those whō they did forsake and leaue vnto others, as those also which others left vnto them to kill: but so much more was their wickednesse and cruelty great vnto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and hauing no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed vpon betweene them: the souldiers that were thereabouts, would haue this friendship & league betwixt them confirmed by mariage, and that *Cæsar* should mary *Claudia*, the daughter of *Fuluia*, and *Antonius* wife. This mariage also being agreed vpon, they condemned three hūdred of the chiefest citizens of ROME, to be put to death by proscription. And *Antonius* also commanded them to whom he had giuen commission to kill *Cicero*, that they should strike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the inuectiue Orations (called Philippides) against *Antonius*. So when the murtherers brought him *Ciceroes* head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great ioy, and laughed heartely, and that oftentimes for the great ioy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused thē to be set vp in an open place, ouer the pulpit for orations (where when he was aliue, he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not bleamished his owne fortune, shewing him selfe (to his great shame and infamy) a cruell man, and vnworthy the office & authority he bare. His vncle *Lucius Cæsar* also, as they sought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fled vnto his sister. The murtherers comming thither, forcing to break into her chamber, she stood at her chamber dore with her armes abroad, crying out still: you shall not kil *Lucius Cæsar*, before you first kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes she saued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of these Triumuiri grew odious and hatefull to the ROMAINS, for diuers respects: but they most blamed *Antonius*, because he being elder then *Cæsar*, and of more power and force then *Lepidus*, gaue himselfe againe to his former riot and excesse, when he left to deale in the affairs of the cōmon wealth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolency, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of *Pompey* the great: a man as famous for his temperance, modesty, and ciuil life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieued them to see the gates commonly shut against the Captaines, Magistrates of the city, and also Ambassadors of straunge nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tumblers, anticke dauncers, iuglers, players, iesters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most part of his money he got by all kind of possible extortions, bribery and policy. For they did not only sel by the crier the goods of those whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murther, slanderously deceiued the poore widowes and yong orphanes, and also raised al kind of impost, subsidies, and taxes: but vnderstanding also that the holy vestall Nuns had certaine goods and money put in their custody to keepe, both of mens in the city, and those also that were abroade: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. *Octauius Cæsar* perceiuing that no money would serue *Antonius* turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money betweene them, and so did they also deuide the army, for them both to goe into MACEDON to make warre against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: and in the meane time they left the gouernment of the city of ROME vnto *Lepidus*. When they had passed ouer the seas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both pinched by their enemies, to wit, *Antonius* against *Cassius*, and *Cæsar* against *Brutus*: *Cæsar* did no great matter, but *Antonius* had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the first battell

The conspiracy and meeting of Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus.

The proscription of the Triumuiri.

Antonius cruelty vnto Cicero.

Lucius Cæsars life saued, by his sister.

Antonius riot in his Triumuirate.

The praise of Pompey the great.

Riot

The valiantnes of Antonius againſt Brutus.

Cæſar was ouerthrowen by *Brutus*, and loſt his campe, and very hardly ſaued him ſelfe by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth himſelfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was giuen, becauſe of a dreame one of his friends had. *Antonius* on the other ſide ouerthrew *Caſſius* in battell, though ſome write that he was not there himſelfe at the battel, but that he came after the ouerthrow, whileſt his men had the enemies in chaſe. So *Caſſius* at his earneſt requeſt was ſlaine by a faithfull ſeruant of his own called *Pindarus*, whom he had infranchiſed: becauſe he knew not in time that *Brutus* had ouercome *Cæſar*. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, who afterwardes alſo ſlue himſelf. Thus *Antonius* had the chiefeſt glory of all this victory, ſpecially becauſe *Cæſar* was ſicke at that time. *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* body after this battell, blaming him much for the murther of his brother *Caius*, whom he had put to death in MACEDON for reuenge of *Ciceroes* cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in *Hortenſius* then in him: he made *Hortenſius* to be ſlaine on his brothers tombe. Furthermore, he caſt his coate armour (which was wonderful rich and ſumptuous) vpon *Brutus* body, and gaue commandement to one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, *Antonius* hearing that his infranchiſed bondman had not burnt his coate armour with his body, becauſe it was very rich, and worth a great ſumme of money, and that he had alſo kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall and tombe: he alſo put him to death. After that *Cæſar* was conuayed to ROME, and it was thought he would not liue long, nor eſcape the ſicknes he had, *Antonius* on the other ſide went towards the Eaſt prouinces and regions, to leauy money: and firſt of all he went into GREECE, and caried an infinite number of ſouldiers with him. Now, becauſe euery ſouldier was promiſed fiue thouſand ſiluer Drachmas, he was driuen of neceſſity to impoſe extreame tallages and taxations. At his firſt comming into GREECE, hee was not hard nor bitter vnto the GRECIANS, but gaue himſelfe onely to heare wiſe men diſpute, to ſee playes, and alſo to note the ceremonies and ſacrifices of GREECE, miniſtring iuſtice to euerie man, and it pleaſed him maruellouſly to heare them call him *Philellen*, (as much to ſay, a louer of the GRECIANS) and ſpecially the ATHENIANS, to whom he did many great pleaſures. Wherfore the MEGARIANS, to exceed the ATHENIANS, thinking to ſhew *Antonius* a goodly ſight: they praid him to come and ſee their Senat houſe, and councel hall. *Antonius* went thither to ſee it: ſo when he had ſeene it at his pleaſure, they asked him, my Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinks (ꝙ he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore he tooke meaſure of the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, and promiſed the Senat to finiſh it. But when he was once come into ASIA, hauing left *Lucius Cenſorinus* Gouernor in GREECE, and that he had felt the riches and pleaſures of the Eaſt parts, and that Princes, great Lords, and Kings, came to wait at his gate for his comming out, and that Queenes and Princeſſes to excell one an other, gaue him verie rich preſents, and came to ſee him, curiouſly ſetting forth them ſelues, & vſing all art that might be to ſhew their beauty, to win his fauour the more: (*Cæſar* in the meane ſpace turmoyling his wits and body in ciuill wars at home, *Antonius* liuing merrily and quietly abroad) he eaſily fell again to his old licentious life. For ſtraight one *Anaxenor* a plaier of the cithern, *Xoutus* a plaier of the flutes, *Metrodorus* a tumbler, and ſuch a rabble of minſtrels and fit miniſters for the pleaſures of ASIA, (who in finenes and flattery paſſed all the other plagues he brought with him out of ITALY) all theſe flocked in his court, and bare the whole ſway: and after that, all went awry. For euery one gaue them ſelues to riot and exceſſe, when they ſaw he delighted in it: and all ASIA was like to the city *Sophocles* ſpeaketh of in one of his tragedies:

Antonius great curteſie in Greece.

The plagues of Italy in riot.

VVas full of ſweete perfumes, and pleaſaunt ſongs,
VVith woefull weeping mingled thereamongs.

For in the city of EPHESVS, women attired as they goe in the feaſtes and ſacrifice, of *Bacchus*, came out to meete him with ſuch ſolemnities and ceremonies, as are then vſed: with men and children disguiſed like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreouer, the city was full of Iuey, and darts wreathed about with Iuey, pſalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their ſongs they called him *Bacchus*, father of mirth, curteous, and gentle: and ſo was he vnto ſome, but to the moſt part of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to giue it vnto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene

Antonius cruelty in Aſia.

bene dead, and would enter their houſes by force. As he gaue a citizens houſe of MAGNESIA vnto a cooke, becauſe (as it is reported) he dreſſed him a fine ſupper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and impoſed a ſecond vpon ASIA. But then *Hybreas* the Orator ſent from the eſtates of ASIA, to tell him the ſtate of their countrie, boldly ſaid vnto him: if thou wilt haue power to lay two tributes in one yere vpon vs, thou ſhouldeſt alſo haue power to giue vs two ſommers, two autumnes, and two haruests. This was gallantly and pleaſantly ſpoken vnto *Antonius* by the Orator, and it pleaſed him well to heare it: but afterwardes amplifying his ſpeech, hee ſpake more boldly, and to better purpoſe. ASIA hath payed the two hundred thouſand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske account of them that leuied it: but if thou haue receiued it, and nothing be left of it, then are we vterly vndone. *Hybreas* words nettled *Antonius* roundly. For he vnderſtoode not many of the theſts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treaſure and affaires: not ſo much becauſe he was careleſſe, as for that he ouerſimply truſted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without ſubtiltie, and therefore ouerlate founde out the foule faultes they committed againſt him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainely confeſſe it vnto them whom his officers had done iniurie vnto, by countenance of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to puniſh offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceede more in giuing, then in puniſhing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly vſed, mocking and flouting of euery man: that was remedied by it ſelfe. For a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, & he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that thoſe which told him ſo plainly, & truly in mirth: would neuer flatter him in good earneſt, in any matter of weight. But thus he was eaſily abuſed by the praiſes they gaue him, not finding how theſe flatterers mingled their flatterie, vnder this familiar and plaine manner of ſpeech vnto him, as a fine deuiſe to make difference of meates with ſharpe and tart ſauce, & alſo to keepe him by this frank iesting & bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie ſhould not be troubleſome vnto him, as men doe eaſily miſlike to haue too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would giue him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counſell, that it might not appeare to him they did it ſo much to pleaſe him, but becauſe they were ignorant, and vnderſtoode not ſo much as he did. *Antonius* being thus inclined, the laſt and extreameſt miſchiefe of all other (to wit, the loue of *Cleopatra*) lighted on him, who did waken and ſtirre vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were neuer ſeene to any: and if any ſparke of goodneſſe or hope of riſing were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it ſtraight, and made it worſe then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. *Antonius* going to make warre with the PARTHIANS, ſent to command *Cleopatra* to appeare perſonally before him, when he came into CILICIA, to aunſwere vnto ſuch acculations as were laide againſt her, being this: that ſhe had aided *Caſſius* and *Brutus* in their warre againſt him. The meſſenger ſent vnto *Cleopatra* to make this ſummons vnto her, was called *Dellius*: who when he had throughly conſidered her beautie, the excellent grace and ſweeteneſſe of her tongue, he nothing miſtruſted that *Antonius* would doe any hurt to ſo noble a Ladie, but rather aſſured himſelfe, that within few dayes ſhe ſhould be in great fauor with him. Thereupon he did her great honour, and perſwaded her to come into CILICIA, as honourably furniſhed as ſhe could poſſible, and bad her not to be affraide at all of *Antonius*, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that ſhe had euer ſeene. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide beleeuing *Dellius* words, & geſſing by the former acceſſe and credit ſhe had with *Iulius Cæſar*, and *Cneus Pompey* (the ſonne of *Pompey* the great) onely for her beautie: ſhe began to haue good hope that ſhe might more eaſily win *Antonius*. For *Cæſar* and *Pompey* knew her when ſhe was but a young thing, & knew not then what the worlde ment: but now ſhe went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans beautie is at the prime, and ſhe alſo of beſt iudgement. So, ſhe furniſhed her ſelfe with a world of gifts, ſtore of gold and ſiluer, and of riches and other ſumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough ſhe might bring from ſo great a houſe, and from ſo wealthie and rich a realme as ÆGYPT was. But yet ſhe caried nothing with her wherein ſhe truſted more then in her ſelfe, and in the charmes and inchauntment of her paſſing beautie and grace. Therefore when ſhe was

Hybreas words vnto Antonius touching their great payments of money vnto him.

Antonius ſimplicitie.

Antonius maners.

Antonius loue to Cleopatra whom he ſent for into Cilicia

The wonderfull sumptuousnes of Cleopatra, Queene of Aegypt, going vnto Antonius. Cydnus fl.

sent vnto by diuers letters, both from *Antonius* himselfe, and also from his frierides, she made so light of it and mocked *Antonius* so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the riuer of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of siluer, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, cytherns, vyolls, and such other instruments as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the person of her selfe: she was laide vnder a pauillion of cloth of golde of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddesse *Venus*, commonly drawen in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe set fourth god *Cupide*, with litle fans in their hands, with the which they fanned winde vpon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphes *Nereides* (which are the myrmaides of the waters) and like the *Graces*, some stearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweete sauor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongst the riuers side: others also ranne out of the citie to see her comming in. So that in the end, there ranne such multitudes of people one after an other to see her, that *Antonius* was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate to giue audience: and there went a rumour in the peoples mouthes, that the goddesse *Venus* was come to play with the god *Bacchus*, for the generall good of all ASIA. When *Cleopatra* landed, *Antonius* sent to inuite her to supper to him. But she sent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. *Antonius* therefore to shew himselfe curteous vnto her at her arriuall, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, giuing light in euery place, so artificially set and ordered by deuises, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discerne, or that euer bookes could mention. The next night, *Antonius* feasting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and finenes: but she ouercame him in both. So that he himselfe began to scorne the grosse seruice of his house, in respect of *Cleopatraes* sumptuousnes and fineneſse. And when *Cleopatra* sounde *Antonius* ieasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine manner: she gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beautie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet such, as vpon present viewe did enamor men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conuersation, that a man could not possiblie but be taken. And besides her beautie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her words & deedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were maruellous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musicke to diuers sportes and pastimes, the which she easily turned to any language that pleased her. She spake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them answere her selfe, or at the least the most part of them: as the ÆTHIOPIANS, the ARABIANS, the TROGLODYTES, the HEBRVES, the SYRIANS, the MEDES, and the PARTHIANS, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas diuers of her progenitors, the kings of ÆGYPT, could scarce learne the ÆGYPTIAN tongue only, & many of them forgot to speake the MACEDONIAN. Now, *Antonius* was so rauished with the loue of *Cleopatra*, that though his wife *Fuluia* had great warres, and much a doe with *Cæsar* for his affaires, and that the armie of the PARTHIANS (the which the kings Lieutenantes had giuen to the only leading of *Labienus*) was now assembled in MESOPOTAMIA readie to inuade SYRIA: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yeelded himselfe to goe with *Cleopatra* into ALEXANDRIA, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spend, as *Antiphon* saith: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matchable with it) one feasting each other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proofe hereof, I haue heard my grandfather *Lampryas* report, that one *Philotas* a Phisitian, borne in the city of AMPHISSA, told him that he was at that present time in ALEXANDRIA, and studied Phisicke: and that hauing acquaintance with one

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatraes beautie.

An order set vp by Antonius and Cleopatra. The excessiue expences of Antonius and Cleopatra in AEgypt.

one of *Antonius* cookes, he tooke him with him to *Antonius* house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one onely supper. When he was in the kitchin, and saw a world of diuersities of meates, and amongst others, eight wild boares rosted whole: he began to wonder at it, and saide, sure you haue a great number of guestes to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, no (quoth he) not many guestes, nor aboue twelue in all: but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be serued in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For *Antonius* peraduenture will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath drunke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we doe not dresse one supper onely, but many suppers, because we are vncertaine of the houre he will suppe in. *Philotas* the Phisitian tolde my grandfather this tale, and saide moreouer, that it was his chaunce shortly after to serue the eldest sonne of the saide *Antonius*, whom he had by his wife *Fuluia*: and that he sate commonly at his table with his other friendes, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisitian that was so full of words, that he made euery man wearie of him at the bord: but *Philotas* to stoppe his mouth, put out a subtle proposition to him. It is good in some sort to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew: euery man that hath an agew hath it in some sort, ergo it is good for a man that hath an agew to drinke cold water. The Phisitian was so grauelled & amated withall, that he had not a word more to say. Young *Antonius* burst out in such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said vnto him: *Philotas*, take all that, I giue it thee: shewing him his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and siluer. *Philotas* thanked him, and told him he thought himself greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would neuer haue thought that he had had power to haue giuen so many things, and of so great value. But much more he maruelled, when shortly after one of young *Antonius* men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his marke and stampe vpon them, and to locke them vp. *Philotas* returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproued if he tooke thē. Then the young gentleman *Antonius* said vnto him: alas poore man, why doest thou make it nise to take them? Knowest thou not that it is the sonne of *Antonius* that giues them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not beleeue me, take rather the readie money they come to: because my father peraduenture may aske for some of the plate, for the antike & excellent workmanship of them. This I haue heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to *Cleopatra*. *Plato* writeth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* deuided it into many kinds. For she, were it in sport, or in matters of earnest, still deuised sundrie newe delights to haue *Antonius* at commaundement, neuer leauing him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dice with him, drinke with him, & hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or actiuitie of body. And sometime also, when he would goe vp and downe the citie disguised like a slaue in the night, & would peere into poore mens windowes at their shops, and scold and braule with them within the house: *Cleopatra* would be also in a chamber maides array, and amble vp & downe the streetes with him, so that oftentimes *Antonius* bare away both mockes & blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the ALEXANDRIANS were commonly glad of this iolity, and liked it well, saying very gallantly, and wisely: that *Antonius* shewed them a comicall face, to wit, a merie countenance: and the ROMAINES a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon vp all the fooliish sportes they made, reuelling in this sort: it were too fonde a part of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was an angrie as could be, because *Cleopatra* stood by. Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight diue vnder the water, and put a fish on his hooke which they had taken before: and so snatched vp his angling rodde, and brought vp fish twise or thrise. *Cleopatra* found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she tolde them how it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fisher boates to see this thing. *Antonius* then threw in his line and *Cleopatra* straight commanded one of her men to

Eight wilde boares roasted whole.

Philotas a Phisitian, borne in Amphissa, reporter of this feast.

Philotas, Phisitian to the younger Antonius.

Philotas subtle proposition.

Plato writeth of foure kinds of flatterie.

Cleopatra Queene of all flatterers.

Antonius fishing in Aegypt.

diue vnder water before *Antonius* men, and to put some old salt fish vpon his baite, like vnto those that are brought out of the country of PONT. When he had hong the fish on his hook, *Antonius* thinking he had taken a fish in deede, snatched vp his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. *Cleopatra* laughing also, said vnto him: leaue vs (my Lord) ÆGYPTIANS (which dwell in the country of PHARVS & CANOBVS) your angling rod: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and countries. Now *Antonius* delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from ROME, that his brother *Lucius* and *Fuluia* his wife, fell out first betwene themselues, and afterwards fell to open warre with *Cæsar*, & had brought all to nought, that they were both driuen to flie out of ITALY. The second newes, as bad as the first: that *Labienus* conquered all ASIA with the armie of the PARTHIANS, from the riuer of Euphrates, and from SYRIA, vnto the countries of LYDIA and IONIA. Then beganne *Antonius* with much a do, a litle to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great drunkennesse. So, first of all he bent himselfe against the PARTHIANS, and went as farre as the country of PHOENICIA: but there he receiued lamentable letters from his wife *Fuluia*. Whereupon he straight returned towardes ITALY, with two hundred saile: and as he went, tooke vp his friends by the way that fled out of ITALIE, to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife *Fuluia* was the only cause of this warre: who being of a peeuish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this vprore in ITALY, in hope thereby to withdraw him from *Cleopatra*. But by good fortune, his wife *Fuluia* going to meete with *Antonius* sickned by the way, and died in the citie of SICYONE: and therefore *Octauius Cæsar*, and he were the easilier made friends together. For when *Antonius* landed in ITALIE, and that men saw *Cæsar* asked nothing of him, and that *Antonius* on the other side laide all the fault & burden on his wife *Fuluia*: the friendes of both parties would not suffer them to vnrippe any old matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them: but they made them friendes together, and deuided the Empire of ROME betwene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their diuision. For they gaue all the prouinces Eastward vnto *Antonius*: and the countries Westward, vnto *Cæsar*: and left AFRICKE vnto *Lepidus*: and made a law, that they three one after an other should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be themselues. This seemed to be a sound councell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was *Octauia* the eldest sister of *Cæsar*, not by one mother, for she came of *Ancharia*, & *Cæsar* himselfe afterwards of *Accia*. It is reported, that he dearly loued his sister *Octauia*, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband *Caius Marcellus*, who died not long before: and it seemed also that *Antonius* had bene widower euer since the death of his wife *Fuluia*. For he denied not that he kept *Cleopatra*, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife: & so with reason he did defend the loue he bare vnto this ÆGYPTIAN *Cleopatra*. Thereupon euery man did set forward this mariage, hoping thereby that this Ladie *Octauia*, hauing an excellent grace, wisedom, & honestie, ioyned vnto so rare a beautie, that when she were with *Antonius* (he louing her as so worthy a Ladie deserueth) she should be a good meane to keepe good loue & amitie betwixt her brother and him. So when *Cæsar* & he had made the match betwene them, they both went to ROME about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be maried within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proceeded accordingly. *Sextus Pompeius* at that time kept in SICILIA, and so made many an inrode into ITALIE with a great number of pynnasies and other pirates shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pirats, *Menas* and *Menecrates*, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a saile. Furthermore, *Sextus Pompeius* had dealt very friendly with *Antonius*, for he had courteously receiued his mother, when she fled out of ITALIE with *Fuluia*: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, vpon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: *Pompey* hauing his shippes ryding hard by at anker, and *Antonius* and *Cæsar* their armies vpon the shore side, directly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that *Sextus Pompeius* should haue SICILE and

The warres of Lucius, Antonius and Fuluia, against Octauius Cæsar.

The death of Fuluia Antonius wife.

All the Empire of Rome deuided betwene the Triumuiri. Octauia, the halfe sister of Octauius Cæsar and daughter of Ancharia which was not Cæsars mother.

A law at Rome for marying of widowes. Antonius maried Octauia, Octauius Cæsars halfe sister

Antonius and Octauius Cæsar, do make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

and SARDINIA, with this condition, that he should ridde the sea of all theeues and pirats, and make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine of wheate to ROME: one of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne. It was *Pompeius* chaunce to inuite them first. Whereupon *Antonius* asked him: and where shall we sup? There, said *Pompey*, and shewed him his admirall galley which had sixe banks of owers: that (said he) is my fathers house they haue left me. He spake it to taunt *Antonius*, because he had his fathers house, that was *Pompey* the great. So he cast anckers enow into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to conuey them to his galley, from the head of mount Misena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the middest of the feast, when they fell to be merie with *Antonius* loue vnto *Cleopatra*: *Menas* the pirate came to *Pompey*, & whispering in his eare, said vnto him: shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of SICILE and SARDINIA, but of the whole Empire of ROME besides? *Pompey* hauing pausd a while vpon it, at length answered him: thou shouldest haue done it, and neuer haue told it me, but now we must content vs with that we haue. As for my selfe, I was neuer taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, and then he returned into SICILE. *Antonius* after this agreement made, sent *Ventidius* before into ASIA to stay the PARTHIANS, and to keepe them they should come no further: and he himselfe in the meane time, to gratifie *Cæsar*, was contented to be chosen *Iulius Cæsars* priest and sacrificer, & so they ioyntly together dispatched all great matters, concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other maner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other: *Antonius* was euer inferior vnto *Cæsar*, & alway lost, which grieued him much. With *Antonius* there was a soothsayer or astronomer of ÆGYPT, that could cast a figure, and iudge of mens natiuities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please *Cleopatra*, or else for that he found it so by his art, tolde *Antonius* plainely, that his fortune (which of it selfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemished and obscured by *Cæsars* fortune: and therefore he counselled him vtterly to leaue his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy *Demon* said he, (that is to say, the good angell and spirit that keepeth thee) is affraide of him: and being coragious & high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timerous when he commeth neere vnto the other. Howsoeuer it was, the euents ensuing proued the ÆGYPTIANS words true. For, it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for passtime, who should haue any thing, or whether they plaied at dice, *Antonius* alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cockfight, or quailes that were taught to fight one with an other: *Cæsars* cockes or quailes did euer ouercome. The which spighted *Antonius* in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therfore he beleeued the ÆGYPTIAN the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house vnto *Cæsar*, & went out of ITALY with *Octauia* his wife, whom he caried into GREECE, after he had had a daughter by her. So *Antonius* lying al the winter at ATHENS, news came vnto him of the victories of *Ventidius*, who had ouercome the PARTHIANS in battell, in the which also were slaine, *Labienus* and *Pharnabates*, the chiefest Captaine king *Orodes* had. For these good newes he feasted all ATHENS, and kept open house for all the GRECIANS, and many games of price were plaid at ATHENS, of the which he himselfe would be iudge. Wherfore leauing his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the shew place (or listes) where these games were plaide in a long gowne and slippers after the GRECIAN fashion, and they caried tippestaues before him, as martials men do carie before the Iudges to make place: and he himselfe in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Oliue, and caried a vessell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepsydra, because of an Oracle he had receiued that so commaunded him. In the meane time, *Ventidius* once againe ouercame *Pacorus*, (*Orodes* sonne king of PARTHIA) in a battel fought in the country of CYRRESTICA, he being come againe with a great armie to inuade SYRIA: at which battell was slaine a great number of the PARTHIANS, & among them *Pacorus*, the kings owne sonne slaine. This noble exploit as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the ROMAINES, of the shame and losse they had receiued before by the death of *Marcus Crassus*: and he made the PARTHIANS flie, and

Sextus Pompeius taunt to Antonius.

Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderfull great fortune for his honestie and faithes sake, refused it.

Antonius told by a soothsaier, that his fortune was inferiour vnto Octauius Cæsar.

Antonius vnfortunate in sport and earnest, against Octauius Cæsar.

Orodes king of Parthia.

Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians.

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthias sonne.

glad to keepe themselues within the confines and territories of MESOPOTAMIA, & MEDIA, after they had thrise together bene ouercome in seuerall battels. Howbeit *Ventidius* durst not vndertake to follow them any farther, fearing least he should haue gotten *Antonius* displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his armie against them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongst whom he besieged *Antiochus*, king of COMMAGENA, who offered him to giue a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised euer after to be at *Antonius* commaundement. But *Ventidius* made him answere, that he should send vnto *Antonius*, who was not farre off, & would not suffer *Ventidius* to make any peace with *Antiochus*, to the end that yet this litle exploit should passe in his name, and that they should not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenant *Ventidius*. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the towne, seeing they could not be receiued vppon no reasonable composition: determined valiantly to defende themselues to the last man. Thus *Antonius* did nothing, and yet receiued great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with *Antiochus*, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state & affaires of SYRIA, he returned againe to ATHENS: and hauing giuen *Ventidius* such honours as he deserued, he sent him to ROME, to triumph for the PARTHIANS. *Ventidius* was the onely man that euer triumphed of the PARTHIANS vntill this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained vnto, through *Antonius* friendshippe, the which deliuered him happie occasion to atchieue to great matters. And yet to say truely, he did so well quit himselfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of *Antonius* and *Cæsar*: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by themselues. For *Sossius*, one of *Antonius* Lieutenants in SYRIA, did notable good seruice: and *Canidius* whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he also ouercome the kings of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his conquests vnto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of *Antonius* power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But *Antonius* notwithstanding, grew to be maruellously offended with *Cæsar*, vpon certaine reportes that had beene brought vnto him: and so tooke sea to go towards ITALY with three hundred saile. And because those of BRVNDVSIVM would not receiue his armie into their hauen, he went farther vnto TARENTVM. There his wife *Octauia* that came out of GREECE with him, besought him to send her vnto her brother: the which he did. *Octauia* at that time was great with child, and moreouer had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in iorney, and met with her brother *Octauius Cæsar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe friends, *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the worlde, to become now the most wretched and vnfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, euery mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperors and wife of the other. And if the worst counsell take place, (which the goddes forbid) and that they growe to warres: for your selues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes haue assigned the victorie, or ouerthrowe. But for me, on which side soeuer victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These wordes of *Octauia* so softned *Cæsars* heart, that he went quickly vnto TARENTVM. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by land not to sturre, and so many shippes a flote in the roade, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindnesse of friendes, louingly imbracing one an other. First, *Antonius* feasted *Cæsar*, which he graunted vnto for his sisters sake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that *Cæsar* should giue *Antonius* two legions to goe against the PARTHIANS: and that *Antonius* should let *Cæsar* haue a hundred gallies armed with brasen spurres at the prooes. Besides all this, *Octauia* obteyned of her husband, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbande, a thousande armed men. After they had taken leaue of each other, *Cæsar* went immediatly to make warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to get SICILIA into his handes. *Antonius* also leauing his wife *Octauia* and litle children begotten of her with *Cæsar*, and his other children which he had by *Fuluia*: he went directly into ASIA. Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischiefe

Ventidius the only man of the Romaines, that triumphed for the Parthians.

Canidius conquests.

New displeasures betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæsar

The words of Octauia vnto Mæcenas and Agrippa.

Octauia pacifieth the quarrell betwixt Antonius, and her brother Octauius Cæsar.

chiefe of *Cleopatraes* loue (which had ſlept a long time, and ſeemed to haue beene vtterly forgotten, and that *Antonius* had giuen place to better counſell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, ſo ſoone as *Antonius* came neare vnto SYRIA. And in the end, the horſe of the minde as *Plato* termeth it, that is ſo hard of raine (I meane the vnreyned luſt of concupiſcence) did put out of *Antonius* head, all honeſt and commendable thoughtes: for he ſent *Fonteius Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* into SYRIA. Vnto whom, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things: but vnto that ſhee had already, he added the prouinces of PHOENICIA, thoſe of the nethermoſt SYRIA, the Ile of CYPRVS, and a great part of CILICIA, and that countrey of IVRY, where the true balme is, and that part of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS doe dwell, which ſtretcheth out towardes the Ocean. Theſe great giftes much miſliked the ROMAINES. But now, though *Antonius* did eaſily giue away great ſeigniories, realmes, and mighty nations vnto ſome priuate men, and that alſo he tooke from other kings their lawfull realms: (as from *Antigonus* king of the IEVVES, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had ſuffered like death) yet all this did not ſo much offend the ROMAINES, as the vnmeaſurable honors which he did vnto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggrauat their malice and ill will towards him, becauſe that *Cleopatra* hauing brought him two twins, a ſonne and a daughter, he named his ſon *Alexander*, and his daughter *Cleopatra*, and gaue them to their ſurnames, the Sun to the one, and the moone to the other. This notwithſtanding, hee that could finely cloke his ſhamefull deeds with fine words, ſaid that the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of ROME appeared moſt, not where the ROMAINS tooke, but where they gaue much: & nobility was multiplied amongſt men, by the poſterity of kings, when they left off their ſeede in diuers places: and that by this meanes his firſt aunceſter was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and poſterity, in the wombe of one only woman, feating *Solons* lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gaue it vnto nature, and eſtabliſhed the foundation of many noble races and families in diuers places. Now when *Phraortes* had ſlaine his father *Orodes*, and poſſeſſed the kingdome: many gentlemen of PARTHIA forſooke him, & fled from him. Amongſt them was *Monaſes*, a noble man, and of great authority among his country men, who came vnto *Antonius*, that receiued him, & compared his fortune vnto *Themiſtecles*, and his own riches and magnificence, vnto the kings of PERSIA. For he gaue *Monaſes* 3. cities, LARISSA, ARETHVSA, & HIERAPOLIS, which was called before BOMBYCE. Howbeit the king of PARTHIA ſhortly after called him home againe, vpon his faith & word. *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to ſteale vpon *Phraortes* vnprouided. For he ſent vnto him, and told him that they would remaine good frends, & haue peace together, ſo he would but only redeliuer the ſtanderds & enſignes of the ROMAINS, which the PARTHIANS had won in the battel where *Marcus Craſſus* was ſlaine, & the men alſo that remained yet priſoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he ſent *Cleopatra* backe into ÆGYPT, & tooke his way towards ARABIA & ARMENIA, & there tooke a generall muſter of al his army he had together, & of the kings his confederats that were come by his commandement to aide him, being a maruellous number: of the which the chiefeſt was *Artauaſdes*, king of ARMENIA, who did furniſh him with ſix thouſand horſmen, and ſeuen thouſand footmen. There were alſo of the ROMAINS about three ſcore thouſand footemen, & of horſmen (SPANIARDS & GAVLS reckoned for ROMAINS) to the number of ten thouſand, & of other nations thirty thouſand men, reckoning together the horſmen and light armed footmen. This ſo great & puiſant army which made the INDIANS quake for fear, dwelling about the country of the BACTRIANS, & all ASIA alſo to tremble: ſerued him to no purpoſe, & all for the loue he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earneſt great deſire he had to lie all winter with her, made him begin his warre out of due time, and for haſt, to put all in hazard, being ſo raniſhed and enchaunted with the ſweete poiſon of her loue, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne againe: more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For firſt of all, where he ſhould haue wintered in ARMENIA to refreſh his men, wearied with the long iorney they had made, hauing come eight thouſand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the ſpring to go and inuade MEDIA, before the PARTHIANS ſhould ſtir out of their houſes and garriſons: he could tary no longer, but led them forth with vnto the prouince

Plato calleth concupiſcence the horſe of the minde.

Antonius ſent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Antonius gaue great prouinces vnto Cleopatra.

Antigonus king of Iury, the firſt king beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius twinnes by Cleopatra, and their names.

Phraortes ſlue his father Orodes, king of Perſia.

Antonius great and puiſant army.

Antonius drunke with the loue of Cleopatra.

of ATROPATENE, leauing ARMENIA on the left hand, and forraged all the countrey. Furthermore, making all the haſt he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were caried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which alſo there was a ramme foure ſcore foot long) being things moſt neceſſary for him, and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once loſt or marred. For the high prouinces of ASIA haue no trees growing of ſuch height & length, neither ſtrong nor ſtraight enough to make ſuch like engines of battery. This notwithſtanding, he left them all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters & intent ſpeedily to paſſe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gaue them in charge vnto one *Tatianus*. Then he went to beſiege the city of PHRAATA, being the chiefeſt and greateſt city the king of MEDIA had, where his wife and children were. Then he ſtraight found his owne fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the worke he had in hand: for he was faine for lacke of a breache (where his men might come to the ſword with their enemies that defended the walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the city, the which by litle and litle with great labour, roſe to ſome height. In the meane time king *Phraortes* came downe with a great army: who vnderſtanding that *Antonius* had left his engines of battery behind him, he ſent a great number of horſemen before, which enuironned *Tatianus* with all his cariage, and ſlue him, and tenne thouſand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people tooke theſe engines of battery and burnt them, and got many priſoners, amongſt whom they tooke alſo king *Polemon*. This diſcomfiture maruellouſly troubled al *Antonius* army, to receiue ſo great an ouerthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their iorney: inſomuch that *Artabazus*, king of the ARMENIANS, deſpairing of the good ſucceſſe of the ROMAINS: departed with his men, notwithſtanding that he was him ſelfe the firſt procurer of this warre and iorney. On the other ſide, the PARTHIANS came coragiouſly vnto *Antonius* campe, who lay at the ſiege of their chiefeſt city, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay ſtill and did nothing, his mens hearts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or enſignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the guard of the Generall) and all his horſemen, and carried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he ſhould eaſily allure the PARTHIANS to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a dayes iorney from his campe, he ſaw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to giue him the onſet, & to skirmiſh with him, when he would think to march his way. Therefore he ſet out his ſignall of battell, and yet cauſed his tents and fardels to be truſſed vp, as though he ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was martiald like a creſſant or halfe moone: and commaunded his horſemen, that as ſoone as they thought the legions were near enough vnto their enemies to ſet vpon the voward, that then they ſhould ſet ſpurs to their horſes, and begin the charge. The PARTHIANS ſtanding in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the ROMAINS as they marched: they appeared to be ſouldiers in deede, to ſee them march in ſo good array as was poſſible. For in their march, they kept the rancks a litle ſpace one from another, not ſtragling out of order, and ſhaking their pikes, ſpeaking neuer a word. But ſo ſoone as the allarme was giuen, the horſmen ſodainly turned head vpon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the firſt receiued their charge coragiouſly, for they were ioined nearer thē within an arrows ſhoote. But when the legions alſo came to ioine with them, ſhouting out aloud, and ratling of their armors: the PARTHIANS horſes and them ſelues were ſo affraied and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the ROMAINES could come to the ſword with them. Then *Antonius* followed thē hard in chaſe, being in great good hope by this conflict to haue brought to end all, or the moſt part of this warre. But after that his footemen had chaſed them fifty furlongs off, and the horſemen alſo thriſe as farre: they found in all but thirty priſoners taken, and about foure ſcore men only ſlaine. But this did much diſcorage them, when they cōſidered with them ſelues, that obtaining the victory, they had ſlaine ſo few of their enemies: and where they were ouercome, they loſt as many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning, *Antonius* army truſſed vp their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the firſt a few of the PARTHIANS: then going further, they met a few

Antonius beſiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.

The Parthians tooke Antonius engines of battery.

Battell betwixt the Parthians and Antonius.

The Romaines good order in their march.

few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, and troubled them on euery ſide, as freſhly and couragiouſly, as if they had not bene ouerthrowen: ſo that the ROMAINES very hardly got to their campe with ſafety. The MEDES on the other ſide, that were beſieged in their chiefe city of PHRAATA, made a ſaly out vpon thē that kept the mount, which they had forced and caſt againſt the wall of the city, and draue them for feare, from the mount they kept. *Antonius* was ſo offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deuided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lotte fell: and to the other nine, he cauſed them to haue barley giuen them in ſtead of wheate. Thus this war fell out troubleſome vnto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearefull. For *Antonius* could looke for no other of his ſide, but famine: becauſe he could forrage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loſſe of his men. *Phraortes* on the other ſide, he knew well enough that he could bring the PARTHIANS to any thing els, but to lie in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the ROMAINS continued their ſiege all winter long, and made warre with him ſtill: that his men would forſake him, and ſpecially becauſe the time of the yeare went away a pace, and the aire waxed cloudy, and cold, in the equinoctiall autumne. Thereupon he called to minde this deuiſe. He gaue the chiefeſt of his gentlemen of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the ROMAINES out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their horſe, or for ſome other prouiſion: that they ſhould not diſtreſſe them too much, but ſhould ſuffer them to cary ſomewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantnes and hardines, for the which their king did eſteeme them the more, and not without cauſe. After theſe firſt baites and allurements, they began by litle and litle to come nearer vnto them, and to talke with them a horſebacke, greatly blaming *Antonius* ſelfewil that did not giue their king *Phraortes* occaſiō to make a good peace, who deſired nothing more, then to ſaue the liues of ſo goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greateſt and moſt dreadfull enemies he could haue, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they ſhould hardly away withall, though the PARTHIANS did the beſt they could to aide and accompany them. Theſe wordes being oftentimes brought to *Antonius*, they made him a litle pliant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he would not ſend vnto the king of PARTHIA, before they had firſt asked theſe barbarous people that ſpake ſo curteouſly vnto his men, whether they ſpake it of them ſelues, or that they were their maiſters words. When they told them the king him ſelfe ſaid ſo, and did perſwade them further not to feare or miſtruſt them: then *Antonius* ſent ſome of his frends vnto the king, to make demand for the deliuery of the enſignes and priſoners he had of the ROMAINS, ſince the ouerthrow of *Craſſus*: to the end it ſhould not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they ſhould thinke he were glad that he might only ſcape with ſafety out of the danger he was in. The king of PARTHIA aunſwered him: that for the enſignes and priſoners he demanded, he ſhould not breake his head about it: notwithſtanding, that if he would preſently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable maner, and without danger. Wherfore *Antonius* after he had giuen his men ſome time to truſſe vp their cariage, he raiſed his campe, and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertaine his ſouldiers and men of war, and that he could paſſingly well do it, as wel, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being aſhamed for reſpects, he would not ſpeake vnto them at his remouing, but willed *Domitius AEnobarbus* to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in diſdaine of them: but the moſt part of them preſently vnderſtood the truth of it, & were alſo aſhamed. Therefore they thought it their dueties to cary the like reſpect vnto their Captaine, that their Captaine did vnto them: and ſo they became the more obedient vnto him. So *Antonius* was minded to returne the ſame way he came, being a plaine barren countrey without wod. But there came a ſouldier to him, born in the country of the MARDIANS, who by oft frequēting the PARTHIANS of long time, knew their faſhions very wel, and had alſo ſhewed himſelf very true & faithfull to the ROMAINS, in the battell where *Antonius* engines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came vnto *Antonius*, to counſell him to beware how he went that way, & to make his army a prey, being heauily armed, vnto ſo great a number of horſemen, all archers in the open field, where they ſhould haue nothing to let them to compaſſe him round about: and

Decimation a martiall puniſhment.

The craft of the Parthians againſt the Romaines.

Antonius returneth from the iorney of the Parthians.

that this was *Phraortes* fetch to offer him so friendly conditions and curteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, an other way on the right hand, through woods and mountaines, a far nearer way, and where he should find great plenty of all things needefull for his army. *Antonius* hearing what he said, called his counsell together, to consult vppon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to giue them cause to thinke he mistrusted them: and on the other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places well inhabited, where he might be prouided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The MARDIAN gaue himselfe to be bound hand and foot, til he had brought his army into the country of ARMENIA. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, *Antonius* thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffred the souldiers to march in disorder as euery man listed. The MARDIAN perceiuing that the dammes of a riuer were newly broken vp, which they should haue passed ouer, and that the riuer had ouerflowen the bancks & drowned all the way they should haue gone: he gessed straight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the ROMAINES for getting too far before them. Thereupon he bad *Antonius* looke to him selfe, and told him that his enemies were not far from thence. *Antonius* hauing set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and sling men to resist the enemies, and to driue them backe: they discried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round about the army to compasse them in on euery side, and to breake their rancks, & their light armed men gaue charge vpon them. So after they had hurt many of the ROMAINS with their arrowes, and that they themselues were also hurt by them with their darts and plummets of lead: they retired a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge. Vntill that the horsmen of the GAVLS turned their horses, and fiercelie gallopped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby *Antonius* knew what to do, and did not onely strengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flancks also, with darts and sling men, and made his army march in a square battell: commanding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assaile them, they should driue them backe, but not follow them too far. Thus the PARTHIANS foure daies after, seeing they did no more hurt to the ROMAINS, then they also receiued of them: they were not so hot vpon them, as they were commanded, but excusing them selues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, *Flauius Gallus*, a valiant man of his handes, that had charge in the army: came vnto *Antonius* to pray him to let him haue some moe of his light armed men then were already in the rereward, and some of the horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe some notable exploite. *Antonius* graunting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set vpon the taile of the army, and to skirmish with them: *Flauius* coragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and ioyne presently with their army, for he ouerrashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Captaines that had the leading of the rereward, seeing *Flauius* stray too farre from the army: they sent vnto him to wil him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that *Titius* him self the Treasurer, tooke the ensignes, & did what he could to make the ensigne bearers returne backe, reuiling *Flauius Gallus*, because that through his folly and desperatnesse he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt & slaine to no purpose. *Gallus* also fell out with him, and commanded his men to stay. Wherefore *Titius* returned again into the army, and *Gallus* stil ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then seeing him selfe enuironned of all sides, he sent vnto the army, that they should come and aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which *Canidius*, a man of great estimation about *Antonius* made one) committed many faults. For where they should haue made head with the whole army vpon the PARTHIANS, they sent him aide by small cõpanies: and when they were slaine, they sent him others also. So that by their beastlinesse and lacke of consideration, they had like to haue made all the army flie, if *Antonius* him selfe had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the middest

The Parthians doe set vpon Antonius in his returne.

The bold act of Flauius Gallus.

Canidius fault, Antonius Captaine.

middest of them that fled, vntill they came to front of the enemies, and that they stayed them frō chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slaine no lesse then three thousand men, and fiue thousand besides brought sore hurt into the campe, and amongst them also *Flauius Gallus*, whose body was shot through in foure places, whereof he died. *Antonius* went to the tents to visit & comfort the sicke and wounded, and for pities sake he could not refraine from weeping: and they also shewing him the best countenaunce they could, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble him selfe for them, most reuerently calling him their Emperour and Captaine: and that for them selues, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For in deede to say truly, there was not at that time any Emperor or Captaine that had so great and puisant an army as his together, both for lusty youths and corage of the souldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great pains and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reuerence they shewed vnto their Captaine, with a maruellous earnest loue and good will, was so great: and all were indifferently (as well great as small, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines and souldiers) so earnestly bent to esteeme *Antonius* good will and fauour, aboue their owne life and safety: that in this point of martiall discipline, the ancient ROMAINS could not haue done any more. But diuers things were cause thereof, as we haue told you before: *Antonius* nobility and auncient house, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to sport and to be merry in company: but specially the care he tooke at that time to helpe, visite, and lament those that were sicke and wounded, seeing euery man to haue that which was meete for him: that was of such force and effect, as it made them that were sicke and wounded to loue him better, and were more desirous to do him seruice, then those that were whole and sound. This victory so incoraged the enemies, (who otherwise were weary to follow *Antonius* any farther) that all night long they tarried the fields, and houored about the ROMAINES campe, thinking that they would presently die, and then that they should take the spoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the PARTHIANS, then they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then forty thousand horse, because their king sent thither euen the very gard about his person, as vnto a most certaine and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoile and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king himself, he was neuer in any conflict or battel. Then *Antonius* desirous to speake to his souldiers, called for a blacke gowne, to appeare the more pittifull to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his coate armor, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his army: in the which he highly commended them that had ouercome and driuen backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that those which had ouercome, praied him to be of good chere: the other also to cleare them selues, willingly offered to take the lots of *Decimation* if he thought good, or otherwise, to receiue what kind of punishment it should please him to lay vpon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. *Antonius* seeing that, did lift vp his hands to heauen, & made his prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former victories, they would now send him some bitter aduersity: then that all might light on him selfe alone, and that they would giue the victory to the rest of his army. The next morning, they gaue better order on euery side of the army, and so marched forward: so that when the PARTHIANS thought to returne againe to assaile them, they came farre short of the reckonning. For where they thought to come not to fight, but to spoile and make hauocke of all: when they came neare them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other iauelings as the ROMAINS darted at them, and the PARTHIANS found them as rough and desperat in fight, as if they had bene fresh men they had dealt withall. Whereuppon their hearts beganne againe to faile them. But yet when the ROMAINS came to goe downe any steepe hils or mountaines, then they would set on them with their arrowes, because the ROMAINS could go downe but faire and softly. But then againe, the souldiers of the legion that caried great shields, returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the middest amongest them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, and so set downe their shields before them: and they of the second rancke also couered them of the first rancke, and the third also couered the second, and so from rancke

Flauius Gallus slaine.

Antonius care of them that were wounded.

The loue and reuerence of the souldiers vnto Antonius.

The rare and singular gifts of Antonius.

Thaking of Parthia neuer came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

The Romains testudo, and couering against shot.

to rancke all were couered. Insomuch that this manner of couering and shading them selues with shields, was deuised after the fashion of laying tiles vpon houses, and to sight, was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most strong defence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth vpon it. When the PARTHIANS saw this countenance of the ROMAINE souldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sort vpon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with trauell: they layed downe their bowes, and tooke their spears and launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMAINES sodainly rose vpon their feete, and with the darts that they threw from them, they slue the formost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by means of these dangers and lets, *Antonius* army could winne no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could haue but litle corne, and yet were they driuen daily to fight for it, and besides that, they had no instruments to grinde it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had bene left behind, because the beasts that caried them were either dead, or els imployed to cary them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreame great, that the eight part of a bushell of wheate was sold for fifty Drachmas, and they sold barely bread by the waight of siluer. In the end, they were compelled to liue of hearbs and rootes, but they found few of them that men doe commonly eate of, and were inforced to tast of them that were neuer eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and hee knew no manner of thing, but onely busied him selfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bene a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speede. All the campe ouer, men were busily stouping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to an other: but at the last, they cast vp a great deale of choller, and died sodainely, because they lacked wine, which was the onely soueraine remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that *Antonius* seeing such a number of his men die daily, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cried out sighing, and sayed: O, tenne thousand. He had the valiantnes of tenne thousand GREGIANS, in such admiration, whom *Xenophon* brought away after the ouerthrow of CYPRVS: because they had come a farther iorney from BABYLON, and had also fought against much moe enemies many times told, then them selues, and yet came home with safety. The PARTHIANS therefore seeing that they could not breake the good order of the army of the ROMAINS, and contrarily that they them selues were oftentimes put to flight, and welfauoredly beaten: they fell againe to their old crafty subtilties. For when they found any of the ROMAINES scattered from the army to goe forrage, to seeke some corne, or other victuals: they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and shewed them their bowes vnbent, saying, that them selues also did returne home to their countrey as they did, and that they would follow them no farther, howbeit that they should yet haue certaine MEDES that would follow them a daies iorney or two, to keepe them that they should doe no hurt to the villages from the high waies, and so holding them with this talke, they gently tooke their leaue of them, and bad them farewell, so that the ROMAINS began againe to think them selues safe. *Antonius* also vnderstanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine countrey, because also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take this course, there came into his hoast one *Mithridates*, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was Cosen vnto *Monaezes* that fled vnto *Antonius*, and vnto whom he had giuen three cities. When he came to *Antonius* campe, he praid them to bring him one that could speake the PARTHIAN, or SYRIAN tongue. So one *Alexander* ANTIOCHIAN, a familiar of *Antonius*, was brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and sayed, that *Monaezes* had sent him to *Antonius*, to requite the honor and curtesie he had shewed vnto him. After he had vsed this ceremonious speach, he asked *Alexander* if he saw those high Mountaines a farre off, which he pointed vnto him with his finger. *Alexander* aunswered he did. The PARTHIANS (sayd he) doe lie in ambushe at the foote of those Mountaines, vnder the which lieth a goodly plaine champion countrey: and they thinke that you being deceiued with their crafty subtill wordes, will leaue the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other

Great famine in Antonius army.

A deadly hearbe incurable without wine.

The valiantnes of tenne thousand Grecians, whom Xenophon brought away after the ouerthrow of Cyrus.

The Parthians very subtile and crafty people.

Mithridates a Parthian, bewraieth vnto Antonius the conspiracy of his own countreymen against him.

other way, it is very hard and painfull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if *Antonius* take the lower way, let him assure himselfe to runne the same fortune that *Marcus Crassus* did. So *Mithridates* hauing said, he departed. *Antonius* was maruellously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, & therfore called for his frends, to heare what they would say to it. The MARDIAN also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered: that he thought as much as the gentleman *Mithridates* had sayed. For, sayd he, admit that there were no ambushe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine waye, though it be stonie and painefull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole dayes trauelling without any water. So *Antonius* changing his first minde and determination, remoued that night, and tooke the Mountaine waye, commaunding euery man to prouide himselfe of water. But the most parte of them lacking vessells to carie water in, some were driuen to fill their saletts and murrians with water, and others also filled goates skinnes to carie water in. Nowe they matching forwarde, word was brought vnto the PARTHIANS that they were remoued: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfesame night, so that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the ROMAINS, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleep, that they were euen done. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundreth and fortie furlong, and further, to see their enemies so sodainly at their backes, that made them vtterly dispaire: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to driue their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The voward of the armie by chaunce met with a riuer that was very cleere and cold water, but it was salt and venemous to drinke: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunke it, and made them maruellous drie, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would haue kept them from drinking, and so dranke. But *Antonius* going vp and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a litle patience for a while, for hard by there was another riuer that the water was excellent good to drinke, & that from thenceforth the way was so stonie and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he caused the retreate to be sounded to call them backe that fought, and commaunded the tents to be set vppe, that the souldiers might yet haue shadowe to refresh them with. So when the tents were set vp, and the PARTHIANS also retyred according to their maner: the gentleman *Mithridates* before named, returned againe as before, and *Alexander* in like maner againe brought vnto him for Interpreter. Then *Mithridates* aduised him, that after the army had reposed a litle, the ROMAINS should remoue forthwith, and with all possible speede get to the riuer: because the PARTHIANS would goe no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. *Alexander* caried the report therof vnto *Antonius*, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to bestow vpon *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speede. So *Antonius* raysed his campe being yet day light, and caused all his army to march, and the PARTHIANS neuer troubled any of them by the way: but amongest them selues it was as ill and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were Villains of their owne company, who cut their fellowes throats for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and cariage of such money as they caried: and at length, they set vpon *Antonius* slaues that draue his owne sumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables and riche plate in peeces, and deuided it among them selues. Thereuppon all the campe was straight in tumult and vprore: For the residue of them were afraid it had bene the PARTHIANS that had giuen them this alarme, and had put all the army out of order. Insomuch that *Antonius* called for one *Rhamnus*, one of his slaues infranchised that was of his gard, and made him giue him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head: because he might not be taken aliue of his enemies, nor knowen when he were dead. This grieued his friends to the hart, that they burst out a weping for sorrow. The MARDIAN also did comfort him, and assured him that the riuer he sought for was hard by, and that he did gesse it by a sweete moyst wind that breathed vpon them, and by the aire which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they

A salt riuer.

Antonius great liberality vnto Mithridates, for the care he had of his safety.

The tumult of Antonius souldiers through coueton nes.

Antonius desperat minde.

fetched their wind more at libertie: and moreouer, becauſe that ſince they did ſet forward he thought they were neare their iornies end, not lacking much of day. On the other ſide alſo, *Antonius* was enformed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetouſneſſe and villanie of certen of his ſouldiers. Therefore *Antonius* to ſet his armie againe in order, and to pacifie this vprore, ſounded the trumpet that euerie man ſhould lodge. Now day began to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to ceaſe, when the PARTHIANS drew nere, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his armie. Thereupon the ſignall of battell was giuen to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer themſelues as they had done before with their ſhields, with the which they receiued & defended the force of the PARTHIANS arrowes, who neuer durſt any more come to handy ſtrokes with them: and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they ſpyed the riuer. There *Antonius* placed his armed men vpon the ſandes to receiue and driue backe the enemies, and firſt of all, got ouer his men that were ſicke and hurt, and afterwards all the reſt. And thoſe alſo that were left to reſiſt the enemies, had leyſure enough to drinke ſafely, and at their pleaſure. For when the PARTHIANS ſaw the riuer, they vnbent their bowes, and bad the ROMAINS paſſe ouer without any feare, and greatly commended their valiantneſſe. When they had all paſſed ouer the riuer at their eaſe, they tooke a litle breath, and ſo marched forward againe not greatly truſting the PARTHIANS. The ſixth day after this laſt battell, they came to the riuer of Araxes, which deuideth the coũtry of ARMENIA from MEDIA: the which appeared vnto them very daungerous to paſſe, for the depth and ſwiftnes of the ſtreame. And furthermore, there ranne a rumour through the campe, that the PARTHIANS lay in ambuſh thereabouts, and that they would come & ſet vpon them whileſt they were troubled in paſſing ouer the riuer. But now, after they were all come ſafely ouer without any daunger, and that they had gotten to the other ſide, into the prouince of ARMENIA: then they worſhipped that land, as if it had bene the firſt land they had ſeene after a long and daungerous voyage by ſea, being now arriued in a ſafe and happie hauen: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and euery man imbraced each other for the great ioy they had. But now, keeping the fieldes in this frutefull countrie ſo plentifull of all things, after ſo great a famine and want of all things: they ſo crammed themſelues with ſuch plenty of victuals, that many of them were caſt into flyxes and dropſies. There *Antonius* muſtring his whole armie, found that he had loſt twentie thouſand footemen, and foure thouſand horſemen, which had not all bene ſlaine by their enemies: for the moſt part of them died of ſickneſſe, making ſeuen and twentie dayes iorney, comming from the citie of PHRAATA into ARMENIA, and hauing ouercome the PARTHIANS in eighteen ſeuerall battels. But theſe victories were not throughly performed nor accompliſhed, becauſe they followed no long chaſe: and thereby it eaſily appeared, that *Artabazus* king of ARMENIA, had reſerued *Antonius* to end this warre. For if the ſixteene thouſand horſemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at theſe battels, conſidering that they were armed and apparelled much after the PARTHIANS manner, and acquainted alſo with their fight: When the ROMAINS had put them to flight that fought a battel with them, & that theſe ARMENIANS had followed the chaſe of them that fled, they had not gathered themſelues againe in force, neither durſt they alſo haue returned to fight with them ſo often, after they had bene ſo many times ouerthrowen. Therefore, all thoſe that were of any credite and countenaunce in the army, did perſwade and egge *Antonius* to be reuenged of this ARMENIAN king. But *Antonius* wiſely diſſembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gaue him the worſt countenaunce, nor did him leſſe honor then he did before: becauſe he knew his army was weake, and lacked things neceſſary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into ARMENIA with a great army, and ſo with faire wordes, and ſweete promiſes of Meſſengers, hee allured *Artabazus* to come vnto him: whom he then kept priſoner, and led in triumphe in the city of ALEXANDRIA. This greatly offended the ROMAINES, and made them much to miſlike it: when they ſaw that for *Cleopatraes* ſake he depriued his country of her due honor and glory, only to gratifie the ÆGYPTIANS. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great haſt he made to returne vnto *Cleopatra*, cauſed him to put his men to ſo great paines, forcing them to lie in the

Araxes ſt.

18. ſeuerall battels fought with the Parthians.

The treachery of Artabazus king of Armenia, vnto Antonius.

Antonius triumphed of Artabazus king of Armenia in AEgypt.

the field all winter long when it ſnew vnreaſonably, that by the way he loſt eight thouſand of his men, and ſo came downe to the ſea ſide with a ſmall companie, vnto a certen place called BLANCBOVRG, which ſtandeth betwixt the cities of BERYTVS and SIDON, and there taried for *Cleopatra*. And becauſe ſhe taried longer then he would haue had her, he pined away for loue and ſorrow. So that he was at ſuch a ſtraight, that he wiſt not what to doe, and therfore to weare it out, he gaue himſelfe to quaffing and feaſting. But he was ſo drowned with the loue of her, that he could not abide to ſit at the table till the feaſt were ended: but many times while others banquetted, he ranne to the ſea ſide to ſee if ſhe were comming. At length ſhe came and brought with her a world of apparell and money to giue vnto the ſouldiers. But ſome ſaye notwithſtanding, that ſhe brought apparell but no money, and that ſhe tooke of *Antonius* money, and cauſed it to be giuen amongſt the ſouldiers in her owne name, as if ſhe had giuen it them. In the meane time it chanced, that the king of the MEDES, and *Phraortes* king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the ſpoiles of the ROMAINS: and grew to be ſo hot betwene them, that the king of MEDES was no leſſe affraied, then alſo in danger to loſe his whole realme. Thereuppon he ſent vnto *Antonius* to pray him to come and make war with the PARTHIANS, promiſing him that he would aide him to his vttermoſt power. This put *Antonius* againe in good comfort, conſidering that vnlooked for, the onely thing he lacked, (which made him he could not ouercome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not brought horſemen, and men with darts and ſlings enough) was offred him in that ſort: that he did him more pleaſure to accept it, than it was pleaſure to the other to offer it. Hereuppon, after he had ſpoken with the king of MEDES at the riuer of Araxes, he prepared him ſelfe once more to goe through ARMENIA, and to make more cruell war with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whileſt *Antonius* was buſie in this preparation, *Octauia* his wife, whom he had left at ROME, would needes take ſea to come vnto him. Her brother *Octauius Ceſar* was willing vnto it, not for his reſpect at all (as moſt authors doe report) as for that he might haue an honeſt colour to make warre with *Antonius* if he did miſuſe her, and not eſteeme of her as ſhe ought to be. But when ſhe was come to ATHENS, ſhe receiued letters from *Antonius*, willing her to ſtay there vntill his comming, & did aduertiſe her of his iorney and determination. The which though it grieued her much, and that ſhe knew it was but an excuſe: yet by her letters to him of aunſwere, ſhe asked him whether he would haue thoſe things ſent vnto him which ſhe had brought him, being great ſtore of apparell for ſouldiers, a great number of horſe, ſumme of money and gifts, to beſtow on his friends and Captaines he had about him: and beſides all thoſe, ſhe had two thouſande ſouldiers choſen men, all well armed like vnto the Prætors bands. When *Niger*, one of *Antonius* friendes whom he had ſent vnto ATHENS, had brought theſe newes from his wife *Octauia*, and withall did greatly praiſe her, as ſhe was worthy, and well deſerued: *Cleopatra* knowing that *Octauia* would haue *Antonius* from her, and fearing alſo that if with her vertue and honeſt behauior, (beſides the great power of her brother *Ceſar*) ſhe did adde thereunto her modeſt kind loue to pleaſe her husband, that ſhe would then be too ſtrong for her, and in the end winne him away: ſhe ſubtilly ſeemed to languiſh for the loue of *Antonius*, pining her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, ſhe euery way ſo framed her countenaunce, that when *Antonius* came to ſee her, ſhe caſt her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauiſhed for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, ſhe fell a weeping and blubbering, looked ruefully of the matter, and ſtill found the meanes that *Antonius* ſhould oftentimes finde her weeping: and then when he came ſodainely vppon her, ſhe made as though ſhee dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if ſhe were vnwilling that he ſhould ſee her weepe. All theſe trickes ſhe vſed, *Antonius* being in readines to go into SYRIA, to ſpeake with the king of MEDES. Then the flatterers that furthered *Cleopatraes* mind, blamed *Antonius*, and told him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had ſmall loue in him, that would ſee a poore Lady in ſuch torment for his ſake, whoſe life depended only vpon him alone. For, *Octauia*, ſayd they, that was maried vnto him as it were of neceſſity, becauſe her brother *Ceſars* affaires ſo required it: hath the honor to be called *Antonius* lawfull ſpouſe and wife: and *Cleopatra*, being borne a Queene of ſo many thouſands of men, is onely named *Antonius* Leman, and yet that ſhee diſdained not

Antonius pined away looking for Cleopatra.

Cleopatra came to Blancbourg vnto Antonius.

Warres betwixt the Parthians and Medes.

Octauia, Antonius wife, came to Athens to meete with him.

The flickering enticements of Cleopatra, vnto Antonius.

so to be called, if it might please him she might enioy his companie, and liue with him: but if he once leaue her, that then it is vnpossible she should liue. To be short, by these their flatteries and inticements, they so wrought *Antonius* effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away: he returned againe vnto ALEXANDRIA, & referred the king of MEDES to the next yeare following, although he receiued newes that the PARTHIANS at that time were at ciuill warres among themselues. This notwithstanding, he went afterwardes and made peace with him. For he maried his Daughter which was verie young, vnto one of the sonnes that *Cleopatra* had by him: and then returned being fully bent to make warre with *Cæsar*. When *Octauia* was returned to ROME from ATHENS, *Cæsar* commanded her to goe out of *Antonius* house, and to dwell by herselfe, because he had abused her. *Octauia* answered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayed she, it were too shamefull a thing, that two so famous Captaines should bring in ciuill warres among the ROMAINS, the one for the loue of a woman, and the other for the iealousie betwixt one another. Now as she spake the word, so did she also performe the deede. For she kept still in *Antonius* house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly, and honorably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by *Fuluia*. Furthermore, when *Antonius* sent any of his men to ROME, to sue for any office in the common wealth: she receiued him very curteously, and so vsed her selfe vnto her brother, that she obtained the thing she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did *Antonius* great hurt. For her honest loue and regard to her husband, made euery man hate him, when they sawe he did so vnkindly vse so noble a Ladie: but yet the greatest cause of their malice vnto him, was for the diuision of lands he made amongst his children in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the ROMAINS. For he assembled all the people in the shew place, where young men doe exercise themselues, and there vppon a high tribunall siluered, he set two chaires of gold, the one for himselfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish *Cleopatra* Queene of ÆGYPT, of CYPRYS, of LYDIA, and of the lower SYRIA, and at that time also, *Cæsarion* king of the same realmes. This *Cæsarion* was supposed to be the sonne of *Iulius Cæsar*, who had left *Cleopatra* great with child. Secondly he called the sonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, & gaue *Alexander* for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered the countrie: and vnto *Ptolomy* for his portion, PHENICIA, SYRIA, and CILICIA. And therwithall he brought out *Alexander* in a long gowne after the fashion of the MEDES with a high copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the MEDES and ARMENIANS doe vse to weare them: and *Ptolomy* apparelled in a cloke after the MACEDONIAN maner, with slippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royal band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attire of the auncient kings and successours of *Alexander* the great. So after his sonnes had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of ARMENIAN souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the MACEDONIANS the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, she did not only weare at that time, (but at all other times els when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddesse *Isis*, and so gaue audience vnto all her subiects, as a new *Isis*. *Octauius Cæsar* reporting all these things vnto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in ROME: he thereby stirred vp all the ROMAINS against him. *Antonius* on the other side sent to ROME likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest pointes of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that hauing spoiled *Sextus Pompeius* in SICILE, he did not giue him his part of the Ile. Secondly, that he did detayne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that hauing put *Lepidus* their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and hauing depriued him of all honors: he retayned for him selfe the lands and reuenues thereof, which had bene assigned vnto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner deuided all ITALY amongest his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. *Octauius Cæsar* aunswered him againe: that for *Lepidus*, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part of

The occasion of ciuill warres betwixt Antonius and Cæsar

The loue of Octauia to Antonius her husband and her wise and womanly behauior

Antonius arrogantly deuideth diuers prouinces vnto his children by Cleopatra. Cæsarion, the supposed sonne of Cæsar, by Cleopatra. Alexander & Ptolom., Antonius sonnes by Cleopatra.

Accusations betwixt Octauius Cæsar, & Antonius.

of the Empire from him, becauſe he did ouercruelly vſe his authoritie. And ſecondly, for the conqueſts he had made by force of armes, he was contented *Antonius* ſhould haue his part of them, ſo that he would likewiſe let him haue his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, that for his ſouldiers, they ſhould ſeeke for nothing in ITALY, becauſe they poſſeſſed MEDIA and PARTHIA, the which prouinces they had added to the Empire of ROME, valiantly fighting with their Emperor and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing theſe newes, being yet in ARMENIA, commaunded *Canidius* to goe preſently to the ſea ſide with his ſixteene legions he had: and he himſelfe with *Cleopatra*, went vnto the citie of EPHESVS, and there gathered together his gallies and ſhippes out of all partes, which came to the number of eight hundreth, reckoning the great ſhippes of burden: and of thoſe *Cleopatra* furniſhed him with two hundreth, and twenty thouſand talents beſides, & prouiſion of victuals alſo to mainteine all the whole armie in this warre. So *Antonius*, through the perſwaſions of *Domitius*, commaunded *Cleopatra*, to returne againe into EGYPT, and there to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of this warre. But *Cleopatra*, fearing leaſt *Antonius* ſhould againe be made friends with *Octauius Cæſar*, by the meanes of his wife *Octauia*: ſhe ſo plyed *Canidius* with money, and filled his purſe, that he became her ſpokesman vnto *Antonius*, and told him there was no reaſon to ſend her from this war, who defraied ſo great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, becauſe that thereby the ÆGYPTIANS would then be vtterly diſcoraged, which were the chiefeſt ſtrength of the armie by ſea: conſidering that he could ſee no king of all the kings their confederates, that *Cleopatra* was inferior vnto, either for wiſedom or iudgement, ſeeing that long before ſhe had wiſely gouerned ſo great a realme as ÆGYPT, & beſides that ſhe had bene ſo long acquainted with him, by whom ſhe had learned to manedge great affaires. Theſe faire perſwaſions wanne him: for it was predeſtined that the gouernment of all the world ſhould fall into *Octauius Cæſars* handes. Thus, all their forces being ioyned together, they hoiſed ſaile towards the Ile of SAMOS, and there gaue themſelues to feaſtes and ſolace. For as all the kings, princes, and communalties, peoples and cities from SYRIA, vnto the mariſhes Mæotides, and from the ARMENIANS to the ILLYRIANS, were ſent vnto, to ſend and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could: euen ſo all plaiers, minſtrels, tumblers, fooles, and ieaſters, were commaunded to aſſemble in the Ile of SAMOS. So that, where in manner all the world in euery place was full of lamentations, ſighes and teares: onely in this Ile of SAMOS there was nothing for many daies ſpace, but ſinging and pyping, and all the Theater full of theſe common players, minſtrels, and ſinging men. Beſides all this, euery citie ſent an oxe thither to ſacrifice, and kings did ſtriue one with an other who ſhould make the nobleſt feaſts, & giue the richeſt gifts. So that euery man ſaid, what can they doe more for ioy of victorie, if they winne the battell? When they make alreadie ſuch ſumptuous feaſts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gaue the whole rabble of theſe minſtrels, & ſuch kind of people, the citie of PRIENE to keepe them withall, during this warre. Then he went vnto the citie of ATHENS, and there gaue himſelfe againe to ſee playes and paſtimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide, being iealous of the honors which *Octauia* had receiued in this city, where in deed ſhe was maruellouſly honored and beloued of the ATHENIANS: to winne the peoples good will alſo at ATHENS, ſhe gaue them great gifts: and they likewiſe gaue her many great honors, and appointed certain Ambaſſadors to cary the decree to her houſe, among the which *Antonius* was one, who as a Citizen of ATHENS reported the matter vnto her, & made an oration in the behalfe of the city. Afterwards he ſent to ROME to put his wife *Octauia* out of his houſe, who (as it is reported) went out of his houſe with al *Antonius* children, ſauing the eldeſt of them he had by *Fuluia*, who was with his father, bewailing and lamenting her curſed hap that had brought her to this, that ſhe was accompted one of the chiefeſt cauſes of this ciuill warre. The ROMAINES did pity her, but much more *Antonius*, & thoſe ſpecially that had ſeene *Cleopatra*: who neither excelled *Octauia* in beautie, nor yet in young yeares. *Octauius Cæſar* vnderſtanding the ſodaine & wonderfull great preparation of *Antonius*, he was not a litle aſtonied at it, (fearing he ſhould be driuen to fight that ſommer) becauſe he wanted many things, & the great and grieuous exactions of money did ſorely oppreſſe the people. For all manner of men elſe, were driuen to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenue: but the Libertines, (to witte, thoſe whoſe fa-

Antonius came with eight hundreth ſayle againſt Octauius Cæſar.

Antonius carieth Cleopatra with him to the wars, againſt Octauius Cæſar: and kepe great feaſting at the Ile of Samos together

Antonius put his wife Octauia out of his houſe at Rome.

thers or other predeceſſors had ſometime bene bond men) they were ceſſed to paye the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there roſe a wonderfull exclamation and great vprore all ITALY ouer: ſo that among the greateſt faults that euer *Antonius* committed, they blamed him moſt, for that he delayed to giue *Cæſar* battell. For he gaue *Cæſar* leyſure to make his preparations, and alſo to appeaſe the complaints of the people. When ſuch a great ſumme of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grewe to mutinie vpon it: but when they had once payed it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Plancus* (two of *Antonius* chiefeſt friendes and that had bene both of them Conſuls) for the great iniuries *Cleopatra* did them, becauſe they hindred all they could, that ſhe ſhould not come to this warre: they went and yeelded themſelues vnto *Cæſar*, and tolde him where the teſtament was that *Antonius* had made, knowing perfitly what was in it. The will was in the cuſtody of the Veſtall Nunnes: of whom *Cæſar* demanded for it. They anſwered him, that they would not giue it him: but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon *Cæſar* went thither, & hauing read it firſt to himſelfe, he noted certen places worthy of reproch: ſo aſſembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon diuers were maruellouſly offended, and thought it a ſtrange matter that he being aliue, ſhould be puniſhed for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. *Cæſar* chiefly tooke hold of this that he ordained touching his buriall: for he willed that his bodie, though he died at ROME, ſhould be brought in funerall pompe through the middeſt of the market place, and that it ſhould be ſent into ALEXANDRIA vnto *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, among diuers other faults wherewith *Antonius* was to be charged, for *Cleopatraes* ſake: *Caluiſius*, one of *Cæſars* friends reproued him becauſe he had franckly giuen *Cleopatra* all the libraries of the royall citie of PERGAMVM, in the which ſhe had aboue two hundred thouſand ſeuerall bookes. Againe alſo, that being on a time ſet at the table, he ſodainely roſe from the bord and trode vpon *Cleopatraes* foote, which was a ſigne giuen betwene them, that they were agreed of. That he had alſo ſuffred the EPHESIANS in his preſence to call *Cleopatra*, their ſoueraigne Ladie. That diuers times ſitting in his tribunall and chaire of ſtate, giuing audience to all kings and Princes: he had receiued loue letters from *Cleopatra*, written in tables of onyx or chriſtall, and that he had read them, ſitting in his imperiall ſeate. That one day when *Furnius*, a man of great account, and the eloqueneſt man of all the ROMAINS, pleaded a matter before him: *Cleopatra* by chance cõming through the market place in her litter where *Furnius* was a pleading: *Antonius* ſtraight roſe out of his ſeate, and left his audience to follow her litter. This notwithſtanding, it was thought *Caluiſius* deuiſed the moſt part of all theſe accuſations of his owne head. Neuertheleſſe they that loued *Antonius*, were interceſſors to the people for him, and amongſt them they ſent one *Geminius* vnto *Antonius*, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he ſhould be counted an enemie to the people of ROME. This *Geminius* being arriued in GREECE, made *Cleopatra* iealous ſtraight of his comming: becauſe ſhe ſurmiſed that he came not but to ſpeake for *Octauia*. Therfore ſhe ſpared not to taunt him al ſupper time, and moreouer to ſpite him the more, ſhe made him to be ſet loweſt of all at the boorde, the which he tooke patiently, expecting occaſion to ſpeake with *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* commanding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he anſwered him, that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning faſting: but drunke or faſting, howſoeuer it were, he was ſure of one thing, that all would not go well on his ſide, vnles *Cleopatra* were ſent backe into ÆGYPT. *Antonius* tooke theſe words in very ill part. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide anſwered him, thou doeſt well *Geminius*, ſayed ſhe, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within few dayes after, *Geminius* ſtale away, and fled to ROME. The flatterers alſo to pleaſe *Cleopatra*, did make her driue many other of *Antonius* faithfull ſeruants and friends from him, who could not abide the iniuries done vnto them: among the which theſe two were chiefe, *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the Hiſtoriographer: who wrote that he fled, becauſe her Phiſitian *Glaucus* told him, that *Cleopatra* had ſet ſome ſecretly to kill him. Furthermore he had *Cleopatraes* diſpleaſure, becauſe he ſayed one night at ſupper, that they made them drinke ſower wine, where *Sarmentus* at ROME dranke good wine of FALERNA. This *Sarmentus* was a pleaſaunt young boy, ſuch

as

Octauius Cæſar exacteth grieuous payments of the Romaines.

Titius and Plancus reuolt from Antonius and doe yeeld to Cæſar.

A famous librarie in the citie of Pergamum.

Furnius, an eloquent Orator among the Romaines.

Geminius ſent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heede to him ſelfe.

Many of Antonius friends doe forſake him.

as the Lordes of Rome are wont to haue about them to make them paſtime, which they call their ioyes, and he was *Octauius Cæſars* boye. Now after that *Cæſar* had made ſufficient preparation, he proclaimed open warre againſt *Cleopatra*, and made the people to aboliſh the power and Empire of *Antonius*, becauſe he had before giuen it vp vnto a woman. And *Cæſar* ſayed furthermore, that *Antonius* was not Maiſter of himſelfe, but that *Cleopatra* had brought him beſide himſelfe, by her charmes and amarous poyſons: and that they that ſhoulde make warre with them, ſhould be *Mardian* the Eſthuch, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, a woman of *Cleopatraes* bedchamber, that frizeled her haire, and dreſſed her head, and *Charmion*, the which were thoſe that ruled all the affaires of *Antonius* Empire. Before this warre as it is reported, many ſignes and wonders fell out. Firſt of all, the citie of Pisavrvm which was made a colonie to Rome, and repleniſhed with people by *Antonius*, ſtanding vpon the ſhore ſide of the ſea Adriaticke, was by a terrible earthquake ſuncke into the ground. One of the images of ſtone which was ſet vp in the honor of *Antonius*, in the citie of Alba, did ſweate many daies together: and though ſome wyped it away, yet it leſte not ſweating ſtill. In the citie of Patras whileſt *Antonius* was there, the temple of *Hercules* was burnt with lightning. And at the citie of Athens alſo, in a place where the warre of the gyants againſt the goddes is ſet out in imagerie: the ſtatue of *Bacchus* with a terrible wind was throwen downe in the Theater. It was ſaid that *Antonius* came of the race of *Hercules*, as you haue heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed *Bacchus*: and therfore he was called the new *Bacchus*. Furthermore, the ſame bluſtering ſtorm of wind, ouerthrew the great monſtrous images at Athens, that were made in the honor of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the which men had named and intituled, the *Antonians*, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many beſides. The Admiral galley of *Cleopatra*, was called Antoniade, in the which there chanced a maruellous ill ſigne. Swallowes had bred vnder the poop of her ſhip, and there came others after them that draue away the firſt, and plucked down their neaſts. Now when all things were readie, & that they drew neare to fight: it was found that *Antonius* had no leſſe then fiue hundreth good ſhips of war, among which there were many gallies that had eight & ten bancks of owers, the which were ſumptuouſly furniſhed, not ſo meete for fight, as for triumph: a hundred thouſand footmen, and twelue thouſand horſemen, and had with him to aide him theſe kings and ſubiectes following. *Bocchus* king of Libya, *Tarcõdemus* king of high Silicia, *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia, *Philadelphus* king of Paphlagonia, *Mithridates* king of Comagena, and *Adallas* king of Thracia. All which were there euery man in perſon. The reſidue that were abſent ſent their armies, as *Polemon* king of Pont, *Manchus* king of Arabia, *Herodes* king of Iury: and furthermore, *Amyntas* king of Lycaonia, & of the Galatians: and beſides all theſe, he had all the aide the king of Medes ſent vnto him. Now for *Cæſar*, he had two hundreth and fiftie ſhips of warre, foureſcore thouſand footmen, and well neare as many horſmen as his enemie *Antonius*. *Antonius* for his part, had all vnder his dominion from Armenia, & the riuer of Euphrates, vnto the ſea Ionivm & Illyricvm. *Octauius Cæſar* had alſo for his part, all that which was in our Hemisphere, or halfe part of the world, from Illyria, vnto the Ocean ſea vpon the weſt: then all from the Ocean, vnto mare Siculum: & from Africk, all that which is againſt Italy, as Gavle, & Spain. Furthermore, all from the prouince of Cyrenia, to Æthiopia, was ſubiect vnto *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* was made ſo ſubiect to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the ſtronger by land, yet for *Cleopatraes* ſake he would needes haue this battell tryed by ſea: though he ſawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water-menne, his Captaines did preſt by force all ſortes of men out of Greece that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muletters, reapers, haruеſt men, and young boyes, and yet could they not ſufficiently furniſh his gallies: ſo that the moſt parte of them were emptie, and could ſcant row, becauſe they lacked water-men enowe. But on the contrarie ſide *Cæſars* ſhippes were not built for pompe, high and great, onely for a ſight and brauery, but they were light of yarage: armed and furniſhed with water-men as many as they needed, and had them al in readines, in the hauens of Tarentvm, & Brvndvsivm. So *Octauius Cæſar* ſent vnto *Antonius*, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy: and that for his owne part he would giue him ſafe harbor, to land without any trouble, and

Antonius Empire taken from him.

Signes and wonders before the ciuill wars betwixt Antonius & Octauius Cæſar.

Peſaro, a citie in Italie, ſunke into the grould by an earthquake.

An ill ſigne, foreſhewed by ſwallowes breding in Cleopatraes ſhippe.

Antonius power againſt Octa. Cæſar.

Antonius had eight kings & their power to ayde him.

The armie & power of Octauius Cæſar againſt Antonius.

Antonius dominions Octauius Cæſars dominions

Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.

that he would withdraw his armie from the ſea, as farre as one horſe could runne, vntil he had put his army a ſhore, & had lodged his men. *Antonius* on the other ſide brauely ſent him word againe, and chalenged the combat of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refuſed him ſo, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIA, as *Iulius Cæſar*, & *Pompey* had done before. Now whilſt *Antonius* rode at anker, lying idlely in harbor at the head of ACTIVM, in the place where the citie of NICOPOLIS ſtandeth at this preſent: *Cæſar* had quickly paſſed the ſea Ionium, and taken a place called TORYNE, before *Antonius* vnderſtoode that he had taken ſhip. Then beganne his men to be affraid, becauſe his armie by land was left behind. But *Cleopatra* making light of it: and what danger, I pray you, ſaid ſhe, if *Cæſar* keepe at* TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in battell againſt him, *Antonius* was afraid that if they came to ioyne, they would take and carie away his ſhippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his watermen, and ſet them in order of battell vpon the forecaſtle of their ſhippes, and then lift vp all his rancks of owers towards the element, as wel on the one ſide as on the other, with the prooes againſt the enemies, at the entrie and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of ACTIVM, and ſo kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furniſhed with water-men and ſouldiers. Thus *Octauius Cæſar* being finely deceiued by this ſtratageme, retyred preſently, and therewithall *Antonius* very wiſely and ſodainly did cut him off from freſh water. For vnderſtanding that the places where *Octauius Cæſar* landed, had very litle ſtore of water, and yet very bad: he ſhutte them in with ſtrong ditches and trenches he caſt, to keepe them from ſalying out at their pleaſure, and ſo to goe ſeeke water farther off. Furthermore, he delt very friendly and courteouſly with *Domitius*, and againſt *Cleopatraes* minde. For, he being ſicke of an agew when he went and tooke a litle boate to go vnto *Cæſars* campe, *Antonius* was very ſorie for it, but yet he ſent after him all his cariage, traine, and men: and the ſame *Domitius*, as though he gaue him to vnderſtand that he repented his open treaſon, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings alſo that forſooke him, and turned on *Cæſars* ſide: as *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore his fleete and nauy that was vnfortunate in all things, and vnreadie for ſeruice, compelled him to change his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And *Canidius* alſo, who had charge of his armie by land, when time came to follow *Antonius* determination: he turned him cleane contrarie, and counſelled him to ſend *Cleopatra* backe againe, and himſelfe to retire into MACEDON, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that *Dicomes* king of the GETES, promiſed him to aid him with a great power: and that it ſhould be no ſhame nor diſhonor to him to let *Cæſar* haue the ſea, (becauſe himſelfe and his men both had bene well practiſed and exerciſed in battels by ſea, in the warre of SICILIA againſt *Sextus Pompeius*) but rather that he ſhould doe againſt all reaſon, he hauing ſo great skill and experience of battelles by land as he had, if he ſhould not imploy the force and valiantnes of ſo many luſty armed footemen as he had readie, but would weaken his armie by deuiding them into ſhippes. But now notwithſtanding all theſe good perſwaſions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by ſea: conſidering with her ſelfe how ſhe might flie and prouide for her ſafetie, not to helpe him to win the victorie, but to flie more eaſily after the battell loſt. Betwixt *Antonius* campe and his fleet of ſhips, there was a great high point of firme lande that ranne a good waye into the ſea, the which *Antonius* vſed often for a walke, without miſtruſt of feare or danger. One of *Cæſars* men perceiued it, and told his maiſter that he would laugh if they could take vp *Antonius* in the middeſt of his walke. Thereupon *Cæſar* ſent ſome of his men to lye in ambuſh for him, and they miſſed not much of taking of him: for they tooke him that came before him, becauſe they diſcouered too ſoon, & ſo *Antonius* ſcaped verie hardly. So when *Antonius* had determined to fight by ſea, he ſet all the other ſhippes on fire, but threeſcore ſhips of EGYPT, and reſerued onely but the beſt and greateſt gallies, from three bancks, vnto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two & twenty thouſand fighting men, with two thouſand darters & ſlingers. Now as he was ſetting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, and a valiant man, that had ſerued *Antonius* in many battels & conflicts, & had all his body hacked and cut: who as *Antonius* paſſed by him, cryed out vnto him & ſaid: O noble Emperor, how commeth it to paſſe that you truſt to theſe vile brittle ſhippes? what, doe

Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actiũ: where the citie of Nicopolis ſtandeth.

** The grace of this tawnt can not properly be expreſſed in any other tongue becauſe of the equiuocation of this word Toryne, which ſignifieth a city of Albania, & alſo a ladell to ſcome the pot with: as if ſhe ment, Cæſar ſat by the fire ſide, ſcomming of the pot.*

Domitius forſaketh Antonius, & goeth vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Amyntas and Deiotarus, doe both reuolt from Antonius and goe vnto Cæſar.

Antonius in danger of taking at Actiũ.

Antonius regardeth not the good counſell of his ſouldier.

doe you miſtruſt theſe wounds of mine and this ſword? let the EGYPTIANS and PHENICIANS fight by ſea, and ſet vs on the maine land, where we vſe to conquer, or to be ſlaine on our feete. *Antonius* paſſed by him and ſaid neuer a word, but onely beckned to him with his hand & head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himſelfe. For when the maiſters of the gallies and pilots would haue let their ſailes alone, he made them clap them on, ſaying to colour the matter withall, that not one of his enemies ſhould ſcape. All that day and the three dayes following, the ſea roſe ſo high & was ſo boiſterous, that the battell was put off. The fift day the ſtorme ceaſed, and the ſea calmed againe and then they rowed with force of owers in battell one againſt the other: *Antonius* leading the right wing with *Publicola*, & *Celius* the left, & *Marcus Octauius*, & *Marcus Inſteius* the midſt. *Octauius Cæſar* on the other ſide, had placed *Agrippa* in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himſelfe. For the armies by land, *Canidius* was generall of *Antonius* ſide, & *Taurus* of *Cæſars* ſide: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, vppon the ſea ſide, without ſtirring one againſt the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaines: *Antonius* being in a ſwift pinnaſe, was caried vp and downe by force of owers through his army, and ſpake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on maine land, becauſe of the ſteadines and heauines of their ſhips: and commaunded the pilots and maſters of the gallies, that they ſhould not ſturre, none otherwiſe then if they were at anker, and ſo to receiue the firſt charge of their enemies, and that they ſhould not goe out of the ſtraight of the gulfe. *Cæſar* betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to ſee his ſhippes through out: met a man by chance that draue an aſſe before him. *Cæſar* asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him that his name was *Eutychus*, to ſaye fortunate: and his aſſes name Nicon, to ſay Conqueror. Therfore *Cæſar* after he had wonne the battell, ſetting out the market place with the ſpurres of the gallies he had taken, for a ſigne of his victorie: he cauſed alſo the man and his aſſe to be ſet vp in braſſe. When he had viſited the order of his army through out, he tooke a litle pinnaſe, and went to the right wing, and wondred when he ſawe his enemies lye ſtill in the ſtraight, & ſturred not. For deeerning them a farre off, men would haue thought they had bene ſhippes riding at anker, and a good while he was ſo perſwaded. So he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies: about noon there roſe a litle gale of wind from the ſea, and then *Antonius* men waxing angrie with tarying ſo long, and truſting to the greatnes and height of their ſhips, as if they had bene inuincible: they beganne to march forward with their left wing. *Cæſar* ſeeing that, was a glad man and began a litle to giue backe from the right wing, to alure them to come farther out of the ſtraight & gulfe, to the end that he might with his light ſhippes well manned with water-men, turne and enuirone the gallies of the enemies, the which were heauie of yarage, both for their bignes, as alſo for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmiſh began, and that they came to ioine, there was no great hurt at the firſt meeting, neither did the ſhips vehemently hit one againſt the other, as they do commonly in fight by ſea. For on the one ſide, *Antonius* ſhips for their heauines, could not haue the ſtrength and ſwiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and *Cæſars* ſhippes on the other ſide tooke great heede, not to ruſh and ſhocke with the forecaſtelles of *Antonius* ſhips, whoſe prooes were armed with great braſen ſpurres. Furthermore they durſt not flancke them, becauſe their pointes were eaſily broken, which way ſo euer they came to ſet vpon his ſhippes, that were made of great maine ſquare pieces of timber, bounde together with great ironne pinnes: ſo that the battell was much like to a battell by land, or to ſpeake more properly to the aſſault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of *Cæſars* ſhippes about one of *Antonius* ſhippes, and the ſouldiers fought with their pikes, halberds and darts, and threwe pottes and darts with fire. *Antonius* ſhips on the other ſide beſtowed among them, with their crosbowes and engines of batterie, great ſtore of ſhot from their high towers of wood, that were vpon their ſhips. Now *Publicola* ſeing *Agrippa* put forth his left wing of *Cæſars* armie, to compaſſe in *Antonius* ſhippes that fought: he was driuen alſo to looſe off to haue more roome, & going a litle at one ſide, to put thoſe farther off that were affraid, and in the middeſt of the battell. For they were ſore diſtreſſed by *Aruntius*. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when ſodainely they ſawe the threeſcore ſhippes of

Battell by ſea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæſar.

A luckie ſigne vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Eutychus Nicon, fortunate Conqueror.

Cleopatra flyeth

Cleopatra busie about their yard masts, and hoysing saile to flie. So they fled through the middest of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, & did marueilously disorder the other shippes. For the enemies them selues wondred much to see them saile in that sort, with ful saile towards PELOPONNESVS. There *Antonius* shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the courage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valiant man, & that he was not his owne man: (prouing that true which an old man spake in myrth, that the soule of a louer liued in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, & that she could not haue remoued without mouing of him also. For when he saw *Cleopatraes* shippe vnder saile, he forgot, forsook, & betrayed them that fought for him, & imbarked vpon a galley with fiue bankes of owers, to follow her that was already begun to ouerthrow him, & would in the end be his vtter destruction. When she knew his galley a farre off, she lift vp a signe in the poope of her shippe, and so *Antonius* cõming to it, was pluckt vp where *Cleopatra* was, howbeit he saw her not at his first comming, nor she him, but went and sate downe alone in the prow of his shippe, and saied neuer a word, clapping his head betweene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of *Cæsars* that followed him hard. So *Antonius* straight turned the prow of his ship, and presently put the rest to flight, sauing one *Eurycles* LACEDÆMONIAN, that followed him neare, and pressed vpon him with great courage, shaking a dart in his hand ouer the prow as though he would haue thrown it vnto *Antonius*. *Antonius* seing him, came to the fore castell of his ship and asked him what he was that durst follow *Antonius* so neare? I am answered he, *Eurycles* the son of *Lachares*, who through *Cæsars* good fortune seeketh to reuenge the death of my father. This *Lachares* was condemned of fellonie, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But yet *Eurycles* durst not venture vpon *Antonius* ship, but set vpon the other Admirall galley (for there were two) and fell with him with such a blowe of his brasen spurre, that was so heauie and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with verie rich stuffe and cariage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he returned againe to his place, and sate downe, speaking neuer a word as he did before: and so liued three dayes alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arriued at the head of Tænarus, there *Cleopatraes* women first brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to speake together, and afterwards, to suppe and lye together. Then beganne there againe a great number of Marchaunts shippes to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this ouerthrow: who brought newes, that his army by sea was ouerthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then *Antonius* sent vnto *Canidius*, to return with his army into ASIA, by MACEDON. Now for himself, he determined to crosse ouer into AFRICK, & took one of his carects or hulks loden with gold & siluer, and other rich cariage, & gaue it vnto his friends: commanding them to depart, and to seeke to saue themselues. They answered him weeping, that they would neither doe it, nor yet forsake him. Then *Antonius* verie courteously and louingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote vnto *Theophilus* gouernor of CORINTHE, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hide them in some secret place, vntill they had made their way & peace with *Cæsar*. This *Theophilus* was the father of *Hypparchus*, who was had in great estimation about *Antonius*. He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that reuolted from him, and yeelded vnto *Cæsar*, and afterwards went and dwelt at CORINTH. And thus it stood with *Antonius*. Now for his armie by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of ACTIVM: they helde out a long time, and nothing troubled them more then a great boysterous winde that rose full in the prooes of their shippes and yet with much a doe, his nauie was at length ouerthrowen, fiue houres within night. There were not slaine aboue fiue thousand men: but yet there were three hundreth shippes taken as *Octauius Cæsar* writeth himselfe in his commentaries. Many plainely sawe *Antonius* flie, and yet could very hardly beleeue it, that he that had nineteene legions whole by land and twelue thousand horsemen vpon the sea side, would so haue forsaken them, and haue fled so cowardly: as if he had not ostentimes proued both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the diuerse changes and fortunes of battelles. And yet his souldiers still wished for him, and euer hoped that he would come by some meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore, they shewed

The soule of a louer liueth in another body.

Antonius flyeth after Cleopatra.

Antonius lyceeth his friends to depart, and giueth them a shippe loden with gold and siluer.

Antonius nauy ouerthrown by Cæsar.

they shewed themselues so valiant and faithfull vnto him, that after they certainely knewe he was fled, they kept themselues whole together seuen dayes. In the ende *Canidius*, *Antonius* Lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his campe: when they saw themselues thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yeelded themselues vnto the stronger. This done, *Cæsar* sayled towards ATHENS, and there made peace with the GRECIANS, and deuided the rest of the corne that was taken vp for *Antonius* army, vnto the townes and cities of GRECE, the which had ben brought to extreame misery & pouerty, cleane without money, slaues, horse, & other beastes of cariage. So that my grandfather *Nicarchus* told, that all the Citizens of our citie of CHERONEA, (not one excepted) were driuen themselues to carrie a certen measure of corne on their shoulders to the sea side, that lyeth directly ouer against the Ile of ANTICYRA; and yet were they driuen thither with whips. They caried it thus but once: for the second time that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that *Antonius* had lost the battel, & so scaped our poore city. For *Antonius* souldiers & deputies fled immediatly, & the citizens deuided the corne amongst them. *Antonius* being arriued in LIBYA, he sent *Cleopatra* before into EGYPT from the citie of PARÆTONIVM: & he himself remained very solitary, hauing only two of his frends with him, with whom he wandred vp and downe, both of them Orators, the one *Aristocrates* a GRECIAN, & the other *Lucilius* a ROMAIN: of who we haue written in another place, that at the battell where *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, by the citie of PHILIPPES, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those that followed *Brutus*, saying that it was he: because *Brutus* in the meane time might haue liberty to saue himself. And afterwards because *Antonius* saued his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithfull and friendly vnto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had trusted with the gouernment of LIBYA, and vnto whom he had giuen the charge of his army there, had yeelded vnto *Cæsar*: he was so mad withall, that he would haue slaine himself for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, & kept him from it. So he went vnto ALEXANDRIA, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderfull enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the red sea, and the sea betwene the lands that poynt vpon the coast of EGYPT there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the seaes, and separateth AFRICK from ASIA: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not aboue three hundreth furlongs ouer. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her shippes out of the one sea, and to hale them ouer the straight into the other sea: that when her shippes were come into the goulfe of ARABIA, she might then carie all her gold and siluer away, and so with a great companie of men goe and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea farre from the sea Mediterraneum, to scape the danger and bondage of this warre. But now, because the ARABIANS dwelling about the citie of PETRA, did burne the first shippes that were brought to land, and that *Antonius* thought that his armie by land, which he left at ACTIVM was yet whole: she left off her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the portes and passages of her realme. *Antonius*, he forsooke the citie and company of his friends, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of PHAROS, vpon certen forced mountes which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished himself from all mens companie: saying that he would leade *Timons* life, because he had the like wrong offred him, that was before offred vnto *Timon*: and that for the vnthankfulnes of those he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his friends, he was angrie with all men, and would trust no man. This *Timon* was a citizen of ATHENS, that liued about the warre of PELOPONNESVS, as appeareth by *Plato* and *Aristophanes* comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man vnto mankind, to shunne all other mens companies, but the companie of young *Alcibiades*, a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast, and make much of, and kisse him verie gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cause what he ment to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: *Timon* aunswered him, I doe it said he, because I know that one day he shall doe great mischief vnto the ATHENIANS. This *Timon* somtimes would haue *Apemantus* in his companie, because he was much like of his nature & conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called Choæ at ATHENS, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where

Antonius legions doe yeelde themselues vnto Octauius Cæsar.

Lucilius spoken of in Brutus life.

The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Antonius.

The wonderful attempt of Cleopatra.

Antonius followeth the life and example of Timon Misanthropus the Athenian.

Plato and Aristophanes testimony of Timon Misanthropus, who he was.

they make ſprinklings and ſacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feaſted together by themſelues, *Apemantus* ſayed vnto the other: O heere is a trim banquet *Timon*. *Timon* anſwered againe, yea ſayd he, ſo thou wert not heer. It is reported of him alſo, that this *Timon* on a time (the people being aſſembled in the market place about diſpatch of ſome affaires) got vp into the pulpit for orations, where the Orators commonly vſe to ſpeake vnto the people: and ſilence being made, euery man liſtning to heare what he would ſay, becauſe it was a wonder to ſee him in that place: at length he began to ſpeake in this manner. My Lords of ATHENS, I haue a litle yard in my houſe where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue hangd themſelues: & becauſe I meane to make ſome building on the place, I thought good to let you all vnderſtand it, that before the fig tree be cut downe, if any of you be deſperate, you may there in time goe hang your ſelues. He died in the city of HALES, and was buried vpon the ſea ſide. Now it chanced ſo, that the ſea getting in, it compaſſed his tombe round about, that no man could come to it: and vpon the ſame was written this Epitaphe.

The Epitaph of Timon Miſanthropus.

Heere lyes a wretched corſe, of wretched ſoule bereft,
Seeke not my name: a plague conſume you wicked wretches left.

It is reported that *Timon* himſelf when he liued made this Epitaph: for that which is commonly reheaſed was not his, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*.

Heere lye I Timon who aliue all liuing men did hate,
Paſſe by, and curſe thy fill: but paſſe, and ſtay not heere thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this litle ſhall ſuffice at this preſent. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe. *Canidius* himſelfe came to bring him newes, that he had loſt all his armie by land at ACTIVN: on the other ſide he was aduertiſed alſo, that *Herodes* king of IVRIE, who had alſo certen legions and bandes with him, was reuolted vnto *Cæſar*, and all the other kings in like manner: ſo that, ſauing thoſe that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithſtanding did nothing trouble him, and it ſeemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and ſo to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his ſolitarie houſe he had built by the ſea which he called Timoneon, and *Cleopatra* receiued him into her royall pallace. He was no ſooner com thither, but he ſtraight ſet all the citie on rioting and banquetting againe, and himſelfe to liberalitie and giftes. He cauſed the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſar* & *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according to the manner of the ROMAINS) amongſt the number of young men: and gaue *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſon he had by *Fuluia*, the mans gown, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or embroderie of purple. For theſe things, there was kept great feaſting, banquetting and dancing in ALEXANDRIA many dayes together. In deede they did breake their firſt order they had ſet downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to ſay, no life comparable) & did ſet vp another, which they called Synapothanumenon (ſignifying the order and agreement of thoſe that will dye together) the which in exceeding ſumptuouſnes, and coſt was not inferior to the firſt. For their friendes made themſelues to be inrolled in this order of thoſe that would die together, and ſo made great feaſtes one to another: for euerie man when it came to his turne, feaſted their whole companie and fraternitie. *Cleopatra* in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all ſorts of poyſons together, to deſtroy men. Now to make proofe of thoſe poyſons which made men die with leaſt paine, ſhe tryed it vpon condemned men in priſon. For when ſhe ſaw the poyſons that were ſodaine and vehement, and brought ſpeedy death with grieuous torments: & in contrary manner, that ſuch as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke ſpeede and force to make one dye ſodainely: ſhe afterwardes went about to proue the ſtinging of ſnakes and adders, and made ſome to be applyed vnto men in her ſight, ſome in one ſorte and ſome in another. So when ſhe had daily made diuers and ſundrie proofes, ſhe found none of them all ſhe had proued ſo fit, as the biting of an Aſpick, the which cauſeth onely a heauines of the head, without ſwounding or complaining, and bringeth a great deſire alſo to ſleepe, with a litle ſwet in the face, and ſo by litle and litle taketh away the ſenſes & vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the patients feele any paine. For they are ſo ſorie when any bodie awaketh them, and taketh them vp: as thoſe that being taken out of a ſound ſleep, are very heauie and deſirous to ſleepe. This notwithſtanding, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Octauius Cæſar* in ASIA, *Cleopatra* requeſting

Antonius rioting in Alexandria after his great loſſe & ouerthrow.

Toga virilis.

Antullus the eldeſt ſonne of Antonius, by his wife Fuluia.

An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon reuoking the former called Amimetobion.

Cleopatra very buſie in proouing the force of poyſon.

The propertie of the byting of an Aſpicke.

Antonius and Cleopatra ſend Ambaſſadors vnto Octauius Cæſar.

sting the realme of Ægypt for their children, and *Antonius* praying that he might be suffered to liue at Athens like a priuate mã, if *Cæsar* would not let him remaine in Ægypt. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were inforced to send *Euphronius* the schoolemaister of their children. For *Alexas* Laodician, who was brought into *Antonius* house & fauour by meanes of *Timagenes*, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other Grecian: (for that he had alway bene one of *Cleopatraes* ministers to win *Antonius*, & to ouerthrow all his good determinations to vse his wife *Octauia* well) him *Antonius* had sent vnto *Herodes* king of Iurie, hoping still to keepe him his friend, that he should not reuolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed *Antonius*. For where he should haue kept *Herodes* frõ reuolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to *Cæsar*: & trusting king *Herodes*, he presumed to come in *Cæsars* presence. Howbeit *Herodes* did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chaines to his own country, & there by *Cæsars* commaundement put to death. Thus was *Alexas* in *Antonius* life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, *Cæsar* would not graunt vnto *Antonius* requestes: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her answere, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put *Antonius* to death, or driue him out of her country. There withall he sent *Thyreus* one of his men vnto her, a very wise and discreet man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lord vnto a noble Lady, and that besides greatly liked her beautie, might easily by his eloquence haue perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honour: in somuch as he made *Antonius* ielous of him. Whereupon *Antonius* caused him to be taken and well fauoredly whipped, and so sent him vnto *Cæsar*: and bad him tell him that he made him angry with him, because he shewed himselfe proude and disdainfull towardes him, and now specially, when he was easie to be angred, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee sayd he, thou hast *Hipparchus* one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may crie quittaunce. From thenceforth, *Cleopatra* to cleare her selfe of the suspition he had of her, she made more of him then euer she did. For first of all, where she did solemnise the day of her birth very meanely and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnesse and magnificence: so that the guestes that were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Now things passing thus, *Agrippa* by diuers letters sent one after an other vnto *Cæsar*, prayed him to returne to Rome, because the affaires there did of necessitie require his person and presence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through Syria by the coast of Africke, to make warres against *Antonius*, and his other Captaines. When the citie of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumor in the citie, that *Seleucus*, by *Cleopatraes* consent, had surrendered the same. But to cleare her selfe that she did not, *Cleopatra* brought *Seleucus* wife and children vnto *Antonius*, to be reuenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monuments, as well for excellencie of workemanship, as for hight and greatnesse of building, ioyning hard to the temple of *Isis*. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predecessours: as gold, siluer, emerods, pearles, ebbonie, iuorie, and sinamon, and besides all that, a maruellous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octauius Cæsar* being affrayed to loose such a treasure and masse of richesse, and that this woman for spight would set it a fire, and burne it euery whit: he alwayes sent some one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilest he in the meane time drew neare the citie with his armie. So *Cæsar* came, and pitched his campe hard by the citie, in the place where they runne and manage their horses. *Antonius* made a saly vpon him, and fought very valiantly, so that he draue *Cæsars* horsemen backe, fighting with his men euen into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. *Cleopatra* to reward his manlinesse, gaue him an armour & head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the

Alexas treason iustly punished.

Pelusium was yeelded vp to Octauius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes monuments set vp by the temple of Isis.

man at armes when he had receiued this rich gift, ſtale away by night, and went to *Cæſar*? *Antonius* ſent againe to chalenge *Cæſar*, to fight with him hand to hand. *Cæſar* aunſwered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then ſo. Then *Antonius* ſeeing there was no way more honourable for him to dye, then fighting valiantly: he determined to ſet vp his reſt, both by ſea and land. So being at ſupper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and houſehold ſeruaunts that waited on him at his bord, that they ſhould fill his cuppes full, and make as much of him as they could: for ſayd he, you know not whether you ſhall do ſo much for me to morrow or not, or whether you ſhall ſerue an other maiſter: and it may be you ſhall ſee me no more, but a dead body. This notwithſtanding, perceiuing that his friends and men fell a weeping to heare him ſay ſo: to ſalue that he had ſpoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not lead them to battell, where he thought not rather ſafely to returne with victorie, then valiantly to dye with honour. Furthermore, the ſelfe ſame night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and ſorrow, thinking what would be the iſſue and end of this warre: it is ſayd that ſodainly they heard a maruellous ſweete harmonie of ſundry ſortes of inſtrumentes of muſicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had ſong as they vſe in *Bacchus* feaſts, with mouings and turnings after the manner of the Satyres: and it ſeemed that this daunce went through the city vnto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noyſe they heard, went out of the citie at that gate. Now, ſuch as in reaſon ſought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god vnto whom *Antonius* bare ſingular deuotion to counterfeit and reſemble him, that did forſake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to ſet thoſe few footemen he had in order vpon the hils adioyning vnto the citie: and there he ſtood to behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed againſt the gallies of his enemies, and ſo ſtood ſtill, looking what exploit his ſouldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neare vnto them, they firſt ſaluted *Cæſars* men: and then *Cæſars* men reſaluted them alſo, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the citie. When *Antonius* ſaw that his men did forſake him, and yeelded vnto *Cæſar*, and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her ſake. The ſhe being affrayed of his furie, fled into the tombe which ſhe had cauſed to be made, and there locked the doores vnto her, and ſhut all the ſprings of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time ſent vnto *Antonius* to tell him that ſhe was dead. *Antonius* beleeuing it, ſayd vnto himſelfe: what doeſt thou looke for further, *Antonius*, ſith ſpightfull fortune hath taken from thee the onely ioy thou haddeſt, for whom thou yet reſeruedſt thy life? when he had ſayd theſe words, he went into a chamber & vnarmed himſelfe, and being naked ſaid thus: O *Cleopatra*, it grieueth me not that I haue loſt thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am ſory, that hauing bene ſo great a Captaine and Emperour, I am indeede condemned to be iudged of leſſe courage & noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called *Eros*, whom he loued and truſted much, and whom he had long before cauſed to ſweare vnto him, that he ſhould kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promiſe. His man drawing his ſword, lift it vp as though he had meant to haue ſtriken his maiſter: but turning his head at one ſide, he thruſt his ſword into himſelfe, and fell downe dead at his maiſters foote. Then ſayd *Antonius*, O noble *Eros*, I thanke thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to ſhew me what I ſhould do to my ſelfe, which thou couldeſt not do for me. Therewithall he tooke his ſword, and thruſt it into his bellie, and ſo fell downe vpon a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not preſently, for the bloud ſtinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came ſomewhat to himſelfe againe, he prayed them that were about him to diſpatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out & tormenting himſelfe: vntill at laſt there came a Secretarie vnto him called *Diomedes*, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where *Cleopatra* was. Whē he heard that ſhe was aliue, he very earneſtly prayed his men to carie his body thither, and ſo he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithſtanding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and caſt out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Antonius*

Strange noyſes heard, and nothing ſeene.

Antonius nauie do yeeld themſelues vnto Cæſar.

Antonius ouerthrowen by Octauius Cæſar.

Cleopatra flieth into her tombe or monument.

Eros Antonius ſeruaunt ſlue himſelfe.

Antonius did thruſt his ſword into himſelfe, but dyed not preſently.

Antonius caried vnto Cleopatraes tombe.

nius was trussed: and *Cleopatra* her owne selfe, with two women onely, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, trised *Antonius* vp. They that were present to behold it, sayd they neuer saw so pitifull a sight. For, they plucked vp poore *Antonius* all bloudy as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding vp his hands to *Cleopatra*, raised vp himselfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him vp: but *Cleopatra* stouping downe with her head, putting to all her strength to her vttermost power, did lift him vp with much a do, and neuer let go her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good courage, and were as sory to see her labour so, as she her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that sort, and layed him on a bed: she rent her garments vpon him, clapping her brest, and scratching her face and stomacke. Then she dried vp his bloud that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miserie and calamity, for the pitie and compassion she tooke of him. *Antonius* made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded her, that she would seeke to saue her life, if she could possible, without reproche and dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust *Proculeius* aboue any man else about *Cæsar*. And as for himselfe, that she should not lament nor sorow for the miserable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes & honours he had receiued, considering that while he liued he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a ROMAINE by an other ROMAINE. As *Antonius* gaue the last gaspe, *Proculeius* came that was sent frō *Cæsar*. For after *Antonius* had thrust his sword in himselfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his garde called *Dercetæus*, tooke his sword with the which he had striken himselfe, and hid it: then he secretly stale away, and brought *Octauius Cæsar* the first newes of his death, & shewed him his sword that was bloudied. *Cæsar* hearing these newes, straight withdrew himselfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his friend and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battels. Then he called for all his friendes, and shewed them the letters *Antonius* had written to him, and his aunsweres also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other aunswered him, to all iust and reasonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this, he sent *Proculeius*, and commaunded him to do what he could possible to get *Cleopatra* aliue, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: & furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her aliue to ROME, she would maruellously beautifie and set out his triumphe. But *Cleopatra* would neuer put her selfe into *Proculeius* handes, although they spake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were very thicke & strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they without vnderstood, that *Cleopatra* demaunded the kingdome of ÆGYPT for her sonnes: and that *Proculeius* aunswered her, that she should be of good cheare, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto *Cæsar*. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answere vnto *Cæsar*. Who immediatly sent *Gallus* to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilest *Proculeius* did set vp a ladder against that high window, by the which *Antonius* was trised vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* stood to heare what *Gallus* sayd vnto her. One of her women which was shut in her monumēts with her, saw *Proculeius* by chance as he came downe, and shreeked out: O poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when she saw *Proculeius* behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to haue stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she wore of purpose by her side. But *Proculeius* came sodainly vpon her, and taking her by both the hands, sayd vnto her. *Cleopatra*, first thou shalt do thy selfe great wrong, and secondly vnto *Cæsar*: to depriue him of the occasion and oportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to giue his enemies cause to accuse the most curteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercilesse man, that were not to be trusted. So euen as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and

A lamentable sight to see Antonius and Cleopatra.

The death of Antonius.

Octauius Cæsar lamenteth Antonius death.

Proculeius sent by Octauius Cæsar to bring Cleopatra aliue.

Cleopatra taken.

shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her. Afterwardes *Cæsar* sent one of his infranchised men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he straightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her selfe away: and for the rest, to vse her with all the curtesie possible. And for himselfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and as he went, talked with the Philosopher *Arrius*, and held him by the hand, to the end that his country men should reuerence him the more, because they saw *Cæsar* so highly esteeme and honour him. Then he went into the shew place of exercises, and so vp to his chaire of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of ALEXANDRIA were assembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercy. *Cæsar* bad them all stand vp, and told them openly that he forgaue the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this warre. First, for the founders sake of the same citie, which was *Alexander* the great: secondly, for the beautie of the citie, which he much esteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his very friend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cæsar* honour *Arrius*, who craued pardon for himselfe and many others, and specially for *Philostratus*, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sodaine speach: howbeit he falsly named himselfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therfore, *Cæsar* that hated his nature and conditions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, & followed *Arrius* step by step in a long mourning gowne, still buzzing in his eares this Greeke verse:

A wiseman if that he be wise in deede,
May by a wise man haue the better speede.

Cæsar vnderstanding this, not for the desire he had to deliuer *Philostratus* of his feare, as to rid *Arrius* of malice and enuy that might haue fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* sonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldest sonne by *Fuluia* was slaine, because his schoolemaister *Theodorus* did betray him vnto the souldiers, who strake off his head. And the villaine tooke a pretious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sow in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, & so *Cæsar* trussed him vp for it. For *Cleopatraes* children, they were very honorably kept, with their gouernours & traine that waited on the. But for *Cæsarion*, who was sayd to be *Iulius Cæsars* sonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had sent him vnto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPIA, with a great summe of money. But one of his gouernours also called *Rhodon*, cue such an other as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his country, & told him that *Cæsar* sent for him to giue him his mothers kingdome. So, as *Cæsar* was determining with himselfe what he should do, *Arrius* sayd vnto him.

Too Many Cæsars is not good.

Alluding vnto a certaine verse of *Homer* that sayth:

Too Many Lordes doth not well.

Therefore *Cæsar* did put *Cæsarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great kings & Captaines did craue *Antonius* body of *Octauius Cæsar*, to giue him honourable buriall: but *Cæsar* would neuer take it from *Cleopatra*, who did sumptuously & royally bury him with her own hands, whom *Cæsar* suffred to take as much as she would to bestow vpon his funerals. Now was she altogether ouercome with sorow & passion of minde, for she had knocked her breast so pitifully, that she had martyred it, and in diuers places had raysed vlcers & inflammations, so that she fell into a feuer withall: whereof she was very glad, hoping therby to haue good colour to abstaine from meate, and that so she might haue dyed easily without any trouble. She had a Phisition called *Olympus*, whom she made priuie of her intent, to the end he should helpe her to rid her out of her life: as *Olympus* writeth himselfe, who wrote a booke of all these things. But *Cæsar* mistrusted the matter, by many coniectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, and threatned her to put her children to shamefull death. With these threates, *Cleopatra* for feare yeelded straight, as she would haue yeelded vnto strokes, & afterwards suffred her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, *Cæsar* came himself in person to see her, & to cõfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed vpon a litle low bed in poore estate, when she saw *Cæsar* come into her chamber, she sodainly rose vp, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete maruellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her haire

Cæsar tooke the citie of Alexandria.

Cæsar greatly honoured Arrius the Philosopher.

Philostratus, the eloquentest Orator in his time, for present speach vpon a sodaine.

Antyllus, Antonius eldest sonne by Fuluia slaine.

The saying of Arrius the Philosopher.

Cæsarion Cleopatraes sonne, put to death.

Cleopatra burieth Antonius.

Olympus Cleopatraes Phisition.

Cæsar came to see Cleopatra. Cleopatra, a martyred creature, through her owne passiõ and furie.

haire from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nayles, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sunke into her head with continuall blubbering and moreouer, they might see the most part of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her body was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelynesse, and the force of her beautie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitifull state of hers, yet she shewed herselfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When Cæsar had made her lye downe againe, and sate by her beds side: *Cleopatra* began to cleare and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*: *Cæsar*, in contrary manner, reproued her in euery point. Then she sodainly altered her speach, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, and desirous to liue. At length, she gaue him a briefe and memoriall of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chaunce there stood *Seleucus* by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme a good seruant, came straight to *Cæsar* to disproue *Cleopatra*, that she had not set in all, but kept many things backe of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in such a rage with him, that she flew vpon him, & tooke him by the haire of the head, and boxed him welfauouredly. *Cæsar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, sayd she, O *Cæsar*: is not this a great shame and reproche; that thou hauing vouchsafed to take the paines to come vnto me, and hast done me this honour, poore wretch, and caitife creature, brought into this pitifull and miserable estate: and that mine owne seruants should come now to accuse me, though it may be I haue reserued some iewels and trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to giue some pretie presents and giftes vnto *Octauia* and *Liuia*, that they making meanes & intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy fauour and mercy vpon me? *Cæsar* was glad to heare her say so, perswading him selfe thereby that she had yet a desire to saue her life. So he made her aunswere, that he did not onely giue her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to vse her more honorably and bountifully then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leaue of her, supposing he had deceiued her, but indeede he was deceiued himselfe. There was a young gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæsars* very great familiars, & besides did beare no euill wil vnto *Cleopatra* He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that *Cæsar* determined to take his iorney through SYRIA, & that within three daies he would send her away before with her children. When this was told *Cleopatra*, she requested *Cæsar* that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, vnto the soule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running down her cheekes, she began to speake in this sort: O my deare Lord *Antonius*, not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer vnto thee the funerall sprinklings and oblations, being a captiue and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing & murthering this captiue body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, only to triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which *Cleopatra* can giue thee, sith now they carie her away. Whilest we liued together, nothing could seuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs chaunge our countryes. For as thou being a ROMAINE, hast bene buried in ÆGYPT: euen so wretched creature I, an ÆGYPTIAN, shall be buried in ITALIE, which shall be all the good that I haue receiued by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power & authoritie, sith our gods here haue forsakē vs: suffer not thy true friend and louer to be caried away aliue, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receiue me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could leffe beare withall then this small time, which I haue bene driuē to liue alone without thee. Then hauing ended these dolefull plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and sundry nosegayes, and maruellous louingly imbraced the same: she commaunded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously serued. Now whilest she was at dinner, there came a countryman, and brought her a basket. The souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the

Seleucus, one of Cleopatraes Treasurers, Cleopatra beate her treasurer before Octauius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes wordes vnto Cæsar.

Cleopatra finely deceiueth Octauius Cæsar, as though she desired to liue.

Cleopatraes lamentation ouer Antonius tombe.

leaues that couered the figges, and shewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them maruelled to see so goodly figges. The countryman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleeued he told them truely, and so bad him carie them in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, she sent a certaine table written and sealed vnto *Cæsar*, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women, then she shut the doores to her. *Cæsar* when he receiued this table, and began to read her lamētation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, found straight what she meant, and thought to haue gone thither himselfe: howbeit he sent one before in all hast that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sodaine. For those whom *Cæsar* sent vnto her ran thither in all hast possible, & found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor vnderstanding of her death. But when they had opened the doores, they found *Cleopatra* starke dead, layed vpon a bed of gold, attired & arayed in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feete: and her other woman called *Charmion* halfe dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* ware vpon her head. One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd vnto her: is that well done *Charmion?* Very well sayd she againe, and meete for a Princesse discended from the race of so many noble kings. She sayd no more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aspicke was brought vnto her in the basket with figs, & that she had commaunded them to hide it vnder the figge leaues, that when she should thinke to take out the figges, the Aspicke should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would haue taken away the leaues for the figges, she perceiued it, and sayd, art thou here then? And so, her arme being naked, she put it to the Aspicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did pricke and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the Aspicke being angerd withall, lept out with great furie, and bit her in the arme. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poyson in a hollow raser which she caried in the haire of her head: and yet was there no marke seene of her body, or any signe discerned that she was poysoned, neither also did they finde this serpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were seene certaine fresh steppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the doore side. Some say also, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth *Cæsar* himselfe gaue credit vnto, because in his triumphe he caried *Cleopatraes* image, with an Aspicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cæsar*, though he was maruellous sory for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondred at her noble minde and courage, and therfore commaunded she should be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*: and willed also that her two women should haue honorable buriall. *Cleopatra* dyed being eight and thirtie yeare old, after she had raigned two and twenty yeares, and gouerned aboue foureteen of them with *Antonius*. And for *Antonius*, some say that he liued three and fiftie yeares: and others say, six and fiftie. All his statues, images, and mettals, were plucked downe and ouerthrowen, sauing those of *Cleopatra* which stood still in their places, by meanes of *Archibius* one of her friendes, who gaue *Cæsar* a thousand talentes that they should not be handled, as those of *Antonius* were. *Antonius* left seuen children by three wiues, of the which, *Cæsar* did put *Antyllus*, the eldest sonne he had by *Fuluia*, to death. *Octauia* his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them vp with hers, and maried *Cleopatra*, *Antonius* daughter, vnto king *Iuba*, a maruellous curteous & goodly Prince. And *Antonius*, the sonne of *Fuluia* came to be so great, that next vnto *Agrippa*, who was in greatest estimation about *Cæsar*, and next vnto the children of *Liuia*, which were the second in estimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, *Octauia* hauing had two daughters by her first husband *Marcellus*, and a sonne also called *Marcellus*: *Cæsar* maried his daughter vnto that *Marcellus*, and so did adopt him for his sonne. And *Octauia* also maried one of her daughters vnto *Agrippa*. But when *Marcellus* was dead, after he had bene maried a while, *Octauia* perceiuing that her brother *Cæsar* was very busie to choose some one amōg his friends, whom he trusted best to make his sonne in law: she perswaded him, that *Agrippa* should mary his daughter, (*Marcellus* widow) and leaue her owne daughter. *Cæsar* first was contented withall, and then *Agrippa*: and so she afterwardes tooke away her daughter and maried her vnto *Antonius*, & *Agrippa* maried *Iulia*,

The death of Cleopatra

Cleopatraes two waiting women dedicated with her.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aspicke.

The image of Cleopatra, caried in triūphe at Rome, with an Aspicke biting of her arme.

The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Of Antonius issue came Emperours.

Cæsars

Cæsars daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of *Octauia* & *Antonius*. *Domitius Ahenobarbus* maried the one: and the other, which was *Antonia*, so faire and vertuous a young Lady, was maried vnto *Drusus* the sonne of *Liuia*, and sonne in law of *Cæsar*. Of this mariage, came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: of the which, *Clodius* afterwardes came to be Emperour. And of the sonnes of *Germanicus*, the one whose name was *Caius*, came also to be Emperour: who, after he had licētiously raigned a time, was slaine, with his wife and daughter. *Agrippina* also, hauing a sonne by her first husband *AEnobarbus* called *Lucius Domitius*: was afterwardes maried vnto *Clodius*, who adopted her sonne, and called him *Nero Germanicus*. This *Nero* was Emperour in our time, & slue his own mother, had almost destroyed the Empire of ROME, through his madnesse and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of ROME after *Antonius*.

THE COMPARISON OF *Demetrius with Antonius.*

NOw, sithence it falleth out, that *Demetrius* and *Antonius* were one of them much like to the other, hauing fortune a like diuers & variable vnto them: let vs therefore come to consider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that *Demetrius* power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance from his father *Antigonus*: who became the greatest & mightiest Prince of all the successours of *Alexander*, and had won the most part of ASIA, before *Demetrius* came of full age. *Antonius* in contrary manner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no mā of warre, & had not left him any meane to arise to such greatnes: durst take vpon him to contend for the Empire with *Cæsar*, that had no right vnto it by inheritance, but yet made himselfe successour of the power, the which the other by great paine and trauell had obteined, and by his owne industrie became so great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole world being deuided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenaunce and power. *Antonius* being absent, oftentimes ouercame the PARTHIANS in battell by his Lieutenaunts, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about mount Caucasus, vnto the sea Hyrcanium, in somuch as the thing they most reproue him for, did most witnesse his greatnes. For, *Demetrius* father made him gladly marrie *Phila*, *Antipaters* daughter, although she was too old for him: because she was of a nobler house then himselfe. *Antonius* on the other side was blamed for marying of *Cleopatra*, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of bloud, excelled all other kings in her time, but *Arsaces*: and moreouer made himselfe so great, that others thought him worthy of greater things, then he himselfe required. Now for the desire

The power of Demetrius, & Antonius.

Demetrius and Antonius ambition to gouerne.

that moued the one & the other to conquer realmes: the desire of *Demetrius* was vnblameable and iust, desiring to raigne ouer people, which had bene gouerned at all times, and desired to be gouerned by kings. But *Antonius* desire was altogether wicked & tyrannicall: who sought to keepe the people of ROME in bondage and subiection, but lately before rid of *Cæsars* raigne & gouernement. For the greatest & most famous exploit *Antonius* euer did in warres (to wit, the warre in the which he ouerthrew *Cassius* and *Brutus*) was begun to no other end, but to depriue his countrymen of their libertie and freedome. *Demetrius* in contrary maner, before fortune had ouerthrowen him, neuer left to set GREECE at libertie, & to driue the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bõdage: & not like *Antonius*, that boasted he had slaine them that had set ROME at libertie. The chiefest thing they commended in *Antonius*, was his liberalitie and bountie: in the which *Demetrius* excelled him so farre, that he gaue more to his enemies, then *Antonius* did to his friends: although he was maruellously well thought of, for the honorable & sumptuous funerall he gaue vnto *Brutus* body. Howbeit *Demetrius* caused all his enemies be buried that were slaine in battell, & returned vnto *Ptolomy* all the prisoners he had taken, with great gifts & presents he gaue them. They were both in their prosperitie, very riotously & licentiously giuen: but yet no man can euer say, that *Demetrius* did at any time let slip any opportunity or occasion to follow great matters, but onely gaue himselfe indeed to pleasure, when he had nothing else to do. And further, to say truly, he tooke pleasure of *Lamia*, as a mã would haue a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to do, or is desirous to sleepe: but in deede whẽ he was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then Iuy at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of the Ladies closets, picked & pinct to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet *Euripides* saith.

The souldier of Mars, cruell, and blondy.

The liberalitie and bountie of Demetrius and Antonius.

Demetrius and Antonius riots.

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrow or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to follow his owne pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where *Omphale* secretly stealeth away *Hercules* clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him. Euen so *Cleopatra* oftentimes vnarmed *Antonius*, and intised him to her, making him lose matters of great importaunce, and very needefull iourneys, to come and be dandled with her, about the riuers of Canobus, and Taphosiris. In the end, as *Paris* fled from the battell, and went to hide himselfe in *Helens* armes: euen so did he in *Cleopatraes* armes, or to speake more properly, *Paris* hid himselfe in *Helens* closet, but *Antonius* to follow *Cleopatra*, fled and lost the victory. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many wiues that he had maried, and all at one time: the which was not disallowable or not forbidden by the kings of MACEDON, but had bene vsed from *Philip* and *Alexanders* time, as also king *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomie* had, and did honour all them that he maried. But *Antonius* first of all maried two wiues together, the which neuer ROMAINE durst do before, but himselfe. Secondly, he put away his first ROMAINE wife, which he had lawfully maried, for the loue of a straunge woman, he fondly fell in fancie withall, and contrary to the lawes and ordinaunces of ROME. And therefore *Demetrius* mariages neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wiues: but *Antonius* contrarily was vndone by his wiues. Of all the lasciuious parts *Antonius* played, none were so abhominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogs to come into the castle of ATHENS, because of all beasts he is too busie with bitcherie: and *Demetrius*, in *Mineruaes* temple it selfe lay with Curtisans, and there defiled many citizens wiues. And besides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delightes, is ioyned with *Demetrius* cõcupiscence: who suffered, (or more properly cõpelled) the goodliest young boy of ATHENS, to dye a most pitifull death, to saue himselfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinencie, did no hurt but to himselfe: and *Demetrius* did hurt vnto all others. *Demetrius* neuer hurt any of his friends: and *Antonius* suffered his Vncle by his mothers side to be slaine, that he might haue his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardly deserued to haue bene pardoned, though he had killed *Cicero*, to haue saued his Vncles life. Now where they falsified & brake their othes, the one making *Artabazus* prisoner, & the other killing of *Alexander*: *Antonius* out of doubt had best cause, & iustest colour. For *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forsaken

Canobus, and Taphosiris.

Demetrius and Antonius wiues.

Antonius the first Romaine that euer maried two wiues together.

Demetrius lasciuiousnesse. Dogges not suffred in Athens castle, because of bitcherie.

The loue and impietie: the faith & falsehood of Demetrius and Antonius.

forsaken him in MEDIA. But *Demetrius* (as diuers do report) deuised a false matter to accuse *Alexander*, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he himselfe had done iniurie vnto: and was not reuenged of him, that would do him iniurie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* himselfe did noble feates of warre, as we haue recited of him before: and contrarily *Antonius*, when he was not there in person, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenaunts: and were both ouerthrowen being personally in battell, but yet not both after one sort. For the one was forsaken of his men being MACEDONIANS, and the other contrarily forsooke his that were ROMAINES: for he fled, and left them that ventured their liues for his honour. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: & the fault in the other, that he so beastly left them that loued him best, and were most faithfull to him. And for their deathes, a man can not prayse the one nor the other, but yet *Demetrius* death the more reprochfull. For he suffered himselfe to be taken prisoner, and when he was sent away to be kept in a straunge place, he had the hart to liue yet three yeare longer, to serue his mouth and belly, as brute beastes do. *Antonius* on the other side slue himselfe, (to confesse a troth) cowardly, and miserably, to his great payne and griefe: and yet was it before his body came into his enemies hands.

Demetrius & Antonius acts in warres.

THE LIFE OF *Artaxerxes.*

ARtaxerxes, the first of this name of all the kings of PERSIA, a noble and curteous Prince as any of all his house: was surnamed long hand, because his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the sonne of king *Xerxes*. But the second, whose life we presently intend to write, was surnamed *Mnemon*, as much to say, great memorie: and he was the sonne of the daughter of the first *Artaxerxes*. For king *Darius*, and his wife *Paryſatis*, had foure sonnes of the which, the eldest was this *Artaxerxes*, the second *Cyrus*, and two other younger, *Ostanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* from the beginning bare the name of the former auncient *Cyrus*, which in the PERSIAN tongue signifieth the sunne. But *Artaxerxes*

The parentage of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

was called before *Arſicas*, although *Dinon* writeth, that he was called *Oarſes*. Howbeit it is vnlikely that *Cteſias* (although his bookes otherwiſe be full of fables, and as vntrue as they are founde) ſhould forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he ſerued, and continually followed, both him, his wife, and children. *Cyrus* from his cradle was of a hot ſturring minde, and *Artaxerxes* in contrary manner, more milde and gentle in all his actions and doings. He was maried to a very fayre Lady, by his father and mothers commaundement: & afterwardes kept her againſt their wils, being forbidden by them. For king *Darius* his father, hauing put his ſonnes wiues brother to death, he would alſo haue put her to death: but her husband with teares made ſuch humble ſute to his mother for her, that with much a do, he did not onely get pardon for her life, but graunt alſo that ſhe ſhould not be put from him. This notwithſtanding, his mother alwayes loued *Cyrus* better then him, and prayed that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherfore *Cyrus* being in his prouinces of Asia by the ſea ſide, when he was ſent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay ſicke of the diſeaſe he dyed: he went thither in good hope his mother had preuailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of Persia. For his mother *Paryſatis* alledged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king *Xerxes* in the like caſe, through *Demaratus* coũſell. She ſaid that *Arſicas* was borne before her husbãd *Darius* was king, & *Cyrus* after he was crowned king. All this could not preuaile. For her eldeſt ſonne *Arſicas*, ſurnamed *Artaxerxes*, was aſsigned king of Persia, & *Cyrus* gouernour of Lydia, & the kings Lieutenant generall of all the low countryes of Asia toward the ſea ſide. Shortly after king *Darius* death, the new king *Artaxerxes* went vnto *Paſargades*, there to be conſecrated & annoynted king, by the Prieſts of the country of Persia. The place of this *Paſargades*, is a temple dedicated vnto *Minerua* the goddeſſe of battels, as I take it: where the new king muſt be conſecrated, and when he commeth into the temple, he putteth off his gowne, and putteth on that which the old auncient *Cyrus* ware before he was king. Furthermore, he muſt eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figges with turpentine: and then he muſt drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are alſo certaine other ſecret ceremonies which they muſt keepe, and none do know, but the very Prieſts themſelues. Now *Artaxerxes* being ready to enter into all theſe ceremonies, *Tiſaphernes* came vnto him, & brought him one of the Prieſts that had bene *Cyrus* ſchoolemaiſter in his youth, and had taught him magicke, who by reaſon ſhould haue bene more offended then any man elſe, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cauſe why they beleeued him the better, when he accuſed *Cyrus*. For he ſayd that *Cyrus* had conſpired treaſon againſt the king his brothers owne perſon, & that he meant traiterouſly to kill him in the temple, when he ſhould put off his gown. Some do report, that *Cyrus* was apprehended vpon this ſimple accuſation by word of mouth. Others write alſo, that *Cyrus* came into the temple, and hiding himſelfe, he was taken with the maner, and bewrayed by the Prieſt. So as he was going to ſuffer death, his mother tooke *Cyrus* in her armes, and wounde the haire of her head about his necke, and tyed him ſtraightly to her: and withall ſhe wept ſo bitterly, and made ſuch pitifull mone vnto the king her ſonne, that through her interceſsion, the king graunted him his life, & ſent him againe into his country and gouernement. But this ſatisfied not *Cyrus*, neither did he ſo much remember the king his brothers fauour vnto him, in granting him his life, as he did the deſpight he had offred him, to be made priſoner. In ſomuch that for this grudge and euill will, he euer after had a greater deſire then before to be king. Some writers alledge, that he entred into actuall rebellion againſt his brother by force of armes, becauſe he had not ſufficient reuenue to defray the ordinary expence of his houſe: howbeit it is a meere folly to ſay ſo. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might haue had of her what he would haue taken, and deſired. Againe, to ſhew that of himſelfe he had abilitie enough: we neede but alledge the ſouldiers and ſtraungers he gaue pay vnto, in diuers places, as *Xenophon* writeth. For he brought them not all together into one army, becauſe he deſired to keepe his enterpriſe as ſecret as he could: but he had friends and ſeruaunts that leauied them in diuers places, and vnder diuers colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleared all ſuſpitions conceiued againſt him. He himſelfe alſo on the other ſide, whileſt he made theſe preparations,

The diuerſitie of natures betwixt Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

Arſicas ſurnamed Artaxerxes, aſſigned to be king of Perſia.

The manner of the conſecrating of the kings of Perſia, at Paſargades.

Cyrus accuſed vnto his brother Artaxerxes.

Cyrus lay in waite to kill Artaxerxes.

Note the flatterie and diſſimulation of a woman.

wrote

wrote very humbly vnto his brother, somtime asking somwhat of him, and another time accusing *Tisaphernes*: all to blind the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and spight against him: besides that, the king of his own nature was somwhat dull, & slow, which the common people thought to proceede of his curtesie and good nature. At his first comming to the crowne, he followed the first *Artaxerxes* goodnesse and curtesie, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more easie audience vnto suters, he did also more honorably reward & recompence those that had deserued well: and he vsed such moderation in punishing of offendours, that it appeared he did it not of any malitious minde and desire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurt any man. When he had any thing giuen him, he tooke it as thankefully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankely also giue againe. For, how litle a thing soeuer was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported that one *Romises* on a time presented him a maruellous fayre pomegarnet. By the sunne sayd he, this man in a short time of a litle towne would make a great citie, he that would make him gouernour of it. Another time there was a poore labourer seeing euery man giue the king a present, some one thing, some an other as he passed by them: he hauing nothing at hand to giue him, ranne to the riuers side, & tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offred it him. King *Artaxerxes* was so glad of it, that he sent him in a cup of massy gold, a thousand Dareckes, which were peeces of gold so named, because the image of *Darius* was stamped vpon them. And vnto one *Euclidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN, that presumed to giue him bold wordes, it pleased him to aunswer him by one of his Captaines: thou mayst say what thou lyst, and I as king, may say and do what I lyst. An other time as he was a hunting, *Tiribazus* shewed the king his gowne that was all to tattered: well, sayd the king, and what wouldest thou haue me to do? *Tiribazus* aunswered him, I pray your grace take an other, and giue me that you haue on. The king did so, and told him: *Tiribazus*, I giue thee my gowne, but I commaund thee not to weare it. *Tiribazus* tooke it, and cared not for the kings commaundement that he should not weare it, not that he was any euill disposed man, but because he was a fond light headed fellow that cared for nothing: thereupon he straight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did besides set on many iewels of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinckets and ornaments. Therewithall euery man in the Court murmured at him, because it was a presumptiō, directly against the lawes & ordinances of PERSIA. Howbeit the king but laughed at it, and told him: I giue thee leaue *Tiribazus* to weare those womens gawdes as a woman, and the kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the manner was in PERSIA that no person sate at the kings bord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother sate vppermost, and his wife lowermost: *Artaxerxes* made his two brethren *Ostanes* and *Oxathres* sit at his owne bord. But yet he pleased the PERSIANS best of all, because he was content his wife *Statyra* should sit openly in her charret, and that she might be seene and reuerenced by the other Ladyes of the country. And this made him singularly beloued of the people. Now, such as desired innouation and chaunge, and that could not away with quiet life: they gaue out that the Realme of PERSIA required such a Prince as *Cyrus*, that was liberall of nature, giuen to armes, & greatly rewarded his seruaunts, and that the greatnesse of the Empire of PERSIA stood in neede of a king, whose minde was bent to high attemptes and noble enterprises. So *Cyrus* thereupon began to make warre vpon his brother, not onely trusting vnto them that were of the low countreys about him, but hoping of those also in the high prouinces neare vnto the king. Furthermore he wrote also vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, to pray them to send him men of warre, promising to giue the footemen they sent, horses: & the horsemen, coches: landed men, whole villages: and to those that had villages, to giue them cities. Besides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that should serue him in this warre, he would not pay them by account, but by full measure: and boasting largely of himselfe, he sayd he had a greater minde then his brother, that he could better away with hardnesse then he, that he vnderstood magicke better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and carie it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was so womanish and fearefull, that when he went a hunting, he durst scarce get vp vpon his horse backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his charriot. When the LACEDÆMONIANS had read his letters, they sent a litle scrowle

Artaxerxes curteous, and easie to haue accesse vnto.

Artaxerxes liberalitie to a poore man that gaue him a litle water.

Tiribazus lightnesse, and Artaxerxes liberalitie.

Statira, king Artaxerxes wife.

Cyrus maketh warre against his brother Artaxerxes.

Cyrus wonderfull promises.

vnto *Clearchus*, commaunding him to obey *Cyrus* in any thing he would commaund him. So *Cyrus* did set forward to make warre against his brother, hauing leauied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of GRECIANS, litle lesse then thirteen thousand men: sometime aduertising one cause, sometime an other, why he leauied such a multitude of men. But his purpose could not be long dissembled: for *Tisaphernes* went himselfe vnto the Court, to bring newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was straight in an vprore withall. Many men also did accuse the Queene mother, for the practise of this warre, & all her friends & seruants were vehemently suspected to be conspiratours with *Cyrus*: but the greatest thing that troubled *Paryſatis* most, was Queene *Statyra* her daughter in law, who stormed maruellously to see this warre begun against king *Artaxerxes* her husband, and incessantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedst by othe? whereto are thy intercessions come thou madest, for the pardon of his life: who now conspireth his brothers death? By sauing of his life, art not thou now the cause of this warre and troubles we see at hand? After this reproch and shame receiued by *Statira*, *Paryſatis*, being a cruell and malitious woman of nature, so hated her, that from thenceforth she sought all the wayes she could to put her to death. And *Dinon* the Historiographer sayth, that during this warre, she did execute her wicked purpose vpon her: but *Ctesias* writeth, that it was after the warre. And therfore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of PERSIAES Court, should certainly know the time when she did execute her treason against her, and also there is no cause why he should rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the fact was done: although in many other places he commonly vseth to fitten, and to write deuises of his owne head. Therefore let vs leaue the report of this fact to the selfe same time and place as he hath written it. Now when *Cyrus* drew neare vnto his brothers country, he had newes, and a rumor ranne through his campe, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him so soone: and that he meant first to go further into PERSIA, and to tary there till he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proofe hereof, the king hauing cast a great trench of ten yardes broad, and as many high, the space of foure hundred furlong in length: he left it without gard, and let *Cyrus* winne it, who came on further without any resistance, euen to the very citie selfe of BABYLON. Howbeit in the end, *Tiribazus* (as it is reported) was the first man that durst tell the king, that he should not flie fight in that sort, nor hide himselfe in the farthest part of PERSIA, leauing his enemy the Realmes of MEDIA, BABYLON, and SVSA: considering also that he had many mo souldiers in readinesse then his enemy, and an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull, and abler to giue counsell, and to fight, then he was. These words of *Tiribazus* made the king alter his minde, and to determine to giue battell as soone as he could. Thereupon he marched forward against his enemy, with nine hundred thousand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruellously astonied *Cyrus* men, and made them affrayed at the first, when they saw them in so excellent good order before them: for that they were dispersed straggling here and there without any order, and men vnarmed, trusting too much in themselues, in despising of their enemy: so that *Cyrus* had much a do to set his men it battell ray, and yet was it with great noyse and tumult. But the GRECIANS wondred most of all other, when they saw the kings army march in so good order of battell without any noyse. For they thought to haue seene a wonderfull great disorder and confusion, in such an infinite multitude of people: and supposed they would haue made such a noyse, that one of them should not haue heard an other. Where in deede to the contrary, all was so well marshalled, specially because he had placed before his battell the best carts he had armed with sithes, and drawen with the strongest and biggest great horse he had in all his armie: hoping by the fiercenesse and furie of their careere, to breake into the ranckes of the enemies, before they could come to ioyne with theirs. But sith this battell is described by diuers Historiographers, but specially by *Xenophon*, who hath (as a man would say) liuely set it out to the eye, and setteth it forth to the Reader, not as a battell already fought, but presently a fighting, stirring vp their mindes as if themselues were in the action and instant daunger, he hath so passingly set it downe: it were but a follie therfore of me to take vpon me to make any further description of it, sauing to touch some speciall points worthy of note, which he peraduenture hath

Artaxerxes armie, of nine hundred thousand fighting men, against his brother Cyrus.

Xenophon the Historiographer excellently describeth this battell betwixt Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus.

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left out. As, the place where the battell was fought, is called COVNAXA, fiue hundred furlongs from BABYLON: and how that before the battell, *Clearchus* gaue *Cyrus* counsell to keepe behind the squadron of the GRECIANS, and not to hazard his person among the first: and that *Cyrus* aunswered him, what sayest thou *Clearchus*? wouldest thou haue me that striues to be king, to shew my selfe vnworthy to be a king? But *Cyrus* hauing made this fault, not standing vpon his safetie and guard, but ouer rashly thrusting himselfe into great daunger: *Clearchus* selfe also committed as great a fault (if it were not worse) when he would not set his men in order directly against the battell of the enemies, where the kings person stoode, but went and bent them vp by the riuers side, being affraide least they should haue beene compassed in behind. For if he would haue looked so straightly to himselfe, and haue prouided euery way for his safetie, that no man might come to hurt him: he should haue kept himselfe at home, and not haue sturred one foote out of the dores. But sith he had come so farre, as from the lowe countries of ASIA, vnto the place where the field was fought, and vncompelled, onely to put *Cyrus* in his fathers seate & imperiall crowne, to goe choose a place in the battell, not where he might doe his Lorde best seruice that had hyred him, but rather where he might fight more at his ease, and at lesse daunger: it was euen as much, as if through cowardlinesse his wits had bene taken from him when he should haue fought, or that through treason he had forsaken his enterprise. For, to proue that the troupes which were about the kings person, had neuer beene able to haue receiued the charge of the GRECIANS, and that those being ouerthrowen, the king had bene slaine in the fielde, or else forced to flie, and that *Cyrus* had wonne the field, and by this victorie had bene king: the successe of this battell doth plainely shewe it. And therefore *Clearchus* ouer curious respect, deserued more blame for the losse of this battell: then *Cyrus* ouerhardines. For if king *Artaxerxes* would haue chosen or wished a place where the GRECIANS might haue done him lesse hurt: he could not haue deuised a fitter place that was so farre from him, and from whence the GRECIANS could neither see nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in sequell. For *Cyrus* was slaine before he could preuaile by *Clearchus* victorie, he was so farre from him: and furthermore, *Cyrus* therein knew before what was meetest to be done. For he commaunded *Clearchus* to place himselfe with his company in the middest of the battell: who aunswered him, he should take no thought for nothing, for he would see all things well ordered. And when he had saide so, he marred all afterwards: For where the GRECIANS were, they ouerthrew the barbarous people that made head against them, and had them in chace while they were wearie of following of them. *Cyrus* being mounted vpon a hotte stirring horse, that had a hard head, and was verie fierce and dogged, called Pasacas, as *Ctesias* writeth: *Artagerses*, the gouernor of the prouince of the CADVSIANS, spyed him a farre off, and when he had found him, clapped spurres to his horse, and came with full cariere vnto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and most vnfaithfull and desperate man, thou now dishonorest the name of *Cyrus* (which is the goodliest and most honorablest name of all the PERSIANS) for that thou hast brought so valiant GRECIANS hither to so wicked an enterprise, to spoyle the PERSIANS goods, in hope to destroy thy soueraigne Lorde and onely brother, who hath an infinite number of slaues and seruants farre honester men then thou wilt be while thou liuest, and that thou shalt presently knowe by proofe, for thou shalt die before thou see the king thy brothers face: and therewithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had. But *Cyrus* armor was so good, that it pearsed him not: yet the blow came with such good will, that it made him stagger on his horse backe. When *Artagerses* had giuen him that blow, he presently turned his horse. But *Cyrus* therewithall threw a dart at him so happily, that he slew him right in the place aboue the bone that ioyneth the two shoulders together: so that the head of his dart, ranne quite through his necke. Now, that *Cyrus* slew *Artagerses* with his owne hands in the field, all the Historiographers doe agree vpon it: but for the death of *Cyrus*, because *Xenophon* toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not present in the very place where he was slaine: it shall not be hurtfull particularly to set downe the manner thereof, both according to the report of *Dinon*, and also of *Ctesias*. First, *Dinon* writeth, that after *Cyrus* had slaine *Artagerses*, he went with great furie, and flue in amongst the troupe of them which were neareste vnto the kings person, and

Safetie in a generall, requisite in battell.

Clearchus cowardlines reproued.

Pasacas: Cyrus horse.

Artagerses the gouernor of the prouince of Cadusia, giueth charge vpon Cyrus.

Cyrus slew Artagerses.

Dinons report of Cyrus death.

that he came ſo neare the king, that he ſlew his horſe ſtarke dead vnder him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But *Tiribazus* that was hard by him, ſtraight mounted the king againe vpon an other horſe, and ſaid vnto him: your grace will remember this battell an other day, for it is not to be forgotten. And *Cyrus* clapping ſpurres againe to his horſe, threwe an other dart at *Artaxerxes*, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king tolde them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather die then ſuffer it: ſo therewithall he ſpurring his horſe to charge *Cyrus* (who came fiercely and deſperately, hauing an infinite number of blowes with darts throwen at him on euery ſide) threw his dart at him alſo. So did all thoſe that were about his perſon: and ſo was *Cyrus* ſlaine in this conflict. Some ſay, that he was ſlaine with the wound the king his brother gaue him. Others ſay, that it was a man at armes of the countrie of CARIA, vnto whom the king for reward of his good ſeruice, gaue him the honor in all battels to carie before the firſt ranke, a cocke of gold on the toppe of a ſpeare: for the PERSIANS doe call the CARIANS cockes, becauſe in the warres they vſe to weare creaſts in the toppe of their headpeeces. And this is *Dinons* report. But *Cteſias*, to couch in fewe wordes that which *Dinon* reporteth at large, ſaith: that *Cyrus* after he had ſlaine *Artagerſes*, he gallopped on the ſpurre againſt the king himſelfe, and the king againſt him, and not a worde betwene them both. *Arieus* one of *Cyrus* flatterers, threwe the firſt dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force againe threwe his dart, thinking to haue hit *Cyrus*, but he miſſed him, and ſlew *Tiſaphernes*, one of the valianteſt and ſtouteſt men *Cyrus* had about him, and ſo fell downe dead. Then *Cyrus* hit *Artaxerxes* ſo ſore a blow on his breaſt, that he pearced his armor, and entred into his fleſh two fingers deepe. The king with this blowe fell downe to the ground: wherewithall the moſt part of his men about him were ſo affraid, that they forſooke him and fled. Howbeit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongſt whom *Cteſias* ſaide he was one: and ſo recouered a litle hill not farre off, to take a litle breath. In the meane time, *Cyrus* horſe that was hotte in the mouth, and hard headed as we haue tolde you: caried his maſter ſpight of his heart farre from his men, among his enemies, and no man knew him, becauſe it was night, and his men were very buſie in ſeeking for him. But *Cyrus* hoping he had wonne the victorie, being of a hotte ſtirring nature, and valiant: he went vppe and downe in the thickeſt of his enemies, crying out in the PERSIAN tongue, ſaue your ſelues poore men, ſaue your ſelues. When they heard him ſay ſo, ſome made a lane for him to paſſe by them, and did him reuerence: But by euill fortune his Tiara (which is the high royall hat after the PERSIAN maner) fell off from his head. Then a young PERSIAN called *Mithridates*, paſſing by him, hit him a blow with his dart vpon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound ſtraight fell on a maruellous bleeding. Whereupon, *Cyrus* ſtaggering at it, fell to the ground in a ſownd, and his horſe ranne away from him: but the cappariſon he had vppon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him, tooke it vp. Shortly after *Cyrus* being come to himſelfe againe, ſome of his Eunuches (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him vp, thinking to ſet him vpon an other horſe, and to get him out of the preaſe: but he was not able to ſit on his horſe. Thereupon he proued if he could better goe a foote, & the Eunuchs held him vp by the armes, & led him amaſed as he was, not able to ſtand on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: becauſe he heard his enemies flying about him cry, the gods ſaue king *Cyrus*, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receiue them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the citie of CAVNVS, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and ſlaues, to doe moſt vile ſeruice. They ioyned with the troupe where *Cyrus* was, ſuppoſing they had bene the kings men: but when they perceiued in the end by the red coates they ware vppon their armours, that they were enemies, for that the kings men ware white coates: there was one among the reſt that valiantly ſtrake at *Cyrus* behind with his pertiſan, not knowing in deede that it was *Cyrus*. The blow lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his ſinewes ſo, that *Cyrus* fell withall, and falling, by misfortune fell vpon a great ſtone with his browe, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth *Cteſias* report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his throate with a dull edged knife, he hath ſuch a doe to bring *Cyrus* to his ende. Now after

The Carians be called cocks, becauſe they weare creſts on their headpeeces.

Cteſias report of Cyrus death.

Artaxerxes hurt by Cyrus.

Cyrus hurt.

Cyrus miſerable deſtinie.

Cyrus

Cyrus was dead, *Artaſyras*, one of king *Artaxerxes* Eunuches, whom they called the kings eye in the Court: paſſing by a horſebacke, knew *Cyrus* Eunuches that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their maſter. So he asked the Eunuch whom *Cyrus* loued beſt: who is that that is dead, O *Pariſcas*, that thou weepeſt ſo bitterly? *Pariſcas* anſwered him againe, ſeeſt thou not *Artaſyras*, that it is *Cyrus* but newly dead? *Artaſyras* wondred much when he ſaw him. So he comforted the Eunuch, and willed him in no caſe to goe from the bodie: and in the meane time he gallopped a pace to the king, who thought he had loſt all, and was very ill beſides, both for the great thirſt he ſuffred, as alſo for his wound he had on his breaſt. Now when the Eunuch came vnto the king, and told him with a ſmiling countenance the newes, how he had ſeene *Cyrus* dead: The king was ſo ioyfull at the newes, that he was deſirous him ſelfe forthwith to goe vnto the place where he lay to ſee him, and commaunded *Artaſyras* to bring him thither. But after he had conſidered better of it, he was counſelled not to goe thither himſelfe for feare of the GRECIANS, who they ſaid wonne all, and were yet chaſing and killing them in the field, that fled: But rather that he ſhould ſend a good company of men thither, to bring him iuſt report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Vpon this aduiſe he ſtaied, and ſent thither thirtie men, euery man with torches in their handes. In the meane time, one of his Eunuches called *Satibarzanes*, ranne vp and downe to ſee if he could get any water for the king, that was almoſt dead for thirſt: for there was no water neare vnto him where he was, and beſides, his campe was farre from him. His Eunuch hauing runne vp and downe a great way to ſeeke it, met by chaunce with theſe poore ſlaues and porters the CAVNIANS, among the which one of them caried in an olde ragged goates skinne, about eight glaſſefuls of naughtie ſtincking water. So he preſently caried the ſame to the king, who dranke it vp euery whit. When the king had drunke it, the Eunuch asked him, if that naughtie water did him no hurt. The king ſware by the goddes vnto him, that he neuer dranke better wine, nor ſweeter water then that was, nor that pleaſed him better then that did: and therefore, ſaide he, I beſeech the goddes if it be not my happe to finde him that gaue thee this water to reward him, yet that it will pleaſe them to ſend him good fortune. As the king was talking thus with his Eunuch, the thirty men with their torches returned vnto him, who altogether with ioyfull countenance, confirmed the good newes he looked not for: and then there were come together againe a great number of ſouldiers about him, and ſtill came moe one after another, that he beganne againe to be couragious. Then he came downe into the plaine, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went ſtraight to the place where his brother *Cyrus* body lay. There, following the ancient manner of the PERSIANS againſt traytors to the king: he cauſed his head and right hand to be ſtriken off, and then made his head be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the haires of his head (for *Cyrus* ware them long and thicke) and did himſelfe ſhew it vnto them that fled ſtill, and were affraide, to encourage them againe. They wondering to ſee it, did him humble reuerence, and ſo gathered by companies about the king, that in a ſmall time there were gathered together about him, three ſcore and tenne thouſand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. In deede *Cteſias* ſaith, that he had but foure hundred thouſand fighting men in all: but *Dinon* and *Xenophon* ſay more. And for the number of them that were ſlaine, *Cteſias* ſaith, that word was brought to the king, that there were not aboue nyne thouſand ſlaine, howbeit that to ſight they ſeemed to be no leſſe then twentie thouſand. But for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. But furthermore, where he ſaith that the king did ſend him with *Phaylus* ZACYNTHIAN vnto the GRECIANS, and others with him: that is a flat lie. For *Xenophon* knew right well, that this *Cteſias* waited vpon the king, becauſe he ſpeaketh of him in diuers places of his hiſtorie: and if he had bene appointed by the king to carie report vnto the GRECIANS of ſo waighty a matter, it is like enough *Xenophon* would not haue concealed it, when he nameth *Phaylus* ZACYNTHIAN. But *Cteſias* (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, and partial vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, but ſpecially vnto *Clearchus*: & is glad when he can get any occaſion to ſpeake of himſelfe for his glorie, of LACEDÆMON, and of *Clearchus*. Now after this battell, king *Artaxerxes* ſent goodly rich giftes vnto *Artagerſes* ſonne, whoſe father *Cyrus* had ſlaine with his owne hands, and as it is reported, did alſo

King Artaxerxes being a thirſt, dranke ſtincking puddle water, and ſaid he neuer taſted ſweeter.

The manner of the Perſians in warre, againſt a traitor to the king.

Plutarcke reproueth Cteſias for a lyer.

How Artaxerxes rewarded the good, and alſo puniſhed the euill

greatly honor *Cteſias* and many others: and did not forget alſo to cauſe the poore CAVNIAN ſlaue to be ſought out, that had giuen him the water to be caried to him which ſaued his life: & when he had found him out, of a poore wretch vnknowen before, he made him a rich noble man. He ſeuerely puniſhed thoſe alſo that had offended the martiall law, as amongſt others, *Arbaces*, one of the MEDES: who when the battell was ioyned, he fled firſt on *Cyrus* ſide, and then when he vnderſtoode he was ſlaine, he returned againe to the kings ſide. For, ſuppoſing that it was rather timerouſnes and cowardly nature, then for treaſon or euill wil he bare him: he compelled him to carie a whore on his backe ſtarke naked, all day long about the market place. And to an other, who beſides he had yeelded himſelfe to his enemies, falſely boaſted that he had ſlaine two: he made his tongue to be boared thorough in three ſeuerall places with a cordiners alle. Now the king being of opinion that it was himſelfe that had ſlaine his brother *Cyrus* with his owne hand, and being deſirous that euery man ſhould ſo thinke & ſay: he ſent preſents vnto *Mithridates*, that had hurt him firſt in the forehead, and commaunded him that caried the gifts vnto him, to tell him from the king: the king doth ſend thee theſe preſents, becauſe thou finding firſt the cappariſon of *Cyrus* horſe, diddeſt bring it vnto the king. The CARIAN alſo that had cut the hamme of his legge wherwith *Cyrus* fell downe, asked his gift likewiſe: the which the king gaue him, and bad the meſſenger tell him, the king doth giue thee this, becauſe thou waſt the ſecond perſon that broughteſt him the good newes. For *Artaſyras* was the firſt, and thou the ſecond, that brought him newes of the death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, albeit he was not well pleaſed in his mind with thoſe wordes, he went his way, and ſaid nothing then, nor made any thing a doe: but the vnfortunate CARIAN fondly fell into a fooliſh vaine, common vnto men. For, the ſodaine ioy he felt (as it ſeemeth) to ſee ſuch a goodly rich preſent before him, as the king ſent him: made him ſo forget himſelfe, that he began to aſpire, and to pretend greater things, then became his ſtate and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings gift, as in reſpect that he had brought him worde of *Cyrus* death: but began to ſtorme, and to rage, calling the gods to witneſſe, that it was he onely, and none other, that ſlew *Cyrus*, and that they did him great wrong, to take this honor from him.

The puniſhment of them that ſlew Cyrus.

The king being told of it, tooke it ſo angrily: that he preſently commaunded them to ſtrike off his head. But *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) being preſent with the king gaue this commaundement, ſhe prayed him not to put him to death in that ſort: for the villaine, ſaid ſhe, let me alone, I will chaſtiſe him well enough for his preſumption and raſh ſpeech. The king was contented ſhe ſhould haue him. Thereuppon ſhe ſent the Sergeants to take this curſed CARIAN, and made him be hanged vpon a gybbet ten daies together, and at the tenne dayes end, cauſed his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and laſt of all, poured molten mettall into his eares, and ſo killed the villaine with this kind of torment. *Mithridates* alſo ſhortly after, died miſerably by a like follie. He was bidden to ſupper at a feaſt, whither came alſo the king and Queene mothers Eunuches: and when they came, *Mithridates* ſate downe at the bord in the kings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had ſupped, and that they beganne to drinke one to another, one of *Paryſatis* Eunuches ſaid vnto *Mithridates*: the king hath in deede giuen thee a goodly gowne *Mithridates*, and goodly chaines and carcanets of gold, and ſo is the ſworde very rich and good he gaue thee, ſo that when thou haſt that by thy ſide, there is no man I warrant thee but will thinke thee a happy man. *Mithridates* then, the wine fuming into his braine, anſwered ſtraight: what meaneſt thou by that, *Sparamixes*? I deſerued a better than this, when the battell was fought. Then *Sparamixes* laughing on him, anſwered, I do not ſpeake it for any hurt or euill will I beare thee, *Mithridates*: but to ſpeake frankly among our ſelues, becauſe the GRECIANS haue a cõmon prouerbe, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valiant act was it to take vp a cappariſon of a horſe that fell on the ground, and to carie it to the king? which the Eunuch ſpitefully put forth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to ſpeake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a haſtie man of nature, & could not kepe his tongue, & leaſt of all when he had drunke ſo well as he had done, and ſo it fell out in deede. For *Mithridates* could not bite it in, but replyed ſtraight: you may take as long as you liſt of the cappariſon of a horſe, & ſuch traſh, but I tell you plainly, that *Cyrus* was ſlaine with mine owne hands, and with no mans els. For I hit him not

Paryſatis ſtrange cruelty putting the Carian to death.

See the perill of haſtines and raſh anſwere.

not in vaine as *Artagerſes* did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and ſtrake him through and through his head againe, and ſo ouerthrew him, of which blow he died. He had no ſooner ſpoken thoſe words, but the reſt that were at the bord, caſt downe their eies, foreſeeing the death of this poore & vnfortunate *Mithridates*. But then the maſter of the feaſt began to ſpeak, and ſaid vnto him: friend *Mithridates*, I pray thee let vs drinke and be merie, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king, and for the reſt, let this talke goe, it is too high for vs. When the Eunuch went from thence, he tolde *Paryſatis* the Queene mother what *Mithridates* had ſaide before them all: and ſhe went and told the king of it. Who was maruellouſly offended withall to be ſo belyed, and to loſe the thing that was moſt honorable, and beſt pleaſed him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both GRECIANS and barbarous people) ſhould certainely beleue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt, but yet that he ſlew *Cyrus* with his owne hand. So the king cõmanded that *Mithridates* ſhould ſuffer the paines of death in botes, the which is after this manner. They take two botes made of purpoſe ſo euen, that the one is neither broader nor longer then the other, & then lay the offender in one of them vpon his backe, and ſo couer him with the other, & do ſow both botes together: So that the parties feete, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpoſe for him, the reſt of his bodie is all hidden within. Nowe they giue him meate as much as he will eate, and if he will not eate, they force him to it, by thruſting alles in his eyes: then when he hath eaten, they giue him honey to drinke mingled with milke, and they do not only poure it into his mouth, but alſo all his face ouer, turning him full into the ſunne, ſo that his face is all couered ouer with flies: and furthermore, being driuen to do his needes in that trough, of his excrements there ingender wormes that eate his bodie euen to the very priuities. Then, when they ſee the man is dead, they take off the vppermoſt bote, and find all his fleſh deuoured with vermine ingendring of him, euen to his very intrals. So, when *Mithridates* had miſerably languiſhed in this manner, ſeuenteene daies together: at length he died in extreame torments. Now *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother,) lacked no more to accompliſh her wicked deſire, but *Meſabates*, one of the kings Eunuchs that had cut off *Cyrus* head and hand: and ſeeing that ſhe was very warie & circumſpect in his behauior, that ſhe could not take him at any aduantage: in the ende ſhe deuiſed a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruellous wit, and among other things could play paſſingly well at all games at dice, & did many times play with the king her ſonne before the wars: and after the warres alſo, when he had made peace, ſhe did play at dice with him as ſhe had done before, in ſo much as ſhe knew all his ſecret loue, and furthered him to enioy it. To be ſhort, ſhe would neuer be out of his ſight but as litle as ſhe could, and would let his wife *Statira* haue as litle time with him as might be, that ſhe might gouerne and rule him as ſhe would: both becauſe ſhe hated her of all creatures liuing, and alſo for that ſhee would beare the greateſt ſway and credite about him. When ſhe ſaw the king one day at leaſure, not knowing how to paſſe the time away: ſhe inticed him to play a thouſand Dareckes at dice, and was contented to loſe them willingly, and paied the thouſand Darecks downe, ſeeming notwithſtanding to be angry with her loſſe. So ſhe prayed him alſo to play one of his Eunuches with her: & the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betweene them that they ſhould both name and except fiue of the truſtieſt and chiefeſt Eunuches they had: & then, which of them loſt, ſhould preſently deliuer vnto the winner his choice of all the other Eunuches he would demaund. Thus they fell to play, and ſhe imploying all the cunning ſhe had, and playing as warily as ſhe could poſſible, beſides that the dice ranne on her ſide, her lucke ſerued her ſo, that ſhe wanne: and then ſhe required *Meſabates* for her winnings, being none of thoſe the king had excepted. When ſhe had him deliuered her, ſhe gaue him to the hangmen, and willed them to flea him aliue, & then that they ſhould crucifie him, & naile him to a croſſe, & hang his skin vpon an other peece of timber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was maruellous angry withall when he knew it, and greeuouſly offended with his mother. Howbeit ſhe ſported it out, and laughing told him: indeede it becomes thee wel to be angry for loſing an old gelded villaine, where I loſt a 1000 Darecks quietly, & ſaid neuer a word. So there came no other thing of it, ſauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had plaied ſo fondly and was ſo finely mocked. But Queene

The terrible death of offenders, in boates or troughes among the Perſians.

The miſerable death of Mithridates.

The diueliſh craft of Pariſatis, and her great skill and cunning at dice.

Paryſatis craft and cruelty.

Statira on the other ſide, beſides that ſhe was againſt her in all other things: ſhe ſpared not to tel Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good & faithful ſeruants ſo cruelly to death, for *Cyrus* ſake. But now, after that *Tiſaphernes* (king *Artaxerxes* Lieutenant) had deceiued *Clearchus*, & other captaines of GREECE, deteſtably falſifying his word he had giuen them, & that he had ſent thē bound vnto the king: *Cteſias* ſaith, that *Clearchus* praied him to helpe him to a combe, & that hauing had one by his meanes, & alſo comed his head, it pleaſed him ſo well, that to requite his good will, he gaue him his ſeale of armes from his finger wherewith he ſealed his letters, for a witnes of the great friendſhip that was betwene them two. He ſaith alſo that in the ſtone of this ring there was grauen the dance of the CARYATIDES. And furthermore, that the other ſouldiers which were priſoners with *Clearchus*, did take away the moſt part of the victuals that were ſent to him, & left him litle or nothing: and that he did remedie all this, procuring a greater quantitie to be ſent vnto them, & that they ſhould put *Clearchus* portion a part, and all the other ſouldiers part alſo by themſelues. This he did, as he ſaith, by *Paryſatis* conſent and commaundement, who knowing that amongſt other victuals they daily ſent *Clearchus* a gammon of bacon: ſhe tolde him one day he ſhould doe well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, and to ſend it him, to the end that the life of ſo noble and valiant a man as he was, ſhould not fall to the crueltie of the king. Howbeit, that he was affraid to meddle withall, and durſt not doe it: and that the king ſware, and promiſed his mother (who was an earneſt ſuter to him for *Clearchus*) that he would not put him to death. This notwithſtanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perſwaded to the contratie, by Queene *Statira* his wife: he put them all to death, but *Menon*. Therefore *Paryſatis*, Queene mother, after that time (ſaith *Cteſias*) deuiſed all the waies ſhe could to poyſon Queene *Statira*, and to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this ſmelleth like a lie, that *Paryſatis* ſhould entend ſo wicked and daungerous an act, as to put the kings lawfull wife to death, by whom he had ſonnes that were to inherite the crowne, only for the loue and reſpect of *Clearchus*: and it is too plaine that he coyned that, to honour and magnifie *Clearchus* memorie the more. But to proue it, a man may eaſily find it by the lies he addeth afterwardes vnto it: ſaying, that after the Captaines were ſlaine, all the bodies of the reſt were torne a peeces by dogs and fowles: and alſo that there came a boyſterous winde, and couered all *Clearchus* bodie with a great hill of duſt, and that out of this hill of duſt ſhortly after there ſprung vppe many palme trees, which made a pretie thicke groue, that it ſhadowed all that place. Inſomuch that the king himſelfe did afterwardes maruellouſly repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honeſt man, and beloued of the gods. This was not for *Clearchus* ſake, but for an olde canckered malice *Paryſatis* had long time borne in her heart againſt Queene *Statira*: becauſe ſhe ſaw well enough, that the credite and authoritie her ſelfe had with the king, was in reſpect of a ſonnes dutie and obedience to his mother, and in contrary maner, *Statiraes* credit and authoritie had a better ground and foundation, becauſe it came of the loue and good will the king did beare her. And this is the only cauſe that made her to practiſe the death of Queene *Statira*, hauing determined that her ſelfe, or daughter in law, muſt needes die. Now Queene mother had one of the women of her chamber called *Gigis*, that was of great credite about her, and whom ſhe onely truſted. *Dinon* writeth, that this *Gigis* did helpe *Paryſatis* to make the poyſon. But *Cteſias* writeth contrarily, and ſaith that ſhe onely knew it, but otherwiſe that it was againſt her will: and that he that made the poyſon, was one *Belitaras*, but *Dinon* calleth him *Melantas*. Now, though in outwarde ſemblance and ſhew Queene mother and *Statira* ſeemed to haue forgotten all malice betwene them, and that they began againe one of them to keepe company with the other, and did eate and drinke together: yet one of them miſtruſted the other, and tooke great heede to themſelues, both of them eating one ſelfe meate, and in one diſh together, and were both ſerued with one ſelfe officers and men. In PERSIA there is a litle bird, of the which all the partes of it is excellent good to eate, and is full of fatte within: ſo that it is thought it liueth by ayre and dewe, and in the PERSIAN tongue they call it Rynta-ces. *Paryſatis*, as *Cteſias* ſaieth, tooke one of theſe birdes, and cut it in the middeſt with a litle knife, the which was poyſoned onely on one of the ſides, and gaue that halfe which was poyſoned vnto *Statira*. Yet *Dinon* writeth, that it was not *Paryſatis* her ſelfe that gaue it her, but her

Tiſaphernes betrayeth the Captaines of Greece.

Clearchus and other captaines of Greece put to death by king Artaxerxes.

Cteſias vanity.

The cauſe of Paryſatis hate vnto her daughter in law, Statira.

Paryſatis practiſeth to poyſon Queene Statira.

Rynta-ces a bird of Perſia that hath no excrements.

How Statira was poyſoned.

caruer

caruer *Melantas* that carued her meate, and ſtill gaue Queene *Statyra* of that meate which the ſide of his poyſoned knife had touched. So Queen *Statyra* preſently fell ſicke of the diſeaſe whereof ſhe died, with grieuous pangs and gripings in her bowels, and found plainely that ſhe was poyſoned by *Paryſatis* meanes: whereuppon ſhee told the king as much, who was of the ſame opinion, and thought it was his mother, becauſe he knew her cruell reuenging minde, that neuer pardoned any, againſt whom ſhe conceiued any grudge. The king therfore to know the troth, when his wife *Statira* was dead, apprehended all his mothers houſhold ſeruants and officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confeſſe the troth, ſauing *Gigis*, whom Queen mother kept cloſe in her chamber a long time, and would neuer ſuffer the king to haue her: who earneſtly requeſted her to deliuer her vnto him. Notwithſtanding, *Gigis* her ſelfe at length prayed Queene mother to giue her leaue one night to goe home to her houſe. The king vnderſtanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when ſhe was taken, he condemned her to ſuffer the paines of death ordayned for poyſoners, the which in PERSIA is executed in this maner. They make them put their head vpon a great plaine ſtone, and with an other ſtone they preſſe and ſtrike it ſo long, till they haue daſhed the brains of the malefactor out of their head. After this ſort was *Gigis* put to death. Now for *Paryſatis* his mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor ſayed no more vnto her, but confined her vnto BABYLON according to her deſire, and ſware, that whileſt ſhe liued, he would neuer ſee BABYLON. In this ſtate ſtoode the affaires of the king. But now, *Artaxerxes* hauing done the vtmoſt he could to haue ouercome the GRECIANS which came to make war with him in the heart of his Realme, and would haue bene as glad of that, as he was to haue ouercome *Cyrus*, and to keepe his crowne and Realme: he could neuer preuaile againſt them. For though they had loſt *Cyrus* that gaue them entertainement, and all their priuate Captaines that led them: they ſaued them ſelues notwithſtanding, being in the heart of his Realme, and ſhewed the PERSIANS by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold and ſiluer, curioſity, and faire women, and otherwiſe, nothing but pompe and vanity. Hereuppon all the GRECIANS became couragious, and deſpiſed the barbarous people: inſomuch that the LACEDÆMONIANS thought it a great ſhame and diſhonor vnto them, if they did not deliuer the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the ſlauery and bondage of the PERSIANS, and kept them from the open violence and cruelty of the barbarous people. For they hauing at other times attempted to doe it by their Captaine *Thimbron*, and afterwards alſo by *Dercillidas*, whom they ſent thither with an army, and hauing done nothing worthy memory: at length they determined to ſend their king *Ageſilaus* thither in perſon, who paſſing through ASIA with his ſhips, began preſently to make hot warre againſt the PERSIANS as ſoone as euer he had landed his army. For, at the firſt conflict he ouerthrew *Tiſaphernes* (the king of PERSIAS Lieutenant) in battell, and made the moſt part of the cities of GREECE that are in ASIA, to rebell againſt him. *Artaxerxes* looking into this warre, and wiſely conſidering what way and meanes he was to take, to make warre with the GRECIANS: he ſent into GREECE one *Hermocrates* a RHODIAN, (of great credit about him) with a maruellous ſumme of gold and ſiluer, bountifully to beſtow in gifts among the nobility and chiefe rulers of the cities of GREECE, to make all the other GRECIANS to riſe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Hermocrates* wiſely executed his cõmiſſion, for he made the chiefeſt cities of GREECE to rebell againſt LACEDÆMON: ſo that all PELOPONNESVS being vp in armes, and in great garboile, the Ephori at LACEDÆMON were inforced to ſend for *Ageſilaus* home againe. *Ageſilaus* being ſory to depart out of ASIA, ſaied vnto his friends: that the king of PERSIA had driuen him out of his Realme with thirty thouſand archers: becauſe that the PERSIAN coine is ſtamped with an archer, hauing a bow in his hand. *Artaxerxes* alſo draue the LACEDÆMONIANS out of al their iuriſdiction by ſea, by the meanes of *Conon*, generall of the ATHENIANS, whom *Pharnabazus* (one of his Lieutenants) had wonne to take his part. For *Conon*, after he was ouerthrowen in battell at a place called the goates riuer, kept euer after in the Ile of CYPRVS, not ſo much for the ſafety of his perſon, as alſo for that it was a meet place to ſtay in, vntil the wars of GREECE were appeaſed. He knowing that the deuiſe he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, and on the contrary ſide, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe iudgement to be employed: he wrote

The puniſhment for poyſoners in Perſia.

Ageſilaus king of Lacedæmon, maketh warre with the Perſians.

The Perſian coyne, how it is ſtamped.

Artaxerxes draue the Lacedemonians from all their dominion by ſea.

letters vnto him of his deuiſe what he thought to doe, ſtraightly charging him whom he deliuered his letters vnto, that if he could poſſibly, he ſhould cauſe the ſame to be deliuered vnto the king by *Zenon* the CRETAN, one of the kings dancers, or by one *Polycritus* his Phiſition, borne in the city of MENDE: and in both their abſences, then to giue it vnto *Cteſias*, to deliuer vnto the king. It chanced ſo that this letter came to the hands of *Cteſias*: who (as it is reported) added moreouer vnto the contents of the letter, that the king ſhould ſend him vnto *Conon*, becauſe he was a neceſſary mã to be employed in his ſeruice, but ſpecially by ſea. *Cteſias* ſaith not ſo, but writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after *Artaxerxes* had through the leading of *Conon* and *Pharnabazus*, won the battel by ſea neare to the Ile of GNIDVS, and that thereby he had driuen al the LACEDÆMONIANS from their iuriſdiction by ſea, al GREECE had him in maruellous great eſtimation: ſo that he gaue vnto the GRECIANS with ſuch conditions as he would, that ſo famous peace, called *Antalcidas* peace. This *Antalcidas* was a citizen of SPARTA, the ſon of one *Leon*, who fauoring king *Artaxerxes* affairs, procured by the treaty of this peace, that the LACEDÆMONIANS left vnto *Artaxerxes* all the cities of GREECE in ASIA, and all the Iles contained in the ſame, to enioy quietly making them pay tribute at his pleaſure. This peace being concluded with the GRECIANS (if ſo ſhamefull a treaſon, reproch, and common infamy to all GREECE may be called a peace, as neuer warre fell out more diſhonorable and infamous for the vanquiſhed) king *Artaxerxes* that otherwiſe hated the LACEDÆMONIANS to the death, and that eſteemed them (as *Dinon* writeth) the impudenteſt men liuing: did notwithſtanding loue *Antalcidas* paſſingly well, and entertained him very honorably, when he came into PERSIA vnto him. It is reported that the king one day tooke a garland of flowers, and did wet it with the moſt precious and ſweeteſt oile of perfume that was prepared for the feaſt, and ſent the ſame vnto *Antalcidas*: inſomuch as euery man maruelled to ſee the king ſet ſo much by him. In deed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curioſity of the PERSIANS, and had wel deſerued ſuch a garland to be ſent him: who was ſo bold to daunce a daunce before the PERSIANS, mocking and counterfeyting *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, two of the valianteſt men that euer were in GREECE. Therefore one ſaid at that time in the preſence of king *Ageſilaus*: O how vnhappy is poore GREECE at this day, when the LACEDÆMONIANS come to follow the PERSIANS? But *Ageſilaus* preſently aunſwered him againe, not ſo, ſaid he: but rather the PERSIANS follow the LACEDÆMONIANS. Notwithſtanding, this wiſe aunſwere *Ageſilaus* made, did not take away the ſhame of the fact: and ſhortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS loſt the battell of LEVCTRES, and therwith alſo the ſigniory and principality they had kept of long time ouer all GREECE, although they had loſt their eſtimation before, for conſenting to ſo ſhameful and diſhonorable a peace. When SPARTA floriſhed moſt, and was chiefe of all the other cities of GREECE: ſo long did *Artaxerxes* ſtill continue to make much of *Antalcidas*, and called him his friend. But after that the LACEDÆMONIANS had loſt the battel of LEVCTRES, hauing receiued ſo gret an ouerthrow and wanting money: they ſent *Ageſilaus* into ÆGYPT, and *Antalcidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxerxes*, to pray him to aide and helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Howbeit the king made ſo ſmall accompt of him, and diſdained him ſo much, denying him, and his requeſts: that he returned backe to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there alſo ſeeing that his enemies mocked him: & fearing that the Ephori would commit him to priſon: he killed himſelf with famine. About that time alſo, the THEBANS after they had won the battell of LEVCTRES, ſent *Iſmenias* and *Pelopidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxerxes*: where *Pelopidas* did nothing vnworthy of him ſelfe. Howbeit *Iſmenias* being commanded to kneele to the king, he let fall his ring at his feete & ſtouped to take it vp: whereby it was thought of ſome that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time *Artaxerxes* liking a ſecret aduertiſment very well ſent him from *Timagoras* the ATHENIAN: he gaue him tenne thouſand daricks by his Secretary called *Belluris*. And becauſe he had a ſickly body, & was driuen to drinke cowes milke to reſtore him: the king therefore ſent foure ſcore milch kine with him to giue milke to the paile, to haue freſh milke euery day. Furthermore, he ſent him a bed throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary, & groomes of the chamber to make his bed, ſaying, that the GRECIANS could not tell how to make it: and did alſo let him haue men to carie him

Gnidus Inſ.

Antalcidas peace.

Antalcidas Lacedæmonian greatly eſteemed of Artaxerxes.

The Perſians full of vanity and curioſity.

The death of Antalcidas Lacedæmonian

Timagoras Athenian, bribed by king Artaxerxes.

him vpon their armes to the sea side, because he was sicke, and whilest he was at the Court, he entertained him very honorably and bountifully. So *Ostanes*, the kings brother, sayd one daie vnto him: *Timagoras*, remember how honorably thou art serued at thy borde, for it is not for so small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treason, then for any remembrance of the benefit receiued. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condemned the same *Timagoras* to die, because he had taken bribes and money of the king of PERSIA. But *Artaxerxes* in recompence of so many other things that he had done, to despite the GRECIANS with, he did one thing that pleased them maruellously: when he did put *Tisaphernes* to death, who was the dreadfullest enemy the GRECIANS had. *Paryſatis* the Queen mother did help to bring this to passe, aggrauating the accusations brought in against him. For the king kept not his anger long against his mother, but fell in againe with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an excellent witte and noble courage to gouerne a great kingdome: and besides, that there was nothing now to let them to come together as much as they would, to giue any occasion of iealousie or malice to any person. So euer after, his mother *Paryſatis* endeuored her selfe to feede the king her sonnes humor euery maner of way, seeming to mislike nothing that he did: Whereby she grew in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatsoeuer shee asked him. So shee perceiued that the king was extreamely in loue with one of his owne Daughters, that was called *Atossa*: howbeit that he dissembled his loue the best he could, and kept it secret, chiefely for feare of her, although some write, that in deede he had already had her maydenhead. Now *Paryſatis* hauing found his loue, shee beganne to make more of his Daughter then she did before, and talking with her father, sometime shee praised her beauty, another time her grace and good countenaunce, saying that shee was like a Queene and noble Princesse. So that at length by litle and litle shee perswaded him to marry her openly, not passing for the lawes and opinions of the GRECIANS, considering that God had giuen him vnto the PERSIANS, to stablishe lawes vnto them, to decyde right from wrong, and the good from the bad. Some Historiographers doe write, and amongest them *Heraclides* of CYMES: that *Artaxerxes* did not onely mary the eldest of his daughters, but the second also called *Amestris*, of whom we will speake hereafter. Now when he had maried the eldest, *Atossa*, he loued her so entirely well, that though she fell sicke of the disease commonly called Vitiligo, that ranne ouer all her body: he loued her not the worse for it, but prayed continually for her vnto the goddesse *Iuno*, honoring no other goddesse but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image, and sent by his friendes and Lieutenaunts so many offerings, that all the way from his Court gates vnto the temple of *Iuno*, (which was sixteene furlong off) was full of gold, siluer, rich purple silkes, and horse that were sent thither. He beganne to make warre also with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* ATHENIAN, his Lieutenaunts, who did no good, because they fell at variance the one with the other. But afterwards, *Artaxerxes* him selfe went in person to conquer the CADVSIANS with three hundred thousand footemen, and tenne thousand horsemen. So he inuaded their countrey, which was a very rude countrey, alway darke and cloudy. The earth bringeth forth nothing that man soweth, but doth onely feede the inhabitants with peares, apples, and such like fruite, and yet the men be very strong and valiant notwithstanding. So when he was entred farre into the countrey before he was ware, he fell into great want of victuals, and was also in great danger. For his souldiers found nothing in all the countrey that was good to eate, and worst of all, no victuals could come vnto them from any place, because of the hardnes and naughty wayes of the countrey: So that his campe liued onely with the flesh of their beastes of cariage, and yet they sold it dearely: for, an asses head was sold for three score siluer Drachmas. To conclude, the famine was so great, that prouision failed for the kings owne mouth, and there were but few horse left, for all the rest were eaten. Then *Tiribazus*, that had oftentimes bene chiefe about the king, because he was a valiant man, and that through his folly was many times also out of fauor, as at that present time, when he had no authority nor estimation: he deuised a stratageme, whereby he saued the king and all his campe. In this country of the CADVSIANS, there were two kings in the field with their armies, both of them camped a sunder one from the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had spoken with king *Artaxerxes*, and had told him what he

Timagoras was put to death, for taking bribes and gifts of the king of Persia.

King Artaxerxes killeth Tisaphernes.

Artaxerxes fell in againe with his mother Paryſatis, and sent for her to come to the Court.

Artaxerxes maried his eldest daughter Atossa.

King Artaxerxes iourney against the Caduſians.

The country of the Caduſians very barren.

Great famine in Artaxerxes army.

Tiribazus stratageme saued Artaxerxes, and all his army.

ment to doe: he went vnto one of the kings, and at the selfe same time also secretly sent his sonne vnto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king had sent Ambassadors vnto *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, vnwitting to his companion, and therefore hee counselled them if they were wise, one of them to seeke to preuent another with all the possible speede he could, and promised them both, one after another, to helpe them the best he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gaue credit to his wordes, either of them both mistrusting one another: so that the one speedily sent his Ambassadors vnto king *Artaxerxes*, with *Tiribazus*, and the other also his Ambassadors with his son. But *Tiribazus* taryng long in his iorney, king *Artaxerxes* beganne somewhat to suspect him, his enemies also did accuse him in his absence, and the king grew very chollericke, and repented him that he had trusted him so farre, and was willing to heare euery man that spake against him. Howbeit *Tiribazus* at length returned, and his sonne also, and either of them brought with them the Ambassadors of the CADVSIANS, and so peace was taken with them both. Then was *Tiribazus* aloft againe, and in greater credit then euer he was, and so departed with the king. The king then shewed plainely, that cowardlines proceedeth not of pompe and curiosity, as some take it, beleeuing that it doth effeminate mens hearts, but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly followeth euill, and the worst counsell. For neither the iewels of gold, the kingly robe, nor other sumptuous ornaments which the king euer ware about him, worth twelue thousand talentes as it is reported, did not hinder him at that time to trauaile, and to take as much paine as any man in all his army. For he him selfe marched a foote the foremost man, caryng his owne trusse in a scarfe vppon his shoulders, and his target on his arme, and trauelled through high stony mountaines. So that his souldiers seeing the courage and paine the king him selfe tooke, they marched so nimbly, that it seemed they had wings: for he dayly marched aboue two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by sore trauell, came to one of his owne houses, where there were goodly arbors and parkes, with goodly trees passingly sette forth: but all the countrey besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was maruellous cold. The king suffered his souldiers to hew downe the goodly pines and cypres trees in his parkes: and because they durst not presume to touch them, he him selfe as he was tooke, an axe in his hand and beganne to hew downe the goodliest tree there. The souldiers seeing that, fell euery man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short time they had prouided them selues well with wodde, and made them great fires in euery place, and so past ouer the night quietly by the fires side. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valiant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore thinking his men would mocke him, because hee did fayle of his purpose: he beganne to grow mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefest noble men he had about him: so that in a rage he put many of them to death, but much more of them remained, whom he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud sucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more curteous, and lesse suspicious, then a valiant and hardy man. And therefore brute beastes that be neuer made tame nor mastered, are commonly cowardly, and timerous: and the other to the contrary, that are noble and coragious, are bold straight, and doe come to know a man, because they haue no feare, neither doe they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards king *Artaxerxes* being growen very olde, heard that there was great sturre and contention betweene his sonnes, which of them should be heire after his death, and that this contention fell out also among his friendes and men of great calling. The wisest of them wished, that as he him selfe came vnto the crowne, as his fathers eldest sonne: so that hee likewise should after his death leaue it vnto his eldest sonne, called *Darius*. But the younger, which was called *Ochus*, being a valiant man, and of a whot stirring nature, had some in the Court also that tooke his part, and hoped to attaine to his purpose, by the meanes of his sister *Atossa*, whom he loued and honored, promising to mary her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers decease. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he secretly kept her: howbeit *Artaxerxes* neuer vnderstood it. Now, because he would betimes put his sonne *Ochus* out of all hope to succeede him in the kingdome, least this expectation might make him to goe about

Note, that soft apparell and riches, maketh not a man cowardly and effeminate: but a vile base mind, that followeth euill aduise and counsell.

The corage of king Artaxerxes, and his great paines in marching.

King Artaxerxes curtesie to his souldiers.

Darius and Ochus, king Artaxerxes sons.

about to practiſe that which *Cyrus* did, and that by this meanes his Realme ſhould grow into faction and ciuill warres: he proclaimed his eldeſt ſonne *Darius* (being fiftie yeare olde) king after his death, and furthermore gaue him leaue from thenceforth to weare the poynt of his hat right vp. In PERSIA the cuſtome is, that when any commeth to be proclaymed ſucceſſor and heire apparaunt to the crowne, hee ſhould require a gift of him that proclaymeth him ſucceſſor. The which the other doth graunt him, whatſoeuer it be that hee asketh, ſo it be not impoſſible. *Darius* then asked his father a concubine called *Aſpaſia*, who was firſt with *Cyrus*, and in greateſt fauour with him aboue all the reſt, but then was for the kings owne body. Shee was borne in the countrey of IONIA, of free parents: and being vertuouſly brought vp, ſhee was brought one night vnto *Cyrus* as he was at ſupper with other women, who ſate them downe, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were very glad when *Cyrus* offered to play and be merry with them, giuing euery one of them ſome pleaſant word, and they made it not coy. But *Aſpaſia* ſtoode on her feete by the table, and ſayed neuer a word: and notwithſtanding that *Cyrus* called her, ſhe would not come at him. Moreouer, when one of the groomes of his chamber would haue taken her to haue brought her to him: the firſt ſaith ſhe, that layeth hands on me ſhall repent it. Thereuppon all thoſe that were preſent, ſaied ſhe was a fooliſh thing, and ſimply brought vp, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit *Cyrus* being glad of it, paſſed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought them vnto him: doeſt thou not ſee, that of all theſe thou haſt brought me, there is not an honeſt woman but ſhe? After that, *Cyrus* began to make much of her, and loued her better continually then all the reſt, and called her *Aſpaſia* the wiſe. This *Aſpaſia* was taken among the ſpoiles of *Cyrus* campe after he was ouerthrowen, and *Darius* as we haue told yee, did beg her of his father, who was very angry with it in his minde. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruellous iealous of their women, ſo that not onely he ſhould be put to death, that durſt but ſpeake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in ſport: but alſo whoſoeuer came neare them, or neare their coches as they trauelled. The kings daughter *Atoſſa*, whom he had maried againſt all law, was yet liuing, and beſides her he had alſo three hundred and three ſcore paſſing faire concubines: and yet when his ſonne *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia* of him, the king anſwered, ſhe was a free woman borne, and therefore if ſhee would, he was content he ſhould haue her: but if ſhe were vnwilling to goe to him, then he would not haue him force her by no meanes. So *Aſpaſia* was ſent for, and ſhe was asked with whom ſhe had rather be. She anſwered, with *Darius*: contrary to king *Artaxerxes* expectation, who both by the cuſtome, and alſo the law, was compelled to let him haue her. But ſhortly after he tooke her from him againe, ſaying that he would place her in a Nunrie of *Diana*, in the countrey of ECBATANE, where they call her *Anitis*, there to ſerue the goddeſſe, and to liue chaſt all the dayes of her life: ſuppoſing by this meanes to puniſh his ſonne, not rigorouſly, but moderatly, with griefe mixt with ſport and earneſt. Howbeit his ſonne tooke it not ſo patiently, either becauſe hee was deepely in loue with *Aſpaſia*, or elſe for that he ſaw his father mocked him in that point. *Tiribazus* finding this, and perceiuing that *Darius* tooke it very grieuouſly: he aggrauated his anger againſt his father, knowing the paſſion of loue in *Darius*, by his owne, vpon the like occaſion. King *Artaxerxes* had many daughters, and had promiſed *Pharnabazus* one of them, called *Apama*: vnto *Orontes*, *Rodogoune*: and to *Tiribazus*, *Ameſtris*. The king performed the other two mariages, and did put *Tiribazus* by his wife. For the king him ſelfe maried his own daughter *Ameſtris*, and for her, he promiſed *Tiribazus* the younger, *Atoſſa*: with whom alſo he him ſelfe fell in loue, and maried her. *Tiribazus* hereupon was in ſuch a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not becauſe he was any traytor or ſeditious man in nature, but a madde harebrained fellow. For ſometime he was aloft, and in as good credite and authority as the beſt: ſodainely againe hee would play ſome madde part to anger the king, and then he was in as much diſgrace, and out of countenaunce: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authority, he made euery man hate him for his pride: and being in diſgrace, he could not humble him ſelfe, but looke bigger then before. Now there was fire and brimſtone met, when *Tiribazus* tooke part with *Darius*. For he dayly blew into his eares, that it was to no purpoſe for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires alſo went not rightly

Artaxerxes proclaimeth his ſonne Darius king.

Aſpaſia Ionia, one of Artaxerxes concubines.

The barbarous people can not away with riuality in loue.

Tiribazus inceuſeth Darius againſt his father Artaxerxes.

Tiribazus manners, and conditions.

forward: and that he deceiued him ſelfe much, if he did not know that his brother (by meanes of the women he kept) ſecretly aſpired to the crowne: and that his father being ſo vnconſtant as he was, he muſt not truſt in any ſort to ſuccede his father in the kingdome, what proclamation ſoeuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrary. For, ſayed he, he that for a GRECIAN woman hath broken and violated the holieſt lawe that was in PERSIA: thou muſt not looke that he will performe that he hath promiſed thee. And furthermore, he perſwaded him, that it was not a like repulſe vnto *Ochus*, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that euer he had gotten. For ſaied he, if it pleaſe *Ochus* to liue like a priuate man, he may ſafely doe it, and no man will trouble him: but for him ſelfe that was already proclaimed king, he muſt of neceſſity make him ſelfe king, or elſe he muſt not liue. So the Poet *Sophocles* his ſaying moſt commonly proueth true:

Ill counſell eaſily takes place.

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleeue as he liſt, and men commonly are giuen rather to beleeue the euil then the good, becauſe moſt men know not what goodnes meaneth. But now beſide theſe perſwaſions, the greatnes of the kingdome, and the feare *Darius* ſtoode in of his brother *Ochus*, tooke great force and effect with him: and it may be alſo, that *Venus* her ſelfe did ſomwhat in the matter, for the malice and ſpite that *Aſpaſia* was taken from him. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, thus was it handled: that *Darius* flatly conſpired againſt his father *Artaxerxes*, together with *Tiribazus*. Now, they hauing gotten many conſpirators to ioyne with them, one of the kings Eunuches perceiuing it, ranne and told the king of it, and how they had ſodainely determined to aſſaile him, knowing certainely that it was agreed among them ſelues, that they ſhould kill him in his bedde in the night. *Artaxerxes* receiuing this aduertiſement, thought it was not good to be careleſſe of a matter of ſo great importance as his life: and alſo that it were too great lightneſſe in him ſo ſodainly to beleeue his Eunuch, without better proofe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with him ſelfe. He commaunded the Eunuch that had giuen him this information, to keepe company ſtill with the conſpirators, and to follow them whereſoeuer they went, to ſee their doings: and in the meane time he beat downe his wall behinde his bed, and made a dore through, and ſet vp a hanging of tapeſtry before it. When the time was come, as the Eunuch had aduertiſed the king, that the traitors ment to doe their feate: *Artaxerxes* being layed on his bed, roſe not vp till hee had ſeene euery traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he ſaw them comming towards him with their ſwords drawen, he ſodainly lift vp the hanging, and got in to his inner chamber, and ſhut the dore after him, making an outcry, murder, murder. So the traitors being plainely ſeene and knowen by the king, fled the ſame way they came, and failed of their purpoſe, and bad *Tiribazus* ſaue him ſelfe, becauſe he was knowen. So they diſperſed them ſelues, and ſcaped by flying. But *Tiribazus* was taken tardy, although he had ſlaine diuerſe of the kings gard, valiantly defending him ſelfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was ſtriken with a dart a good way off, which ſlue him. *Darius* was alſo taken and apprehended, and brought priſoner with his ſonnes: and the king referred him to be iudged by his peeres. For the king him ſelfe would not be preſent to giue iudgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuſe him: howbeit he commaunded his ſecretaries to ſet downe in writing the opinion and ſentence of euery one of the Iudges and to bring it him. In fine, they all caſt him, and condemned him to die. Then the officers layed hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of the priſon, where the hangman came with a raſer in his hand with the which he vſed to cut mens throates ſo condemned to die. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he ſaw it was *Darius*, he was affrayed, and came out of the chamber againe, his heart failing him, and durſt not lay handes vpon the perſon of the king. But the Iudges that ſtoode without the chamber, bad him goe and doe it, vnleſſe he would haue his owne throate cut. So the hangman then came in, and tooke *Darius* by the haire of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and ſo cut his necke with his raſer he had in his other hand. Others doe write, that this ſentence was giuen in the preſence of king *Artaxerxes* ſelfe, and that *Darius* ſeeing himſelfe conuicted by manifeſt proofes brought in againſt him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and beſought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angry, roſe vp, and drew out his

Darius conſpireth againſt Artaxerxes his father.

A deuiſe of Artaxerxes how to preuent the conſpirators and to ſaue him ſelfe.

Tiribazus the traitor ſlaine.

Darius condemned to dye, and executed.

his curtelax and wounded him in ſo many places withall, that at length he ſlew him. Then returning into the Court, he worſhipped the ſunne, and turning him to his Lords that were about him, he ſaide vnto them. My Lordes, God be with you, and be merie at home in your houſes, and tell them that were not here, how the great *Oromazes* hath taken reuenge of them that practiſed treaſon againſt me. This was the end of *Darius* treaſon. Now *Darius* being dead *Ochus* his brother ſtood in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, and the rather through the meanes and friendſhippe of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he feared him called *Ariaſpes*, who was only left of all the reſt that were legitimate: and of his baſtard brethren, *Arſames*: not becauſe *Ariaſpes* was elder than he, but for that he was of a ſoft & plain nature; the PERSIANS deſired he might be their king. On the other ſide, *Arſames* was wiſe, and valiant: and *Ochus* ſaw that his father loued him dearely. So he determined to intrappe them both. Now *Ochus* being a ſubtle and malicious natured man, he firſt ſhewed his cruelty vpon *Arſames*, and his malice vpon *Ariaſpes* his legitimate brother. For, becauſe he knew he was but ſimple and plaine, he ſent daily ſome of the kings Eunuches vnto him, who brought him threatning words and meſſages, as from the king; telling him that he had determined to put him to a ſhamefull and cruell death. So, forging theſe newes continually as things verie ſecret, they did ſo terrifie poore *Ariaſpes*, telling him that the king was fully bent to put ſome of his threates in execution out of hand: that he was put in ſuch feare and diſpaire of his life, that he prepared himſelfe a poyſon, and dranke it, to rid himſelfe of his life. King *Artaxerxes* vnderſtanding of his death, tooke it very heauily, and beganne to miſtruſt the cauſe that made him to make himſelfe away: howbeit he could not ſeeke the proofe of it, for his extreame age. But this chaunce made him loue *Arſames* better than before, ſhewing plainely that he truſted him better than *Ochus*, and did make him priuie to all things. *Ochus* could no longer abide to deferre his intent, and therefore entiſed *Harpaces*, *Tiribazus* ſonne, to kill his baſtard brother *Arſames*: the which he did. Now *Artaxerxes* was ſo extreame old, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his ſonne *Arſames* was murthered, he could beare it no longer, but tooke it ſo to his heart for ſorrow, that when he had liued foure ſcore and foureteene yeares, and raigned threeſcore and two, he died.

King Artaxerxes ſonnes.

The death of king Artaxerxes. Artaxerxes was 94. yeares old at his death

When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gratious and courteous Prince, and one that loued his people and ſubiects: when they ſawe the proofe of his ſucceſſor *Ochus*, that paſſed all men liuing, in crueltie and ſeueritie.

THE LIFE OF *Dion.*

LIke as *Simonides, o Sossius Senecio*, saith that the city of ILIVM was not offended with the CORINTHIANS, for that they came to make war with them with other GRECIANS, because *Glaucus* (whose first ancesters came from CORINTH) had taken armes, and louingly fought for the same: euen so me thinkes, that neither the GRECIANS, nor ROMAINES haue cause to complaine of the Academy, sith they be both alike praised of the same in this present booke, in the which are conteined the liues of *Dion* & *Brutus*. Of the which, the one of them hauing bene verie familiar with *Plato* himselfe, and the other from his childhoode brought vp in *Platoes* doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one selfe schoolehouse, to attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no maruell if they two were much like in many of their doings, prouing that true which their schoolemaister *Plato* wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the gouernment of a cõmon wealth, which should be famous, and of credit, authoritie, and good fortune, must both meete in one selfe person, ioined with iustice and wisedom. For, as a certaine fencer called *Hippomachus* said, that he knew his schollers farre off, if he did but see them comming from the market with meate in their hands: so it must needes follow, that men hauing bene vertuously brought vp, must needes be wise in all their doings, and beside that it bringeth them to ciuility and honesty, euen so it frameth their conditions much like one vnto an other. Furthermore, their fortunes hauing also fallen out both a like, more by chaunce then by any reason, do make their liues very like to each other. For, they were both of them slaine, before they could bring their enterprises to passe which they had determined. But the greatest wonder of all is this: that their deathes were foreshewed vnto them both, by a wicked spirit that visibly appeared vnto either of them: albeit there be some that can not abide those opinions, and doe maintaine that these sights and euill spirits do neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of litle children, or old women, or of some men that their wits are weakened by sickenesse, and so haue a certaine imagination of such straunge sightes, being of this superstitious minde, that they haue a wicked spirit, and an euill angell in them. But if *Dion* and *Brutus*, both of them graue and learned Philosophers, and very constant men, not ouercome by any sodaine passion or imagination of minde, haue bene moued by such sights and spirites, and haue also told

Dion and Brutus both Platonians.

Plato de virtute.

How mens acts should be famous in the cõmon wealth.

A wicked spirit appeared vnto Dion and Brutus.

told it vnto their friends: I cannot tell whether we shall be inforced, to grant the most strangest and oldest opinion of this, which saith: that there be euill spirits which enuying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly minds, do make them affraid with these fearefull sights, intising them to forsake their godlines, least that persisting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre this disputation to some other booke, and now in this twelfth couple of these famous mens liues compared, let vs first begin to write the life of him that is the elder of these two men we speake of.

Dionysius the elder, after he had the gouernment of SICILIA in his handes, he maried the daughter of *Hermocrates*, a citizen of SYRACYSA. But yet not being throughly settled in his tyranny, the SYRACVSANS did rebell against him, & did so cruelly and abhominablie handle the bodie of his wife, that she willingly poysoned her selfe. So after he had established him selfe in his gouernment with more suretie then before, he maried againe two other wiues together, the one a straunger of the citie of LOCRES, called *Doride*: and the other of the country it selfe, called *Aristomaché*, the daughter of *Hipparinus* the chiefest man of all SYRACVSA, and that had bene companion with *Dionysius*, the first time he was chosen Generall. It was saide that *Dionysius* maried them both in one day, and that they could neuer tell which of them he knewe first: but otherwise, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly sate together with him at his table, and did either of them lie with him by turnes: though the SYRACVSANS would haue their owne countriwoman preferred before the stranger. Howbeit the straunge woman had this good happe, to bring foorth *Dionysius* his eldest sonne, which was a good countenance to defend her, being a forreiner. *Aristomaché* in contrarie maner, continued a long time with *Dionysius* without frute of her wombe, although he was very desirous to haue children by her: so that he put the LOCRIAN womans mother to death, accusing her that she had with sorceries and witchcraft, kept *Aristomaché* from being with child. *Dion* being the brother of *Aristomaché*, was had in great estimation at the first, for his sisters sake: but afterwards the tyrant finding him to be a wise man, he loued him then for his owne sake. Insomuch, that among many sundry things & pleasures he did for him: he cõmaunded his Treasurers to let him haue what money he asked of them, so they made him acquainted withall the selfe same day they gaue him any. Nowe though *Dion* had euer before a noble minde in him by nature, yet much more did that magnanimitie increase, when *Plato* by good fortune arriued in SICILE. For his comming thither surely was no mans deuise, as I take it, but the very prouidence of some god: who (bringing farre off the first beginning and foundation of the libertie of the SYRACVSANS, and to ouerthrow the tyrannicall state) sent *Plato* out of ITALY vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, & brought him acquainted with *Dion*, who was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter wit to learne, & readier good wil to follow vertue, then any young man else that followed *Plato*: as *Plato* himselfe writeth, & his own doings also do witnesse. For *Dion* hauing from a child bene brought vp with humble conditions vnder a tyrant, and acquainted with a seruile timerous life, with a proud & insolent reigne, with all vanitie and curiositie, as placing chiefe felicitie in couetousnes: neuertheless, after he had felt the sweete reasons of Philosophie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed straight with earnest desire to follow the same. And because he found that he was so easily perswaded to loue vertue and honestie, he simply thinking (being of an honest plaine nature) that the selfe same perswasions would moue a like affection in *Dionysius*: obteined of *Dionysius*, that being at leasure, he was contented to see *Plato*, and to speake with him. When *Plato* came to *Dionysius*, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefely reasoned what was fortitude: where *Plato* proued that tyrants were no valiant men. From thence passing farther into iustice, he tolde him that the life of iust men was happie, and contrarily the life of vniust men vnfortunate. Thus the tyrant *Dionysius* perceiuing he was ouercome, durst no more abide him, and was angry to see the standers by to make such estimation of *Plato*, and that they had such delight to heare him speake. At length he angrily asked him, what businesse he had to do there? *Plato* aunswered him, he came to seeke a good man. *Dionysius* then replyed againe: what, in Gods name, by thy speech then it seemeth thou hast found none yet. Nowe *Dion* thought that *Dionysius* anger would proceede no further, and therefore as *Platoes* earnest re-

Dionysius married Hermocrates daughter.

Dionysius wiues, Doride, of Locres: Aristomaché, of Syracusa, Hipparinus daughter & Dions sister.

Dions kindred with Dionysius

Plato came out of Italy vnto Syracusa. Dion, Platoes scholer.

Plato and Dionysius the elder sat be together.

queſt, he ſent him away in a galley with three bankes of owers, the which *Pollis* a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine caried backe againe into GREECE. Howbeit *Dionyſius* ſecretly requeſted *Pollis* to kill *Plato* by the way, as euer he would do him pleaſure: if not, yet that he would ſell him for a ſlaue, howſoeuer he did. For ſaid he, he ſhall be nothing the worſe for that: becauſe if he be a iuſt man, he ſhall be as happie to be a ſlaue, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this *Pollis* caried *Plato* into the Ile of ÆGINA, and there ſold him. For the ÆGINETES hauing warre at that time with the ATHENIANS, made a decree, that all the ATHENIANS that were taken in their Ile, ſhould be ſold. This notwithſtanding, *Dionyſius* refuſed not to honor & truſt *Dion*, as much as euer he did before, and did alſo ſende him Ambaſſadour in matters of great weight. As whē he ſent him vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, where he behaued himſelf ſo well, that he wan great reputation by his iorney: and the tyrant could well away with his plaine ſpeech. For no man but he, durſt ſay their minds ſo boldly vnto him, to ſpeak what he thought good: as on a time he reproued him for *Gelon*. One day when they mocked *Gelons* gouernement before the tyrants face, and that *Dionyſius* himſelfe ſaid (finely deſcanting on his name, which ſignifieth laughter) that he was euen the very laughing ſtocke himſelf of SICILE: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter paſſingly well. But *Dion* not being well pleaſed withall, ſaide vnto him: for his ſake men truſted thee, whereby thou cameſt to be tyrant: but for thine owne ſake they will neuer truſt any man. For to ſay truely, *Gelon* ſhewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as could be, to ſee a citie gouerned by an abſolute Prince: but *Dionyſius* by his gouernmēt on the other ſide, made it appeare as deteſtable a thing. This *Dionyſius* had by his LOCRIAN wife three children, and by *Ariſtomaché* foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one called *Sophroſynè*, and the other *Areté*. Of them, *Dionyſius* eldeſt ſonne maried *Sophroſynè*, and *Areté* was maried vnto his brother *Thearides*, after whoſe death *Dion* maried her, being his Nece. Now when *Dionyſius* her father fell ſicke, not likely to eſcape: *Dion* would haue ſpoken with him for his children he had by his ſiſter *Ariſtomaché*. Howbeit the Phiſitians about him, to currie fauour with the next heire and ſucceſſor of the tyranny, would neuer let him haue any time or oportunitie to ſpeake with him. For, as *Timæus* writeth, they gaue *Dionyſius* the elder (as he had commanded them) a ſtrong opiat drinke to caſt him in a ſleepe, and ſo thereby they tooke from him all his ſenſes and ioyned death with his ſleepe. Notwithſtanding, in the firſt councell and aſſemblie holden by his friends, to conſult about the ſtate and affaires of the younger *Dionyſius*: *Dion* moued matter ſo neceſſary & profitable for that preſent time, that by his wiſedom he ſhewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke ſpeech, made them know that they were but ſlaues of the tyrannie: becauſe they beaſtly and cowardly gaue ſuch counſell and aduiſe, as might beſt pleaſe and feede the young tyrants humor. But he made them moſt to wonder at him, when they fearing aboue all other things, the daunger *Dionyſius* ſtate was in, by reaſon of CARTHAGE, he did promiſe them, that if *Dionyſius* would haue peace, he would then goe forthwith into AFRICKE, and find the meanes honorably to quench the warres: or if otherwiſe he better liked of warre, that he would furniſh him at his owne proper coſts and charges, fiftie gallies readie to row. *Dionyſius* wondered greatly at the noble minde of *Dion*, and thanked him much for the good will he bare vnto him, touching his eſtate. But all men elſe taking *Dions* noble offer to be a reproach of their auarice, and his credite and authoritie, an impaire vnto theirs: they preſently vpon this liberall offer tooke occaſion to accuſe him, not ſparing any reproachfull wordes againſt him, to moue *Dionyſius* to be offended with him. For they complained of him, and ſaid that he cunningly practiſed to poſſeſſe the tyranny, making himſelfe ſtrong by ſea, going about by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the handes of the children of *Ariſtomaché* his ſiſter. But the chiefeſt cauſe of all why they did malice and hate him, was his ſtrange maner of life: that he neither would keepe company with them, nor liue after their maner. For they that from the beginning were crept in fauour and friendſhip with this young euill brought vp tyrant, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleaſures: ſtudied for no other thing, but to entertaine him in loue matters, and other vaine exerciſes, as to riot & banquet, to keepe light women company, and all ſuch other vile vitious paſtimes and recreations, by the which the tyrannie became like iron ſoftened by fire, and ſeemed to be

Dionyſius malice vnto Plato.

Plato ſold in the Ile of AEgina.

Dions boldneſſe in ſpeaking plainely to the tyrant.

Gelon ſignifieth laughter.

Sophroſynè, & Areté: the daughters of Dionyſius by Ariſtomaché.

Dion marieth his Nece Areté the daughter of Dionyſius and of his ſiſter Ariſtomaché.

The death of Dionyſius the elder.

Flattering Courtiers doe incenſe Dionyſius the younger to hate Dion.

be very pleasant vnto the subiectes, because the ouergreat Maiestie and seueritie thereof was somewhat milder, not so much by the bountie and goodnes, as by the follie and retchlesnesse of the Lord. Thus, this litle care and regard increasing more and more, still winning way with the young tyrant: did at length melt and breake a sunder those strong diamond chaines, with the which *Dionysius* the elder made his boast that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie chained to his sonne. For sometime he would be three daies together without intermission, still banqueting and being drunke: and all that time his Court gates were kept shut vnto graue & wise men, and for all honest matters, and was then full of drunkards, of common playes, dancings, maskes, and mummeries, and full of all such trumperie and dissolute pastimes. And therefore *Dion* vndoubtedly was much enuied of them, because he gaue himselfe to no sport nor pleasure: whereupon they accused him, and misnamed his vertues, vices, being somewhat to be resembled vnto them. As in calling his grauitie, pride: his plainnesse and boldnesse in his oration, obstinacie: if he did perswade them, that he accused them: and because he would not make one in their fond pastimes, that therefore he despised them. For to say truely, his maners by nature had a certaine haughtinesse of mind and seueritie, and he was a sower man to be acquainted with: whereby his company was not onely troublesome, but also vnpleasant to this yonger *Dionysius*, whose eares were so fine, that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, diuers of his very friends and familiars, that did like and commend his plaine manner of speech and noble minde: they did yet reproue his sternnesse, and austere conuersation with men. For it seemed vnto them, that he spake too roughly, and delt ouerhardly with them that had to doe with him, and more then became a ciuill or curteous man. And for proofe hereof, *Plato* himselfe sometime wrote vnto him (as if he had propheciedwhat should happen) that he should beware of obstinacie, the companion of solitarinesse, that bringeth a man in the end to be forsaken of euerie one. This notwithstanding, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any man else: because of the state and gouernment, and for that they thought him the onely man that could best prouide for the safetie and quietnesse of the tyrannie, the which stood then in tickle state. Now *Dion* knewe well enough, that he was not so well taken and esteemed through the good wil of the tyrant, as against his will, and for the necessitie of the state and time. So *Dion* supposing that ignorance, and want of knowledge in *Dionysius* was the cause: he deuised to put him into some honest trade or exercise, and to teach him the liberall sciences, to frame him to a ciuill life, that thencefoorth he should no more be affraid of vertue, and should also take pleasure and delight in honest things. For *Dionysius* of his owne nature, was none of the worst sort of tyrants, but his father fearing that if he came once to haue a feeling and conceite of himselfe, or that he companied with wise and learned men, he would goe neere to enter into practise, and put him out of his seate: he euer kept him locked vp in a chamber, & would suffer no man to speake with him. Then the younger *Dionysius* hauing nothing else to doe, gaue himselfe to make litle chariots, candlesticks, chaires, stooles, and tables of wood. For his father *Dionysius* was so fearefull and mistrustfull of euerybodie, that he would suffer no man with a paire of barbers sissers to poule the haires of his head, but caused an image maker of earth to come vnto him, and with a hotte burning cole to burne his goodly bush of haire round about. No man came into his chamber where he was with a gowne on his backe, no not his owne brother nor sonne, but he was driuen before he could come in, to put off his gowne, and the guard of his chamber to strippe him naked whatsoeuer he was: and then they gaue him an other gowne to cast vpon him, but not his owne. One day his brother *Leptines*, going about to describe vnto him the situation of some place, he tooke a halberd from one of the guard, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a plot of the same vpon the ground. *Dionysius* was terribly offended with him, and did put the souldier to death that gaue him his halberd. He said he was affraid of his friends, yea and of the wisest of them: because he knew that they desired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaund, then to obey. He slew one of his Captaines called *Marsyas*, whom he had preferred and had giuen him charge of men: because he dreamed that he killed him: saying that he dreamed of this in the night, because that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now *Dionysius* that was so timerous, and whose mind through fearefulnes was still miserably

The vices of Dionysius the younger.

Dions maners too graue and seuere.

Obstinacie, fellow and companion of solitarinesse.

Dionysius the elder, a marueilous timerous and suspitious man.

Dionysius dreame.

occupied: he was notwithstanding maruellously offended with *Plato*, because he did not iudge him to be the noblest and valiantest man aliue. *Dion* therfore seeing (as we haue said) the younger *Dionysius* cleane marred, and in manner cast away for lacke of good education: perswaded him the best he could to giue himselfe vnto studie, and by the greatest intreatie he could possibly make, to pray the Prince of al Philosophers to come into SICILE. And then whē through his intreatie he were come, that he would referre himselfe wholly vnto him, to the ende that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby: (the best example that can be possible, and by whom all the whole worlde is ruled and gouerned, which otherwise were out of all order and confused) he should first obtaine great happines to himselfe, and consequently vnto all his citizens also, who euer after through the temperance and iustice of a father, would with good will doe those things, which they presently vnwillingly did for the feare of a Lord, & in doing this, from a tyrant he should come to be a king. For, the chaines of a diamant to keepe a realme in safetie, were not force, and feare, as his father *Dionysius* held opinion: neither the great multitude of young souldiers, nor the guard of ten thousand barbarous people: but in contrarie maner, that they were the loue & good will of their subiectes, which the Prince obteineth through vertue and iustice: the which chaines though they be slacker then the other that are so hard and stiffe, yet are they stronger, and will last longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdom in safetie. And furthermore, the Prince (said he) is not desirous of honor, neither is a man that deserueth greatly to be praised and commended, that only studieth to weare sumptuous apparell, and that glorieth to see his Court richly furnished, and himselfe curiously serued: and in the meane time doth not frame himselfe to speake better, to be wiser, and to carie a greater maiestie then any other meane or common person, not esteeming to adorne and beautifie the Princely pallace of his minde, as becommeth the royall maiestie of a king. *Dion* ostentimes rehearsing these exhortations vnto *Dionysius*, and otherwhile enterlacing betwene, some reasons he had learned of *Plato*: he graffed in him a wonderfull, and as it were a vehement desire to haue *Plato* in his company, and to learne of him. So sundry letters came from *Dionysius* vnto ATHENS, diuers requests from *Dion*, & great intreatie made by certaine Pythagorian Philosophers, that prayed & perswaded *Plato* to come into SICILE, to bridle the light disposition of this young man, by his graue & wise instructions: who without regard of reason, led a dissolute & licentious life. Therefore *Plato*, as himselfe reporteth, blushing to himselfe, & fearing least he should giue men cause to thinke that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of himselfe he was vnwilling to do any worthy act: and further, hoping that doing good but vnto one man alone, who was the onely guide of all the rest, he should as it were recouer all SICILIA from her corruption and sickenesse: he performed their requestes that sent vnto him. But *Dions* enemies fearing the chaunge & alteration of *Dionysius*, they perswaded him to call *Philistus* the Historiographer home againe from banishment, who was a learned man, and had bene brought vp and acquainted with the tyrants fashions: to the end he should serue as a counterpeace, to withstand *Plato* and his Philosophie. For this *Philistus*, from the first time that the tyrannie began to be established, did shew himselfe very willing & conformable to the stablishment thereof, and had of long time kept the castle: and the voice went, that he kept the mother of *Dionysius* the elder, and as it was supposed, not altogether without the tyrants knowledge. But afterwardes, *Leptines* hauing had two daughters by one woman, whom he intised to folly, being an other mans wife: he maried one of these his daughters vnto *Philistus*, and made not *Dionysius* priuie to it before. The tyrant therewith was so offended, that he put *Leptines* woman in prison fast locked vp, and draue *Philistus* out of SICILIA. He being banished thus, repayred vnto some of his friendes that dwelt about the Adriaticke sea, where it seemeth he wrote the most part of all his historie, being then at good leasure. For he was not called home againe during the life of *Dionysius* the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare vnto *Dion*, caused thē to procure *Philistus* calling home againe, as we haue told you, as the man they thought would sticke stoutly in defence of the tyrannie. So *Philistus* no sooner returned, but he stoutly began to defend the tyranny: and others in contrary maner, deuised accusations to the tyrant against *Dion*, accusing him that he had practised with *Theodotes* and *Heraclides*, to ouerthrow the tyrannie of *Dionysius*. For *Dion*, in my opinion, hoped

Dion perswadeth the younger Dionysius to fall to study.

The assured guard of Princes, is the loue of their subiects.

Plato goeth into Sicilia, to teach Dionysius the younger.

Philistus the Historiographer.

Philistus the Historiographer banished out of Sicilia by Dionysius the elder.

by

by *Platoes* comming to bridle and leſſen a litle the ouer-licentious and imperious tyranny of *Dionyſius*, and thereby to frame *Dionyſius* a wiſe and righteous gouernor. But on the other ſide, if he ſaw he would not follow his counſel, and that he yeelded not to his wiſe inſtructions: he then determined to put him downe, and to bring the gouernment of the common wealth into the hãds of the SYRACVSANS: not that he allowed of *Democratia* (to wit, where the people gouern) but yet certainly thinking that *Democratia* was much better then the tyranny, when they could not come vnto *Ariſtocratia*, to wit, the gouernment of a few of the nobility. Now things being in this ſtate, *Plato* arriued in SICILE, where he was maruellouſly receiued and honored by *Dionyſius*. For when he landed on the ſhoare, leauing his gally that brought him: there was ready for him one of the kings rich and ſumptuous chariots to conuey him to the caſtell: & the tyrant made ſacrifice to giue the goddes thanks for his comming, as for ſome wonderfull great good hap chanced vnto his ſeigniory. Furthermore, the wonderfull modeſty and temperance that was begun to be obſerued in feaſts and bankets, the Court cleane changed, and the great goodnes and clemency of the tyrant in al things, in miniſtring iuſtice to euery man: did put the SYRACVSANS in great good hope of change, and euery man in the Court was very deſirous to giue him ſelfe to learning and Philoſophy. So that, as men reported, the tyrants pallace was full of ſand and duſt, with the numbers of ſtudents that drew plattes and figures of Geometry. Shortly after *Plato* was arriued, by chaunce the time was come about to doe a ſolemne ſacrifice within the caſtell, at which ſacrifice the Herauld (as the manner was) proclaimed aloude the ſolemne prayer accuſtomed to be done, that it would pleaſe the gods long to preſerue the ſtate of the tyranny: and that *Dionyſius* being hard by him, ſayed vnto him, what, wilt thou not leaue to curſe me? This word grieued *Philiſtus* and his companions to the heart, thinking that with time, by litle and litle, *Plato* would winne ſuch eſtimation and great authority with *Dionyſius*, that afterwardes they ſhould not be able to reſiſt him: conſidering that in ſo ſhort a time as he had bene with *Dionyſius*, he had ſo altered his minde and courage. And therefore they now beganne, not one by one, nor ih hugger mugger, but all of them with open mouth together to accuſe *Dion*: and ſayed, that it was eaſie to be ſeene, how he charmed and inchanted *Dionyſius* through *Platoes* eloquence, to make him willing to reſigne his gouernment: becauſe he would transferre it to the handes of the children of his ſiſter *Ariſtomaché*. Others ſeemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIANS hauing come before into SICILIA with a great army, both by ſea and land, they were all loſt and caſt away, and could not winne the city of SYRACVSA: and that now by one onely Sophiſter, they vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrew the Empire of *Dionyſius*, perſwading him to diſcharge the tenne thouſand ſouldiers he had about him for his guard, to forſake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thouſand horſemen, and many nor footemen, to goe to the Academy to ſeeke an vnknowen happines neuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, reſigning his preſent happines and felicity to be a great Lord, to haue money at will, and to liue pleaſantly, vnto *Dion* and his Nephewes. By ſuch like accuſations and wicked tongues, *Dionyſius* beganne firſt to miſtruſt *Dion*, and afterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frowne vppon him. In the meane time they brought letters *Dion* wrote ſecretly vnto the Gouernours of the city of CARTHAGE, willing them that when they would make peace with *Dionyſius*, they ſhould not talke with him vnleſſe he ſtood by: aſſuring them that he would help them to ſet things in quietnes, and that all ſhould be well againe. When *Dionyſius* had read theſe letters with *Philiſtus*, and had taken his aduiſe and counſell what he ſhould doe, as *Timeus* ſayd: he deceiued *Dion* vnder pretence of reconciliation, making as though he ment him no hurt, & ſaying that he would become friends againe with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the ſea ſide vnder his caſtell, and ſhewed him theſe letters, burdning him to haue practiſed with the CARTHAGINIANS againſt him. And as *Dion* went about to make him anſwere to clear himſelfe: *Dionyſius* would not heare him, but cauſed him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnace, and commaunded the mariners to ſet him a land vppon the coaſt of ITALIE. After this was done, and that it was knowen abroad in the city, euery man thought it a cruell part of *Dionyſius*: inſomuch that the tyrants pallace was in a maruellous pecke of troubles, for the great ſorrow the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreouer, the city ſelfe of SYRACVSA began to looke about them, looking for ſome

Democratia: the gouernment of the people.
Dion allowed not popular ſtate.
Ariſtocratia: the gouernment of a few of the nobility.
Plato came into Sicilia, vnto Dionyſius the younger.
The chaunge of Dionyſius, vpon Platoes comming.

Philiſtus accuſations againſt Dion.

Dions letters vnto Carthage.

Dion ſent away by Dionyſius into Italy.

ſodaine great change and innouation, for the tumult and vprore that would happen by means of *Dions* baniſhment, and for the miſtruſt alſo that all men would haue of *Dionyſius*. *Dionyſius* conſidering this, and being affrayed of ſome misfortune, he gaue his friendes and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not baniſhed him, but was contented that he ſhould abſent him ſelfe for a time: being afrayed, that in his ſodaine angry moode he might peraduenture be compelled to do him ſome worſe turne if he remained, becauſe of his obſtinacy and ſelfewill. Furthermore, he gaue vnto *Dions* friendes two ſhippes, to cary as much goods, money, and as many of *Dions* ſeruants as they would, and to conuey them vnto him vnto PELOPONNESVS. *Dion* was a maruellous rich man, & for the pompe of his ſeruice, and ſumptuous moueables of his houſe, they were like vnto the perſon of a tyrant. All theſe riches *Dions* friends brought abord vpon thoſe ſhips, and caried them vnto him: beſides many other rich gifts, which the women and his friends ſent vnto him. So that by meanes of his great riches, *Dion* was maruellouſly eſteemed among the GRECIANS: who by the riches of a baniſhed citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyranny might be. But now concerning *Plato*: when *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* cauſed him to be lodged in his caſtell, and by this means craftily placed, vnder cloke of friendſhip, an honorable guard about him, becauſe he ſhould not returne into GREECE to ſeeke *Dion*, to tell him of the iniury he had done vnto him. Howbeit *Dionyſius* often frequenting his company, (as a wilde beaſt is made tame by company of man) he liked his talke ſo well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue. For he would haue *Plato* to loue none but him, and that hee ſhould eſteeme him aboue all men liuing, being ready to put the whole realme into his hands, and all his forces: ſo that hee would thinke better of him, then of *Dion*. Thus was this paſſionat affection of *Dionyſius* grieuous vnto *Plato*. For he was ſo drowned with the loue of him, as men extreamely iealous of the women they loue: that in a moment he would ſodainly fall out with him, and ſtraight againe become friends, and pray him to pardon him. And to ſay truely, he had a maruellous deſire to heare *Platoes* Philoſophy: but on the other ſide, he reuerenced them that did diſſwade him from it, and told him that he would ſpoile himſelf, if he entred ouerdeeply into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereuppon he ſent *Plato* againe away, promiſing him that the next ſpring he would ſend for *Dion* home. But he brake promiſe therein, and yet ſent him his reuenues: and praied *Plato* to pardon him, though he had not kept promiſe at his time appointed. For he alleadged the warre was the cauſe, and that ſo ſoone as he had ended his war, he would ſend for *Dion*: whom in the meane time he praied to haue patience and not to attempt any ſtur or alteration againſt him, nor to ſpeake euill of him among the GRECIANS. This *Plato* ſought to bring to paſſe, and brought *Dion* to ſtudy Philoſophy, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS. *Dion* lay in the city of ATHENS with one *Calippus*, whom hee had knowen of long time, howbeit he bought him a houſe in the country, to lie there ſometime for his pleaſure, the which he gaue afterwards (at his returne into SICILIA) vnto *Speuſippus* that kept him cõpany, and was continually with him, more then with any other friend he had in ATHENS, through *Platoes* counſell: who to ſoften and recreate *Dions* manners, gaue him the company of ſome pleaſant conceited man, knowing that this *Speuſippus* could modeſtly obſerue time and place to be pleaſant and merry: for which reſpect, *Timon* in his Satyricall ieaſts, calleth *Speuſippus* a good ieaſter. Now *Plato* him ſelfe hauing vndertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the hauncings of young children: *Dion* tooke the paines to teach and exerciſe them, and moreouer was him ſelfe at the whole charge of theſe playes, *Plato* ſuffering him to beſtow that liberality and curteſie vpon the ATHENIANS: the which wan *Dion* a great deale more good will, then *Plato* honor. *Dion* kept not ſtill at ATHENS, but went alſo to ſee the other good cities of GREECE, paſſing his time away. He being at common feaſtes and aſſemblies with the chiefeſt men, and beſt learned in matters of ſtate and gouernment, and neuer ſhewing any light partes, nor ſigne of tyrannicall pride in his manner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought vp with all pompe and pleaſure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well ſtudied in Philoſophy, whereby he grewe to be generally beloued and eſteemed of all men: the citie graunted him publicke honors, and ſent him decrees of his glory, made in their councels and aſſembles. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS made him a SPARTAN and burges of the city, not paſſing for

Dions wealth.

Dionyſius tyrannicall loue to Plato.

Dionyſius ſent Plato from him.

Dions life in Greece.

for *Dionysius* displeasure, though at that time he had giuen them great aide, in the warre they made against the THEBANS. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Ptæodorus* MEGARIAN, to come and see him at his house: and *Dion* went thither. This *Ptæodorus* was a maruellous great rich man, & therefore *Dion* seeing a great number of people standing at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and speake with him he had such great busines: he turned vnto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tary so long at the gate, and sayd vnto them: what cause haue we to thinke euill of him, sith we did the like when we were at SYRACVSA? But *Dionysius* being incensed with enuy against him, and fearing the good will the GRECIANS bare him: he kept backe his reuenue, and would no more send it him, and seazed all the goods, the which he gaue to his receiuers to keepe. Furthermore, because he would cleare him selfe of the infamy he had gotten amongest the Philosophers for *Platoes* sake, he went for diuers wise and learned men, and vainly couting to excell them all in wisedome, he was driuen improperly, and out of time, to alleadge many wise sayings he had learned of *Plato*. Thereupon he began againe to wish for him, and to condemne him selfe, for that he had no wit to vse him well when hee had him at his commaundement, and that he had not heard so much as he should haue done him: and like a tyrant as he was, madly caried away with light desires, and easely changing minde from time to time, a sodaine vehement desire tooke him in the head, to haue *Plato* againe. So he sought all the means and waies he could deuise, to pray *Architas* the Pythagorian Philosopher to tell him, that he might boldly come, and to be his surety vnto him for that he would promise him: for first of al, they were acquainted together by his means. Therefore *Archytas* sent thither *Archidamus* the Philosopher. *Dionysius* also sent certaine gallies, & some of his friends thither, to pray *Plato* to come to him: and he him selfe wrote specially, and plainely, that it should not goe well with *Dion*, if *Plato* came not into SICILIA: but if he would be perswaded to come, that then he would doe what hee would haue him. Many letters and requests came vnto *Dion* from his wife and sister, insomuch as *Dion* so vsed the matter, that *Plato* obeied *Dionysius*, without making any excuse at al. So *Plato* writeth him selfe, that he was driuen to come again the 3. time into the straight of SICILIA.

Dions vertues and honors done vnto him by the Grecians.

Archytas a Pythagorian Philosopher.

Dionysius sendeth againe for Plato to come into Sicilia.

Platoes third iorney into Sicilia.

To trie if once againe he could Charibdis dangers passe.

Now *Plato* being arriued in SICILIA, he made *Dionysius* a great ioyfull man, and filled all SICILIA againe with great good hope: for they were all very desirous, and did what they could, to make *Plato* ouercome *Philistus* and the tyranny, with his Philosophy. The women of *Dionysius* Court did entertaine *Plato* the best they could: but aboue all, *Dionysius* seemed to haue a marueilous trust and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his friends. For he suffred *Plato* to come to him without searching of him, and oftentimes offred to giue him a great summe of money: but *Plato* would take none of it. Therefore *Aristippus* CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrantes Court in SICILIA, sayed that *Dionysius* bestowed his liberality surely. For, to vs that aske much he giueth litle, and much vnto *Plato* that requireth nothing. After *Dionysius* had giuen *Plato* his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of *Dion*. *Dionysius* on the other side, at the first did vse him with fine delayes, but afterwards he shewed him selfe angry in deede: and at length fell out with *Plato*, but yet so couertly, that others saw it not. For *Dionysius* dissembled that, and otherwise in all other things he did him as much honor as he could deuise, practising thereby to make him to forsake *Dions* friendshippe. Now *Plato* found him at the first, that there was no trust to be giuen to his wordes, and that all were but lies and deuises he either sayed or did: how beit he kept it to him selfe, and quietly bare all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he beleeued him. They two thus finely dissembling with each other, thinking to deceiue all men, and that none should vnderstand their secrets: *Helycon* CYZICENIAN, one of *Platoes* friendes, did prognosticate the eclipse of the sunne. The same falling out as he had prognosticated, the tyrant esteemed marueilously of him, & gaue him a siluer talent for his labor. Then *Aristippus* sporting with other Philosophers, sayd he could tell them of a straunger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognosticate, sayd he, that *Plato* and *Dionysius* will be enemies ere it be long. In the end it came to passe, that *Dionysius* made port sale of all *Dions* goods, and kept the money to him selfe, and lodged *Plato* that before lay the next Court to

Aristippus saying of Dionysius.

Helycon a Mathematician.

Aristippus diuination.

his pallace, among the ſouldiers of his guard, whom hee knew maliced him of long time, and ſought to kill him: becauſe he did perſwade *Dionyſius* to leaue his tyranny and to liue without his guard. *Plato* being in this inſtant danger, *Archytas* ſent Ambaſſadors forthwith vnto *Dionyſius*, in a galley of thirty owers, to demaund *Plato* againe: declaring that *Plato* came againe to SYRACVSA, vppon his word and caution. *Dionyſius* to excuſe him ſelfe, and to ſhew that he was not angry with him at his departure from him: hee made him all the great cheare and feaſtes he could, and ſo ſent him home with great ſhewes of good will. One day among the reſt, he ſayd vnto *Plato*: I am afrayd *Plato*, ſayd he, that thou wilt ſpeake euill of me, when thou art among thy friendes and companions in the Academy. Then *Plato* ſmiling, anſwered him againe: the goddes forbidde that they ſhould haue ſuch ſcarcety of matter in the Academy, as that they muſt needes talke of thee. Thus was *Platoes* returne, as it is reported, although that which he him ſelfe writeth agreeth not much with this report. Theſe things went to *Dions* heart, ſo that ſhortly after he ſhewed him ſelfe an open enemy vnto *Dionyſius*, but ſpecially when he heard how he had handled his wife. *Plato* vnder couert words, ſent *Dionyſius* word of it by his letters. And thus it was. After *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* returning *Plato* backe againe, he willed him ſecretely to feele *Dions* minde, whether he would not be angry that his wife ſhould be maried to an other man: becauſe there ranne a rumor abroade (whether it were true, or inuented by *Dions* enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and could not liue quietly with his wife. Therefore when *Plato* was at ATHENS, and had told *Dion* of all things, he wrote a letter vnto *Dionyſius* the tyraunt, and did ſette all other things downe ſo plainely, that euery man might vnderſtand him, but this one thing onely ſo darkely, that he alone, and none other could vnderſtand him, but him to whom he had written: declaring vnto him, that he had ſpoken with *Dion* about the matter he wrote of, and that he did let him vnderſtand he would be maruellous angry, if *Dionyſius* did it. So at that time, becauſe there was great hope of reconciliation betweene them, the tyraunt did nothing lately touching his ſiſter, but ſuffered her ſtill to remaine with *Dions* ſonne. But when they were ſo farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in fauour againe, and that he had alſo ſent home *Plato* in diſgrace and diſpleaſure: then he maried his ſiſter *Arete* (*Dions* wife) againſt her will, vnto one of his friends called *Timocrates*, not following therein his fathers iuſtice and lenity. For *Polyxenus* that had maried his fathers ſiſter *Theſta*, being alſo become his enemy, he fled out of SICILIA, *Dionyſius* the elder ſent for his ſiſter *Theſta*, and tooke her vp very ſharpely, for that ſhe knowing her husband would flie, ſhe did not come and tell him of it. *Theſta* nobly anſwered him againe, and neuer was afraied nor abaſhed: why, *Dionyſius*, doeſt thou thinke mee a woman ſo faint hearted and beaſtly, that if I had knowen my husband would haue gone his way, and left me: that I would not haue taken the ſea with him, and both haue run one fortune together? Truely I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honour to haue bene called the wife of the baniſhed *Polyxenus*, then the ſiſter of thee a tyraunt. *Dionyſius* maruelled to heare his ſiſter ſpeake thus boldly, and the SYRACVSANS wondred at her noble courage: in ſo much that when the tyranny was vtterly deſtroyed, they did not refuſe to doe her all the honor they could deuiſe, as vnto a Queene. And when ſhe was dead alſo, all the citizens of SYRACVSA by a common decree, did accompany her body at her buriall. This little digreſſion from our hiſtory, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now again to our matter. *Dion* from thenceforth diſpoſed him ſelfe altogether vnto warre, againſt *Platoes* counſell and aduiſe: who did his beſt endeuour to diſſwade him from it, both for the reſpect of *Dionyſius* good entertainment he had giuen him, as alſo for that *Dion* was of great yeares. Howbeit on the other ſide, *Speuſippus*, and his other friends did prouoke him vnto it, and did perſwade him to deliuer SICILIA from the ſlauery and bondage of the tyrant, the which held vp her hands vnto him, and would receiue him with great loue and good will. For whileſt *Plato* lay at SYRACVSA, *Speuſippus* keeping the citizens company more then *Plato* did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the firſt they were afraied to open them ſelues vnto him, and franckly to ſpeake what they thought, miſtrutting he was a ſpy vnto the tyrant, ſent amongſt them to feele their minds: but within a ſhort time they began to truſt him, and were all of one mind, for they praid and perſwaded *Dion* to come, and not to care otherwiſe for bringing of ſhippes, ſouldiers, nor horſes

Architas requireth Plato of Dionyſius.

Dionyſius maried Dions wife to an other man.

Polyxenus maried Theſta his father Dionyſius ſiſter.

The noble aunſwere of Theſta, vnto her brother Dionyſius the elder

Dion beginneth to make warre againſt Dionyſius.

horſes with him, but onely to hire a ſhippe, and to lend the SICILIANS his body and name againſt *Dionyſius*. *Speuſippus* reporting theſe newes vnto *Dion*, did put him in good heart again: whereupon he began ſecretly to leauy men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpoſe and intent. The Philoſophers doe ſet forward *Dions* warres. Many citizens dealing in the affaires of the common wealth did aide him, and diuers of them alſo that onely gaue their mindes to the ſtudy of Philoſophy: and among them, *Eudemus* CYPRIAN (on whoſe death *Ariſtotle* wrote his dialogue of the ſoule) and *Timonides* LEVCADIAN, went with him. Furthermore, there ioyned alſo with him *Miltas* THESSALIAN, a Soothſayer, and that had bene his companion in ſtudy in the Academy. Now of all them whom the tyraunt had baniſhed, (which were no leſſe then a thouſand perſons) there were but onely fiue and twenty that durſt accompany him in this warre. For all the other were ſuch daſtards, that they forſooke him, and durſt not go with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of ZACINTHE, where they leaued all their ſouldiers, that were not aboue eight hundred in all, but all of them braue ſouldiers, and valiant men, and excellently well trained in warres: & to conclude, ſuch luſty men, as would incorage all the army *Dion* hoped of at his arriuall in SICILE, to fight like valiant men with them. Theſe hired ſouldiers, the firſt time that they vnderſtoode it was to go into SICILIA, to make warre with *Dionyſius*: they were amazed at the firſt, and miſliked the iorney, becauſe it was vndertaken rather of malice and ſpite that *Dion* had to be reuenged, then otherwiſe of any good cauſe or quarrell, who hauing no better hope, tooke vpon him deſperate and impoſſible enterpriſes. Therefore the ſouldiers were offended with their Captaines that had preſſed them, becauſe they had not told them of this warre before. But after that *Dion* by a notable Oration had told them, how tirannies haue euill foundations, and are ſubiect vnto ruine, and that he led them not into SICILIA ſo much for ſouldiers, as he did to make them Captaines of the SYRACVSANS, and the other SICILIANS, who of long time deſired nothing more then occaſion to riſe. And, when after him alſo *Alcimenes*, (a companion with him in this warre, and the chiefeſt man of all the ACHAIANS, both for nobility and eſtimation) did ſpeake vnto them in like maner, then they were all contented to go whither they would lead them. It was then in the heart of ſommer, and the wind blew called the GREGIAN wind, the moone being at the full, and *Dion* hauing prepared to make a ſumptuous ſacrifice vnto the god *Apollo*, he led all his men armed with white corſelets in proceſſion into the temple: and after the ſacrifice done, he made them a feaſt in the parke or ſhew place of the ZACINTHIANS. There the tables were laied, and the ſouldiers wondred to ſee the great ſtate and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and ſiluer, and ſuch other furniture & preparation, as paſſed a priuat mans wealth: then they thought with them ſelues, that a man being ſo old, & Lord of ſo great a good, would not attempt things of ſuch daunger, without good ground, and great aſſurance of his frends aid and helpe. But after his oblations of wine, and common praiers made to the gods at feaſtes: ſodainly the Moone eclipſed. *Dion* thought it not ſtrange to ſee an eclipſe, conſidering the reuolutions of the eclipſes, and knowing very well it is a ſhadow that falleth vpon the body of the Moone, becauſe of the direct interpoſition of the earth betwixt her and the Sun. But becauſe the ſouldiers that were afraid and aſtonied withal, ſtood in need of ſome comfort & encouragement: *Miltas* the Soothſayer ſtanding vp in the middeſt amongſt them, ſayed vnto them. My fellow ſouldiers, be of good cheare, and aſſure your ſelues that we ſhall proſper: for God doth foreſhew vs by this ſight we ſee, that ſome one of the chiefeſt things now in higheſt place and dignity ſhall be eclipſed. And at this preſent time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, then the tyranny of *Dionyſius*? Therefore you muſt thinke, that ſo ſoone as you arriue in SICILIA, your ſelues ſhal put out his light & glory. This interpretation of the eclipſe of the Moone, did *Miltas* the Soothſayer make, before all the whole company. But touching the ſwarme of Bees that lighted on the poope of *Dions* ſhippe, he told him, and his friends priuately: that he was afraied his acts which ſhould fall out famous and glorious, ſhould laſt but a while, and florifhing a few daies, would ſtraight conſume away. It is reported alſo, that *Dionyſius* in like maner had many ſtraunge ſignes and wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came an Eagle that ſnatched the partiſan out of the ſouldiers handes, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the ſea. The ſea alſo beating againſt the walles of the caſtell, was as

The Philoſophers aduanced Dions warre.

Ariſtotles dialogue de anima

Dions army.

Dions ſumptuous fare in feaſting.

The eclipſe of the moone, and cauſe of the eclipſe.

Wonders ſhewed vnto Dion.

Wonders appearing vnto Dionyſius.

sweete to drinke a whole day together, as any conduit or running water: as those that tasted of it found it true. Furthermore, a sow farrowed pigges that lacked no partes of the body, but onely their eares. This the Soothsayers sayed did signifie rebellion, and disobedience of his subiects: and that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the sweetenes of the salt water prognosticated to the SYRACVSANS, change of cruell and euill time, vnto good and ciuill gouernment: and that the Eagle, *Iupiters* minister, and the partisan, the marke and token of the kingdome and Empire, did betoken that *Iupiter* the chiefe of all gods had determined to destroy and put downe the tyranny. *Theopompus* reporteth this matter thus. So *Dions* souldiers were imbarked into two great shippes of burden, and an other third shippe that was not very great, and two pinnases with thirty owers followed them. For their armour and weapon, beside those the souldiers had: he caried two thousand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pikes, and plenty of victuals: that they should lacke nothing all the time they were vpon the sea, considering that their iourney stoode altogether at the curtesie of the windes and sea, and for that they were afrayed to land, vnderstanding that *Philistus* road at anker in the coast of APVLGLIA, with a fleete of shippes that lay in waite for their comming. So hauing a pleasant gale of winde, they sayled the space of twelue dayes together, and the thirteenth day they came to the foreland of SICILIA called Pachynus. There the Pilot thought it best they should land presently: for if they willingly loofed into the sea, and lost that point, they were sure they should lose also many nights and dayes in vaine in the middest of the sea, being then sommer time, and the winde at the South. But *Dion* being afrayed to land so neare his enemies, he was desirous to goe farther, and so past by the foreland of Pachynus. Then the North winde rose so bigge and great, that with great violence it draue backe their ships from the coast of SICILIA. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withall (because it was at that time when the starre Arcturus beginneth to shew) it made so terrible a tempest, and powred downe such a sore shower of raine vpon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whither the wind would driue them: till that sodainly they saw the storme had cast them vpon the Ile of CERCINA, (which is on the coast of LIBYA) and specially where it is most dangerous to arriue for the rocks, for their shippes were like to haue runne vppon them, and to haue made shippe-wracke. But with much a doe they bare off the shippes with their great long poles, and wandred vp and downe the sea, not knowing whither they went, vntill the storme ceased. Then they met a shippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Mariners call the heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring vp and downe, being maruellous angry that the sea was calme, there rose a litle South wind from the land, although they least looked for any such wind at that time, and litle thinking it would so haue chaunged: but seeing the wind rise bigger and bigger, they packed on all the sayles they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods they crossed the sea, and sailed from the coast of LIBYA, directly vnto SICILE, and had the winde so lucky, that at the fift day they were neare vnto a litle village of SICILIA, called MINOA, the which was subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS. *Synalus* CARTHAGINIAN, being at that time Captaine and gouernor of the towne of MINOA, and *Dions* friend, was there by chance at that present, who being ignorant of his enterprise and comming, did what he could to keepe *Dions* souldiers from landing. But they notwithstanding sodainly leapt a land armed, but slue no man. For *Dion* had commaunded them the contrary, for the friendship he bare the Captaine: and they following the townes men hard that fled before them, entred the towne, hand ouer head amongest them, and so wanne the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had spoken together, *Dion* redeliuered the towne into *Synalus* hands againe, without any hurt or violence offred him. *Synalus* on the other side did endeuor him selfe all he could to make much of the souldiers, and holpe *Dion* to prouide him of all things necessary. But this did most of all encorage the souldiers, because *Dionysius* at their arriuall, was not then in SICILIA: for it chaunced so, that not many dayes before he went into ITALY, with foure score saile. Therefore when *Dion* willed them to remaine there a few dayes to refreshe themselues, because they had bene so sore sea beaten a long time together: they them selues would not, they were so glad to imbrace the occasion offered them, and prayed *Dion* to leade them forthwith

Dions preparation.

Pachynus, the foreland of Sicilia.

A tempest on the sea against Dion.

Synalus, Captaine of Minoa for the Carthaginians.

Dion wanne Minoa.

forthwith to SYRACVSA *Dion* leauing all his superfluous armor and prouision in the hands of *Synalus*, and praying him to send them to him when time serued: he tooke his way towardes SYRACVSA. So by the way, two hundred horsemen of the ARGENTINES, which dwell in that part called ECNOMVS, came first to ioyne with him, and after them, the GELOIANS. The rumor of their comming ranne straight to SYRACVSA. Thereupon *Timocrates* that had maried *Arete*, *Dions* wife, and *Dionysius* the fathers sister, and to whom *Dionysius* the younger had left the charge and gouernment of all his men and friends in the citie: he presently dispatched a poast with letters, to aduertise *Dionysius* of *Dions* comming. He himselfe also in the meane time had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebell: but because they were vncertaine whether his rumor was true or false, being affraid, euery man was quiet. Now there chaunced a straunge misfortune vnto the messengers, which caryed the letters vnto *Dionysius*: For after he had passed the straight, and that he was arriued in the citie of RHEGGIO of ITALY es side, making haste to come to the citie of CAVLONIA, where *Dionysius* was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that caried a mutton but newly sacrificed. This good fellow gaue him a peece of it, and the messenger spurred away with all the speede he could possible. But when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so wearie and drowsie for lacke of sleepe, that he was driuen to lye downe. So he lay downe vpon the ground in a wood hard by the high way. The sauor of this flesh brought a Wolfe to him that caried away the flesh and the portmantew it was wrapt in, and in the which also were his letters of aduertisement, which he caried vnto *Dionysius*. When he awoke out of his sleepe, and saw that his portmantew was gone: he enquired for it, and went wandring vp and downe a long time to seeke it: howbeit all in vaine, for he could neuer find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to goe to the tyrant without his letters, but rather to flie into some vnknowen place where no bodie knew him. Thus ouerlate receiued *Dionysius* aduertisement by others of this warre, which *Dion* made in SICILIA. In the meane time, the CAMARINIANS came & ioyned with *Dions* army in the high way towards SYRACVSA: and still there came vnto him also a great number of the SYRACVSANS that were vppe in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other side, certaine CAMPANIANS and LEONTINES, which were gotten into the castle of EPIPOLES with *Timocrates* of purpose to keepe it: Vpon a false rumor *Dion* gaue out (& which came vnto them) that he would first go against their townes: they forsooke *Timocrates*, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. *Dion* vnderstanding that, being lodged with his army in a place called MACRÆ: he presently remoued his campe being darke night, and matched forwarde till he came vnto the riuer of Anapus, which is not from the citie aboue tenne furlongs off: and there staying a while, he sacrificed vnto the riuer, and made his prayer, and worshipped the rising of the Sunne. At the selfe same instant also, the Soothsayers came and told him, that the gods did promise him assured victory. And the souldiers also seeing *Dion* weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremony of the sacrifice: all of them with one selfe good will, tooke euery man one of them, (being no lesse then fiue thousand men that were gathered together by the way, and but slenderly armed with such things as came first to hand, howbeit supplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when *Dion* commaunded them to march, for ioy they ranne, and incouraged one an other with great cries, to shew themselues valiant for recouery of their liberty. Now for them that were within the city selfe of SYRACVSA, the noble men and chiefe Citizens went to receiue them at the gates in their best gownes. The common people on the other side ranne and sette vppon them that tooke part with the tyraunt, and spoyled them that were called the PROSAGOGIDES (as much to say, the common Promoters of men) the detestablest villaines, hatefull to the gods and men. For they like Sicophants and busie tale bearers, would iet vp and downe the city, and mingle among the Citizens, hauing an oer in euery mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and busie headed, to know what euery man sayed and did, and then to goe carie it to the tyraunt. These men were they that had their payment first of all, for they killed them with dry blowes, beating them to death with staues. When *Timocrates* could not enter into the castell with them that kept it, he tooke his horse backe, and fled out of the city, and flying

Dion went to Syracusa.

A straunge chaunce happened vnto the messenger, sent to Dionysius

A wolfe caried away the Messengers portmantew.

Dionysius picke thankes slaine.

made all men afrayed and amazed where he came, enlarging *Dions* power by his report, because it should not seeme that for feare of a trifle, he had forsaken the citie. In the meane time, *Dion* came on towards the citie with his men, and was come so neare, that they might see him plainely from the citie, marching foremost of all, armed with a fayer bright white corselet, having his brother *Megacles* on his right hand of him, & *Calippus* ATHENIAN on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him also there followed an hundreth souldiers that were strangers, chosen for his gard about him, and the rest came marching after in good order of battell, being led by their Captaines. The SYRACVSANS saw him comming, & went out and received him as a holy and blessed procession, that brought them their liberty and popular state againe, the which they had lost the space of eight and fortie yeares. When *Dion* was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he caused his trumpeter to sound to appease the rumor and tumult of the people. Then he commaunded an Herauld to proclaime aloud, that *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to put downe the tirannie, did set all the SYRACVSANS at libertie, and all the other SICILIANS also from the bondage & subiection of the tirant: and because *Dion* himselfe was desirous to speake vnto the people, he went to the vpper parte of the towne called ACRADINA. The SYRACVSANS all the streetes through as he passed by, had on either hand of him prepared sacrifices, and set vp tables and cuppes vppon them: and as he passed by their houses, they cast flowers and frutes on him, and made prayers vnto him, as if he had bene a god. Now vnder the castle there was a place called Pentapyla, a clocke to know by the Sunne how the day went, the which *Dionysius* had caused to be made, and it was of a good pretie height. *Dion* got vp vpon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perswading his countrimen to doe their endeuour to recouer their libertie againe, and to maintaine it. They being in a maruellous ioy withall, and desirous to please *Dion*: did choose him and his brother *Megacles* their Lieutenants generall, with absolute power and authoritie. Afterwards also, by the consent of *Dion* himselfe and his brother, and at their requests in like manner, they chose twentie other Captaines, of the which the most part of them had bene banished by the tyrant, and were returned againe with *Dion*. The Soothsayers and Prognosticators liked it well, and said it was a good signe for *Dion*, that he trode that sumptuous building and workemanshippe of the tyrant vnder his feete, when he made his oration: but because the hande of the dyall did shew the course of the Sunne, which neuer leaueth going, vpon the which he got vppe when he was chosen Lieutenant generall with absolute power and authoritie: they were afraide againe, that it was a signe *Dions* affayres should haue a sodaine chaunge of fortune. After this, *Dion* hauing taken the castle of EPIPOLES, he set all the Citizens at libertie which were kept there as prisoners in captiuitie by the tyrant, and enuironed the castle round about with a wall. Within seuen dayes after, *Dionysius* returned by sea to the castle of SYRACVSA, and therewithall also came the carts loden with armor and weapon to SYRACVSA, the which *Dion* had left with *Synalus*: the which *Dion* caused to be distributed among the Citizens of SYRACVSA that had none. Others did furnish them selues as well as they could, and shewed that they had corage and good will to fight for the maintenaunce and defence of their liberty. In the meane time, *Dionysius* sent Ambassadours, first vnto *Dion* priuately, to see if he would yeelde to any composition. But *Dion* would not heare them, but bad them tell the SYRACVSANS openly what they had to say, being men that were free, and enioyed liberty. Then the Ambassadors spake in the behalfe of the tyraunt, vnto the people of SYRACVSA, promising them with milde and gentle wordes, that they should paie no more subsedies and taxes, but very litle, and should be no more troubled with warres, other then such as they themselues should like of. The SYRACVSANS made a mockery at those offers, and *Dion* also aunswered the Ambassadors, and willed *Dionysius* to send no more to the SYRACVSANS, before he had dispossest him selfe of his tyranny: and so that he would leaue it, he would be his meane to obtaine all things iust and reasonable of the people. *Dionysius* liked very well of this good offer, and therefore sent his Ambassadors againe to pray the SYRACVSANS that they would appoint some amongest them to come to the castell, to talke with him for the benefite and commodity of the common wealth, that he might heare what they would alleadge, and they also

Dion receiued into Syracusa.

Dion restoreth the Syracusans to libertie.

Dionysius clocke.

The predictions of the soothsayers.

Dionysius sent Ambassadors vnto Dion.

alſo what aunſwere he would make. *Dion* choſe certaine whom he ſent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the citie among the SYRACVSANS, which came from the caſtle: that *Dionyſius* would willingly of himſelfe, rather then by reaſon of *Dions* comming, depoſe himſelfe of the tirannie. But this was but a falſe allarme, and craftie fetch of *Dionyſius*, to intrappe the SYRACVSANS by. For thoſe that were ſent him from the citie, he kept them priſoners euery man of them, and one morning hauing made his ſouldiers drinke wine luſtely, which he kept in pay to gard his perſon, he ſent them with great furie to aſſault the wall the SYRACVSANS had built againſt the caſtle. Now, becauſe the SYRACVSANS looked for nothing leſſe then for the ſodaine aſſault, and for that theſe barbarous people with a wonderfull courage & great tumult ouerthrew the wal, and others of them alſo did ſet vpon the SYRACVSANS: there was not a man of them that durſt make head to fight with them, ſauing the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers whom *Dion* had brought with him. Who when they heard the noyſe ranne ſtraight to repulſe them, and yet they themſelues could not well tell what they ſhould doe vpon that ſodaine. For they could heare nothing, for the great noyſe and hurley burley of the SYRACVSANS which fled with great diſorder, and came and mingled themſelues amongeſt them. Till at length, *Dion* perceiuing he could not be heard, to ſhew them by deede what they ſhould doe: he went firſt himſelfe againſt theſe barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloody fight. For his enemies knewe him as well as his owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cryes. Now for *Dion* himſelfe, indeede becauſe of his age, he was heauier then was requiſite for one that ſhould away with the paines of ſuch battels: but he had ſuch a valiant courage in him, that he went thorough withall luſtily, and ſlew them that did aſſaile him. Yet he had his hand alſo thruſt thorough with a pyke, and very hardly did his curaces holde out the blowes of the dartes and thruſts by hande which he receiued on them, they were ſo mangled and hacked with ſuch a number of dartes and pykes paſſed thorough his ſhield and broken on him, that in the end he was beaten downe: howbeit his ſouldiers reſcued him ſtraight. Then he made *Timonides* their Captaine, and he himſelfe tooke his horſe backe, and went vp and downe the citie, ſtaying and quieting the flying of the SYRACVSANS. Then he ſent for his ſouldiers the ſtraungers, which he had put in garriſon in that part of the citie called the ACRADINE to keepe it, and brought them being freſh, againſt the barbarous people of the caſtle that were wearied, and almoſt all of them diſcouraged to attempt any further enterpriſe. For they had made this ſalie out, in hope to haue taken all the citie at the firſt onſet, onely running vp and downe: but when contrary to their expectation, they met theſe valiant ſouldiers and freſh ſupply, they then beganne to retyre againe vnto the caſtle. And the GRECIAN ſouldiers on the other ſide, perceiuing they gaue backe, they came the faſter vpon them, ſo that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driuen within their wals, after they had ſlaine three ſcore and foureteene of *Dions* men, and loſt a great number of their owne. This was a noble victory, and therefore the SYRACVSANS gaue the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, an hundred ſiluer Minas, in reward for their good ſeruice: and they gaue *Dion* their generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to *Dion* by a trumpet from the caſtell, written from the women of his houſe: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed: to my father: the which *Hipparinus* wrote vnto him. For that was *Dions* ſonnes name, though *Timæus* writeth he was called *Areteus*, after his mothers name *Arete*. But in ſuch matters, me thinkes *Timonides* is better to be credited, becauſe he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were ſent, were openly read before the aſſembly of the SYRACVSANS, and did onely concerne requeſts of theſe women vnto *Dion*. The SYRACVSANS would not haue the ſuppoſed letter of his ſonne to be openly read: but *Dion* againſt their mindes opened it, and found that it was *Dionyſius* letter, who by wordes, made the direction of it vnto *Dion*, but in effect, he ſpake vnto the SYRACVSANS. For in ſight, it ſeemed a manner of requeſt and iuſtification of him ſelfe: but in truth, it was written of purpoſe to accuſe *Dion*. Firſt of all he remembred him of the things he had done before, for the eſtabliſhing and preſeruation of the tyranny: and afterwards of cruell threats againſt thoſe whom he ſhould loue beſt, as his wife, his ſonne and ſiſter: and laſt of all, full of moſt humble requeſtes and intreaties with ſorrow and lamentation. But that which moſt moued *Dion* of all other

Dion fighteth with Dionyſius.

Dion hurt.

Dions victory of Dionyſius.

Hipparinus, Dions ſonne.

Dionyſius craft vnto Dion.

was that he required him not to destroye the tyrannie, but rather to take it for himselfe and not to set them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the mischiefe he had done vnto them: & that he would himselfe take vpon him to be Lord, sauing by that meanes the liues of their parents & friends. When these letters had bene read before the whole assembly of the people, the SYRACVSANS thought not how to reuerence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible constancie and magnanimitie of *Dion*, that stood firme and fast for iustice and vertue, against such vehement intreatie and perswasion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be afraied, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessitie should be forced to pardon the tirant, for the great pledges and hostages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to choose them new gouernors, and the rather, because they heard that *Heraclides* was comming vnto them, whom they loued singularly well. This *Heraclides* was one of them that had beene banished, a good souldier and Captaine, and well esteemed of for the charge and office he bare vnder the tirants: howbeit a very vnconstant man in euery thing, and would not continue long in a minde, and least constant in warres where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with *Dion* in PELOPONNESVS, wherefore he determined to come with a power by himselfe and with his owne fleete against the tirant. So he arriued at length in SYRACVSA, with seuen gallies, and three other ships, where he found *Dionysius* againe shut vp into his castle with a wall, and the SYRACVSANS also to haue the better hand of him. Then he began to currie fauor with the common people all the wayes he could possibly deuise, hauing by nature a certaine pleasing manner to winne the common people, which seeke nothing else but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to winne them, because the people did alreadie mislike *Dions* seueritie, as a man too seuere and cruell to gouerne a common wealth. For they had now their will so much, and were growen so strong headed, because they sawe themselues the stronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they onely be Lordes, and doe rule) before they were fully set at libertie. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authoritie of the gouernours: they ranne in a furie, of their owne light heads, vnto the place of common assemblies, and there chose *Heraclides* Admirall. Then *Dion* vnderstanding this, came to complaine of the iniurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to giue this power now vnto *Heraclides*, was to take that away which they had first giuen vnto him: because he should no more be generall, if they chose any other Admirall by sea then himselfe. The SYRACVSANS then, as it were against their wils, did reuoke the power they had giuen vnto *Heraclides*: but afterwards *Dion* sent for *Heraclides*, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a litle, and tolde him that it was not honestly, nor profitably done of him, to sue to the people, & to contend for honor against him in so daungerous a time, when the least occasion in the world was enough to haue marred all. Afterwards *Dion* himselfe called an assembly againe of the city, and established *Heraclides* Admirall: and perswaded the Citizens to giue him souldiers, as he had in deede. *Heraclides* outwardly seemed to honour *Dion*, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound vnto him, and was alwayes at his heeles very lowly, being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, secretly he inticed the common people to rebell, and to stirre vppe those whom he knew meete men to like of chaunge, Whereby he procured *Dion* such trouble, and brought him into such perplexity, that hee knew not well what way to take. For if he gaue them aduise to let *Dionysius* quietlie come out of the castell: then they accused him, and sayed he did it to saue his life. If on the other side, because he would not trouble them, he continued siege still, and did establishe nothing: then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the warres in length, because hee might the longer time remaine their Chiefetaine generall, and so to keepe the Citizens longer in feare. At that time there was one *Sosis* in SYRACVSA, a man of no name, but noted among the SYRACVSANS for his villany and wickednes, esteeming that full and ample liberty, when he might vnchecked licentiously speake what he would, as in deede he did. For he seeking to doe *Dion* a displeasure: first of all one day at a common counsell he stoode vp on his feete, and called the SYRACVSANS beastes, (amongest many other vile wordes he gaue them) if they did not perceiue, that being come from a fond and druncken tyranny, they had now receiued a sober maister,

Heraclides what he was.

Heraclides returneth to Syracusa.

The Syracusans do choose Heraclides Admirall, to spight Dion.

Heraclides, a dissembler, practising to make the people to rebel against Dion.

Sosis a wicked man, moueth sedition against Dion.

maſter, and a wiſe and warie tirant. So when he had thus openly ſhewed himſelfe an enemie vnto *Dion*, he came no more that daye into the market place: but the next morning he was ſeene running vp and downe the citie naked, his head and face all of a gore blood, as if he had bene followed of men to haue ſlaine him. Thus *Soſis* comming in this manner into the middeſt of the market place, cryed out that *Dions* ſtrangers had lyen in wayte for him, and had handled him in this ſort, ſhewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grieuouſly, and cryed out vpon *Dion*, and ſayed it was vilely and tirrannically done of him: by feare of murther and danger, to take away the libertie from the Citizens to ſpeake. Nowe though the whole aſſembly hereuppon fell into an vprore withall, *Dion* notwithſtanding came thither to cleare himſelfe of theſe accuſations, and made them preſently ſee, that this *Soſis* was brother to one of *Dionyſius* gard: who had put into his head, in this ſort to put the citie of SYRACVSA in an vprore, becauſe *Dionyſius* had no other hope nor meanes to eſcape, but by ſtirring vp faction and ſedition among them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgeons were ſent for forthwith to ſearch the wound of this *Soſis*: who found that it was rather a litle ſcratch, then any violent wound giuen him. For the woundes or cuts of a ſword, are euer deepeſt in the middeſt: and *Soſis* cut was but very litle, and not deepe, hauing had many beginnings, and giuen him (as it ſeemed) at ſundry times, that for very paine, the party that cutte him was driuen to leaue off, and came to cutte him at diuerſe times. Furthermore, there came certaine of his friendes in the meane time, that brought a raſor before the aſſembly, and reported that as they came, they met *Soſis* by the way all bloudied: who ſaide, that he fled from *Dions* ſouldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they preſently followed them, but found no man, and onely they ſawe a raſor, which ſome bodie had caſt vpon a hollow ſtone thereabout, where they firſt ſawe him comming vnto them. Thus *Soſis* deuiſe had but euill ſucceſſe. For beſide all theſe proofes and tokens, *Dions* houſhold ſeruantes came to be a witneſſe againſt him: that very earely in the morning he went abroad alone with a raſor in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuſe *Dion*, knew not what to ſay to the matter, but ſhrunke away: whereupon the people condemning *Soſis* to death, they were quiet againe with *Dion*. Yet were they alwaies affraid of theſe ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, ſpecially when they ſaw the greateſt conflicts they had with the tyrant, was by ſea, after that *Philiſtus* was come from the coaſt of APVGLIA with a great number of gallies to aide the tyrant. For then they thought, that theſe ſouldiers the ſtraungers being armed at all partes to fight by lande, they would do them no more ſeruice by ſea: becauſe the Citizens themſelues were they that kept them in ſafetie, for that they were men practiſed to fight by ſea, and were alſo the ſtronger by meanes of their ſhips. But beſide all this, the onely thing that made them to be couragious again, was the good fortune they had at the battell by ſea, in the which when they had ouercome *Philiſtus*, they cruelly and barbarouſly vſed him. Truely *Ephorus* ſaith, that *Philiſtus* ſlue him ſelfe, when he ſaw his galley taken. Howbeit *Timonides* (who was alway with *Dion* from the firſt beginning of this war) writing vnto *Speuſippus* the Philoſopher, ſaith that *Philiſtus* was taken aliue, becauſe his galley ranne a land: and that the SYRACVSANS firſt tooke off his curaces, and ſtripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villany and ſpite they could, they cut off his head, and gaue his body vnto boyes, commaunding them to dragge it into that part of the city called ACRADINE, and then to caſt it into the common priuy. *Timæus* alſo to ſpite him the more, ſayeth that the boyes tyed the dead body by his lame legge, and ſo dragged him vp and downe the city, where all the SYRACVSANS did what villany to it they could, being glad to ſee him dragged by the legge, that had ſayed *Dionyſius* ſhould not flie from the tyranny vppon a light horſe, but that they ſhould pull him out by the legge againſt his will. Now *Philiſtus* reporteth this matter thus, not as ſpoken to *Dionyſius* by him ſelfe, but by ſome other. But *Timæus* taking a iuſt occaſion & colour to ſpeake euill of the good will, fidelity, and care that *Philiſtus* had alwaies ſeemed to ſhew in the confirmation and defence of the tyranny: doth liberally beſtow iniurious wordes on him in this place. Now for them whom he had in deede offended, if they of malice and ſpite to be reuenged, did offer him cruelty, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed: but for them that ſince his death haue written the ieaſts, who were neuer offended by him in his life time, and who

Dion cleareth Soſis accuſatiõ againſt him.

Soſis condemned to death.

Philiſtus ſlain

Timæus, and Ephorus the Hiſtoriographers reproued.

ought to ſhewe themſelues diſcreete in their writing, me thinkes that if they had regarded their owne credit and eſtimation, they ſhould not ſo fondly and outragiouſly haue reproued the aduerſities and meſſortunes, which by fortune may as well chaunce to the honeſteſt man, as vnto him. Thus fondely did *Ephorus* praiſe *Philiſtus*, who although he haue an excellent fine wit to counterfeate goodly excuſes, and cunningly to hide wicked and diſhoneſt partes, and eloquently to deuiſe by honeſt wordes to defend an euill cauſe: yet can not he with all the fiue wits he hath, excuſe himſelfe, that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath moſt fauored tirantes, and that hath euer loued, and ſpecially deſired power, wealth and alliance with tirantes. But he in my opinion taketh the right courſe of an Hiſtoriographer, that neither doth commend *Philiſtus* doings, nor yet caſteth his aduerſities in his teeth to his reproach. After *Philiſtus* death, *Dionyſius* ſent vnto *Dion*, to make him an offer to deliuer him the caſtle, armor, munition, and ſouliers that were in it, with money alſo to paye them for fiue monethes ſpace. For himſelfe, he prayed that he might be ſuffered to goe ſafely into ITALY, and to ly there, to take the pleaſure of the frutes of the coũtrie called GYARTA, which was within the territorie of SYRACVSA, and lyeth out from the ſea towards the maine land. *Dion* refuſed this offer, and anſwered the Ambaſſadors that they muſt moue the SYRACVSANS in it. They ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily take *Dionyſius* aliue, would not heare the Ambaſſadors ſpeake, but turned them away. *Dionyſius* ſeing no other remedie, left the caſtle in the handes of his eldeſt ſonne *Apollocrates*, and hauing a luſtie gale of winde, he ſecretly imbarked certaine of his men he loued beſt, with the richeſt things he had, and ſo hoyſed ſaile, vnwares to *Heraclides*, the Admirall of SYRACVSA. The people were maruellouſly offended with *Heraclides* for it, and beganne to mutine againſt him. But *Heraclides*, to pacifie this tumult of the people, ſuborned one *Hippon* an Orator, who preferred the law Agraria vnto the people, for the diuiſion of all the Iland amongſt them: and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie, and of bondage pouertie, vnto them that had no landes. *Heraclides* giuing his conſent to this decree, and ſtirring the common people to ſedition againſt *Dion*, that withſtood it: perſwaded the SYRACVSANS not onely to confirme the law *Hippon* had propounded, but alſo to diſcharge the hyred ſtraungers, to chooſe other Captaines and gouernors, and to rid themſelues of *Dions* ſeuere gouernment. But they ſuppoſing ſtraight to haue bene rid from the tyrannie, as from a long and grieuous ſickneſſe, ouerraſhly taking vpon them like people that of long time had bene at libertie, they vtterly vndid themſelues, and ouerthrew *Dions* purpoſe: who like a good Phiſitian was carefull to ſee the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when they were aſſembled to chooſe new officers in the middeſt of ſommer, there fell ſuch horrible thunders, and other terrible ſtormes, and vnfortunate ſignes in the element, that for the ſpace of fifteene daies together, the people were ſtill ſcattered and diſperſed when they were aſſembled: inſomuch, that being affraide of theſe ſignes aboue, they durſt not at that time create any new Captaines. Certaine daies after, as the Orators had choſen a faire time to proceede to the election of officers: an oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with euery ſight and noiſe) ſodainely without any occaſion offered, fell into a madneſſe againſt the carter that draue him, and breaking his yoke a ſunder, ranne ſtraight to the Theater, and there made the people runne into euery corner, to flye and ſaue themſelues: and then flinging, and bearing all downe before him that ſtoode in his way, he ranne through as much of the city, as the enemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithſtanding, the SYRACVSANS making light acompt of all theſe ſignes, they choſe fiue and twenty Captaines, of the which *Heraclides* was one: and ſecretely they ſent to feele the hiered ſouldiers, to ſee if they could entice them from *Dion*, to cauſe them to take their part, and made them large promiſes to make them free men, as themſelues of SYRACVSA. The ſouldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully and louingly rooke *Dion* amongeſt them with their armour and weapon, and putting him in the middeſt of them, led him in this manner out of the city, and did no man hurt, but reprouing their vnthankefulnes and villany vnto all thoſe they met by the way. Then the SYRACVSANS deſpiſing them for their ſmall number, & becauſe they did not firſt ſet vpon them, but truſting on the other ſide to them ſelues for that they were the greater number: they came to aſſayle them, ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily ouercome them in the city, & kill euery man of them. *Dion* being

Dionyſius flyeth from Syracuſa.

Apollocrates the eldeſt ſonne of Dionyſius the younger.

Signes appearing to the Syracuſans.

Dion departeth out of Syracuſa.

being thus in a straight, that of necessitie he must fight against his owne countrymen, or els be slaine himself with his souldiers: he held vp his hands to the SYRACVSANS & very earnestly prayed them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the castle that was full of their enemies, which shewed themselues vpon the walles, & saw what they did. In the end when he saw that he could not pacifie their furie and tumult, and that all the citie was in an vprore with the prittle prattle of these seditious people, who like the sea were caried with the wind: he did yet forbid his souldiers to giue any charge vpon them, who notwithstanding made a countenance with great cries, and ratling of their harnesse, as if they had ment to runne on them. Then the SYRACVSANS durst not abide by it, but ran away like sheepe through the streets & no man chased them. So *Dion* called backe againe his men, & led them directly into the country of the LEONTINES. The the new officers & gouernors of SYRACVSA, perceiuing that the women laughed them to scorne: because they would recouer the shame they had lost, they armed their men a new againe, and did march after *Dion* to fight with him, whom they ouertooke at a riuer, as he was ready to passe ouer. Then began their horsemen a litle to skirmish with *Dions* company. But when they saw he did no more beare with their faults for countries sake, but frowned indeed vpon them, and did set his men in battell ray against them: then they turned their backes againe, with more shame and reproache then before, and so fled vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, & had not many of their men slain. The LEONTINES receiued *Dion* very honorably, tooke the strangers his souldiers, and gaue them pay, and made them free Citizens with them: & sent ambassadors also vnto the SYRACVSANS, to will them to let the strangers haue their pay. The SYRACVSAS on their side also, sent Ambassadors vnto the LEONTINES to accuse *Dion*. So all their confederats were assembled in the citie of the LONTINES, & in that assembly, after both parties had bin heard, to heare what they would say: it was iudged that the SYRACVSANS were to blame. Howbeit they would not stand to the iudgment of their confederats, for they were now grown proud & careles, because they were gouerned by no man, but had Captaines that studied to please them, and were affraid also to displease them. After that, there arriued certen gallies of *Dionysius* at SYRACVSA, of the which *Nypsius* NEAPOLITAN was captaine: which brought victuals & money, to helpe them that were beseged within the castle. These gallies were fought with, & the SYRACVSANS obtained victory, and tooke foure of the tirants gallies with three banks of owers a peece: howbeit they fondly abused their victorie. For they hauing no bodie to command nor rule them, imployed all their ioy, in ryoting and banquetting, and in fond and dissolute meetings, taking so litle care & regard to their busines, that now when they thought the castle was sure their own, they almost lost their citie. For *Nypsius* perceiuing that euery part of the citie was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, but bib and drinke drunke, dauncing after their pypes and howboyes, and that the gouernours them selues were verie glad also to see such feasting, or else for that they dissembled it, and durst not commaund and compell them that were druncke: he wisely tooke the occasion offered him, and scaled the wall which had shut vp the castle, and wanne it, and ouerthrewe it. Then he sent the barbarous souldiers into the citie, and commaunded them to doe with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACVSANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue present remedie, they were so amazed and sodainely set on: for indeed they made a right sacke of the citie. Here men were killed, there they ouerthrewe the wall, in another place they caried away women and litle children prisoners into the castle, weeping and crying out: and lastly, they made the Captaines at their wits end, who could giue no present order, nor haue their men to serue them against their enemies, that came hand ouer head on euery side amongest them. The city being thus miserably in garboile, and the ACRADINE also in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rise againe: euery man thought then with himselfe that *Dion* must be sent for, but yet no man moued it notwithstanding, being ashamed of their vnthankfulnes and ouer great follie that they had committed, in driuing him away. Yet necessitie enforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horsemen and of their confederates that cryed, that they must send for *Dion*, and the PELOPONNESIANS his souldiers, which were with him in the territorie of the LEONTINES. Assoone as the first

The cowardlines of the Syracusans.

The Leontines doe receiue Dion.

The negligence and troubles of the Syracusans

word was heard, and that one had the heart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACVSANS cryed out, there was the poynt: and they were so glad of it, that the water stoode in their eyes for ioy, and besought the gods it would please them to bring him vnto them, they were so desirous to haue him againe. For they called to mind how valiant and resolute he was in danger, and how that he was neuer affrayed, but did encourage them with his manhood in such sorte, that being ledde by him, they were not affrayed to set vppon their enemies. So the confederates for them, sent presently *Archonides* and *Telesides* vnto him: and the noblemen that serued on horsebacke, they sent him also fiue amongst them, beside *Hellanicus*. Who tooke their horses, and poasted for life, so that they came vnto the citie of the LEONTINES about Sunne set, and lighting off from their horses, they went first of all and kneeled downe at *Dions* feete, and weeping, tolde him the miserable estate of the SYRACVSANS. Straight there came diuerse of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN souldiers vnto *Dion*, mistrusting then that there was some newes in hand, to see the earnest and humble sute the Ambassadors of SYRACVSA made vnto him. Wherefore *Dion* tooke them presently with him, and brought them himselfe vnto the Theater, where the common councels and assemblies of the citie were holden. Thither ran euery man to heare what the matter was. Then *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* brought in by *Dion*, tolde openly before the whole assembly the greatnesse of their miserie, and requested the hiered souldiers to come and aide the SYRACVSANS, forgetting the iniurie they had receiued: considering that they had more derely payed for their folly, then they themselues whom they had so iniuried, would haue made them to haue suffered. When they had sayd their minds, there was a great silence through all the Theater: and then *Dion* rose vp, and began to speake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not suffer him to speake: wherefore the hyred souldiers being sorie to see him weepe, prayed him not to trouble himselfe, but to be of good courage. Then *Dion* letting goe the sorrow and griefe he had conceiued, he began to speake vnto them in this manner. My Lords of PELOPONNESVS, and you also the confederats: I haue called you together to consult with you, what you should doe. For my selfe, it were no honestie for me to consult what I should doe now, when the citie of SYRACVSA standeth in perill of destruction: and therfore if I cannot saue it from destruction, yet at the least I will bury my selfe in the fire and ruine of my countrie. But for you, if it please you once more to helpe vs anaduised and more vnfortunate people: you shall by your meanes set the poore distressed city of SYRACVSA again a foot, which is your deed. Or if it be so, that remembring the iniuries the SYRACVSANS haue offred you, you will suffer it to be destroyed: yet I beseech the gods that at the least they will requite your valiantnes, fidelitie and good loue you haue borne me vntill this present, beseeching you to remember *Dion*, who neither forsooke you at any time when you haue bene iniuried, nor his countriemen, when they were in trouble. So going on still with his tale, the mercenary straungers stepped forth with great noise, and prayed him to leade them to ayd SYRACVSA. Then the Ambassadors also that were sent from the SYRACVSANS saluted and embraced them, and prayed the gods to blesse *Dion*, and them, with all the good hap that might be. So when all was whisht and quiet, *Dion* willed them forthwith to go & prepare themselues, and that they should be there ready armed after supper, determining the very same night to go to aide SYRACVSA. But now at SYRACVSA, while day light lasted, *Dionysius* souldiers and captaines did all the mischiefe & villany, they could in the city, & when night came, they retired again into their castle, hauing lost very few of their men. Then the seditious gouernors of the SYRACVSANS took hart againe vnto them, hoping that the enemies would be contented with that they had done: and therefore began a newe to perswade the citizens to let *Dion* alone, and not to receiue him with his mercenary souldiers if they came to ayde him, saying that they themselues were honester men then the strangers to saue their citie, and to defend their libertie without helpe of any other. So other Ambassadors were sent again vnto *Dion*, some from the captaines & gouernors of the citie, to stay them that they should not come, and other also from the horsmen, and noble citizens his frends to hasten his iorney: whereupon by reason of this variance, *Dion* marched very softly at his ease. Now by night, *Dions* enemies within the citie got to the gates, and kept them that *Dion* should not come in. *Nypsius* on the other side made a saly out of the castle, with his mercenary

The Syracusans doe send for Dion againe.

Dions oration vnto his souldiers perswading them to aide the Syracusans

The inconstancy of the Syracusans.

ſouldiers,being better appointed,& a greater number of them then before: and with them he ſtraight plucked down all the wal which they had built before the caſtle, & ran & ſacked the city. At this ſaly out of the caſtle,they did not onely kill the men they met, but women & litle children alſo,& ſtayed no more to ſpoile but to deſtroy & put al to hauock. For,becauſe *Dionyſius* ſaw that he was brought to a ſtraight and deſperat caſe,he bare ſuch mortall malice againſt the SYRACVSANS,that ſith there was no remedy but that he muſt needs forgo his tirannie:he determined to bury it,with the vtter deſtruction and deſolation of their citie. And therfore,to preuent *Dions* aide,and to make a quicke diſpatch to deſtroy all: they came with burning torches in their hands,& did ſet fire on all things they could come to:& farther off,they fired their darts and arrowes, and beſtowed them in euery place of the citie. So,they that fled for the fire, were met withall, and ſlaine in the ſtreets by the ſouldiers, and others alſo that ran into their houſes,were driuen out again by force of fire. For there were a number of houſes that were on fire,and fell downe vpon them that went and came. This miſery was the chiefeſt cauſe why al the SYRACVSANS agreed together to ſet open the gates vnto *Dion*. For when *Dion* heard by the way, that *Dionyſius* ſouldiers were gone againe into the caſtle, he made no great haſt to march forward:but when day was broken,there came certen horſmen from SYRACVSA,vnto *Dion*, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the citie. Then alſo came other of his enemies vnto him and prayed him to make haſt. Now their miſerie increaſing ſtill, and they being brought into hard ſtate: *Heraclides* firſt ſent his brother vnto *Dion*, and then *Theodotes* his Vncle,to pray him to come quickely, and helpe them. For now there was no man left to reſiſt the enemies, becauſe he himſelfe was hurt, and the citie alſo was in manner cleane burnt and deſtroyed. When theſe men came to *Dion*, he was yet about three ſcore furlong from the towne. So he tolde his mercenary ſouldiers the danger that the towne was in,and hauing encoraged them,he led them no more fayer and ſoftly,but running toward the citie,& meeting Meſſengers one of anothers necke as he went,that prayed him to make all the poſſible ſpeed he could. By this meanes, the ſouldiers marching with wonderfull ſpeed & good will together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called HECATOMPEDON. Firſt of all,he ſent the lighteſt armed he had,againſt the enemeis,to the end that the SYRACVSANS ſeing them,they might take a good hart againe to them,whilſt he himſelf in the meane time did ſet all the other heauy armed ſouldiers and cityzens that came to ioyne with him,in battel ray, and did caſt them into diuerſe ſquadrons, of greater length and bredth, and appointed them that ſhould haue the leading of them, to the end that ſetting vpon the enemies in diuerſe places together, they ſhould put them in greater feare and terror. When he had ſet all things in this order, and had made his prayer vnto the gods, and that they ſaw him marching through the citie againſt their enemies: then there roſe ſuch a common noiſe and reioycing, and great ſhout of the ſouldiers,mingled with vowes,prayers,and perſwaſions of all the SYRACVSANS: that they called *Dion* their god and ſauior and the mercenary ſouldiers their bretheren, & fellowe citizens. Furthermore, there was not a SYRACVSAN that ſo much regarded his owne life and perſon,but he ſeemed to be more afrayed of the loſſe of *Dion* onely,then of all the reſt. For they ſaw him the foremoſt man running through the danger of the fire,treading in bloud,and vpon dead bodies that lay ſlaine in the middeſt of the ſtreets. Now indeed to charge the enemies, it was a maruellous dangerous enterpriſe: for they were like mad beaſtes,and ſtood beſide in battell ray alongſt the wall which they had ouerthrown,in a very dangerous place,and hard to win. Howbeit the danger of the fire,did moſt of all trouble and amaze the ſtrangers, and did ſtop their way. For on which ſide ſoeuer they turned them, the houſes round about them, were all on a fire,and they were driuen to march ouer the burnt timber of the houſes,& to runne in great danger of the walls of the houſe ſides that fell on them, and to paſſe through the thicke ſmoke mingled with duſt,& beſide to keepe their rancks with great difficulty. And when they came to aſſaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number,becauſe of the ſtraightnes of the place: howbeit the SYRACVSANS with force of cries & ſhouts did ſo animat, and encourage their men, that at length they draue *Nyſius* and his men to forſake the place. The moſt part of them got into the caſtle, being very nere vnto them: the other that could not get in in time, fledde ſtraglingly vp and downe, whom

Syracuſa ſet on fire by Dionyſius ſouldiers

Dions fight in the citie of Syracuſa.

Nyſius compelled by Dion to flie into the caſtell.

the GRECIAN ſouldiers ſlue, chaſing of them. The extremitie of the time did not preſently ſuffer the Conquerors to reape the frute of their victory, neither the ioyes & imbracings meet for ſo great an exployte. For the SYRACVSANS went euery man home to his owne houſe, to quench the fire, the which could ſcarcely be put out all the night. When day brake, there was none of theſe ſeditious flatterers of the people that durſt tary in the city, but condemning themſelues, they fled to take their fortune. *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* came together of their owne good willes to yeeld themſelues vnto *Dion*, confeſſing that they had done him wrong, and humbly praying him to ſhew himſelfe better vnto them, then they had ſhewed themſelues vnto him: and that it was more honorable for him, being euery way vnmatchable for his vertues, to ſhew himſelf more noble to conquer his anger, thē his vnthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confeſſe themſelues to be farre inferior vnto him. This was the ſumme and effect of *Heraclides* & *Theodotes* ſubmiſſion vnto *Dion*. But his friends did perſwade him not to pardon two ſuch wicked men, who did malice and enuie his honor: and as he would doe the ſtrangers his ſouldiers any pleaſure, that he ſhould put *Heraclides* into their hands, to root out of the cōmon wealth of SYRACVSA, his vile maner to flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as dangerous & great a plague to a citie, as the tyrannie. *Dion* pacifying them, anſwered. Other generals of armies ſaid he, do imploy all their wits in martiall exerciſe & warres: but for himſelfe, that he had of long time ſtudied and learned in the ſchoole of the Academy, to ouercome anger, enuy, & all malice & contention. The noble proofe whereof is moſt ſeene, not in vſing honeſt men and his friendes moderately, but ſhewing mercy alſo vnto his enemies, & forgetting his anger againſt them that haue offended him: and that for his part, he had rather ouercome *Heraclides*, not in riches and wiſdom, but in clemency & iuſtice, for therein chiefly conſiſted excellency, ſith no man elſe in warres can chalenge power and gouernment, but fortune, that ruleth moſt. And though *Heraclides*, ſaid he, through enuy hath done like a wicked man: muſt *Dion* therefore through anger bleamiſh his vertue? Indeed by mans law it is thought meeter to reuenge an iniurie offred, then to doe an iniurie: but nature ſheweth, that they both proceed of one ſelfe imperfection. Now though it be a hard thing to chaunge, and alter the euill diſpoſition of a man, after he is once nuſled in villany: yet is not man of ſo wilde and brutiſh a nature, that his wickednеſſe may not be ouercome with often pleaſures, when he ſeeth that they are continually ſhewed him. *Dion* anſwering his friends thus, he forgaue *Heraclides*, and beginning againe to ſhut vp the caſtle with a wal round about, he commanded the SYRACVSANS euery man of them to cut downe a ſtake, and to bring it thither. So when night was come, ſetting his ſouldiers the ſtrangers in hand withall whilſt the SYRACVSANS ſlept & tooke their eaſe: by morning he had compaſſed the caſtle round about with a pale. The next day, they that ſaw the greatnes and ſodaine expedition of this work, wondred much at it, as well the enemies, as alſo the Citizens & when he had buried the dead bodies, & redeemed them that were taken priſoners, (which were not much leſſe then two thouſand perſons) he called a common councell of the citie, in the which *Heraclides* made a motion, that *Dion* ſhould be choſen generall of SYRACVSA, with abſolute power & authoritie, both by ſea and land. The chiefeſt men of the city liked very well of it, & would haue had the people to haue paſſed it. But the rabble of theſe mariners, and other mechanicall people liuing by their labor, would not ſuffer *Heraclides* to be put from his Admiralſhip, but fell to mutinie, thinking that though *Heraclides* did them no pleaſure els, yet he would euer be a more popular man then *Dion*, and pleaſe the common people better. *Dion* granted their deſire, & made *Heraclides* Admirall againe of the ſea: howbeit he did anger them as much another way, whē he did not only reiect the earneſt ſute they made to haue the law Agraria paſſe for diuiſion of lands in equalitie amongſt them, but did alſo cancell & reuoke all that had bene done before. Wherfore *Heraclides* remaining at MESSINA, began thenceforth to enter into new practiſes againe, & to flatter the ſouldiers & ſea-faring men he had brought thither with him & to ſtirre them vp to rebel againſt *Dion*, ſaying that he would make himſelfe tirant: and himſelfe in the meane time ſecretly practiſed with *Dionyſius*, by meanes of a SPARTAN called *Pharax*. The nobleſt man of the SYRACVSANS miſtruſted it, & thereupon there fell out great mutiny in their campe, whereby alſo followed great famine in SYRACVSA: ſo that *Dion* was

Dions mercy to his enemies & the great profit he tooke by ſtudy, in the Academy at Athēs

No mā ſhould be worſe by anothers wickednеſſe.

The forwardnes of the Syracuſans againſt Dion.

Heraclides againe ſtirreth vp the Syracuſans, to rebell againſt Dion.

at

at such a straight, that he could not tell what to say to it, and was reproued of all his friends for that he had againe preferred to great authoritie against himselfe, so vntractable a man and so malicious & wicked a person as *Heraclides* was. Now when *Pharax* lay in campe with an army neare vnto the citie of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES: *Dion* did bring the army of the SYRACVSANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him til an other time. But through *Heraclides*, & the sea-mens crying out, that said he would not try this war by battell, but would draw it out in length because he would be still generall: he was forced to giue battell, and lost it. Howbeit the ouerthrow was not great, and hapned rather because his men were at a iarre among themselues by reason of their faction and diuision, then otherwise. *Dion* therfore prepared to fight another battell, & gathered his men together againe encouraging them, when euen at twy-light word was brought him that *Heraclides* with all his fleet was vnder saile towards SYRACVSA meaning to take the citie, and to shut *Dion* & his army out of it. Wherefore he presently tooke with him the chiefest men of authoritie in the citie, and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such hast, that they were at the gates of SYRACVSA the next morning by nine of the clocke, hauing ridden seuen hundreth furlong. *Heraclides* that had sailed with all the possible speede he could to preuent him with his shippes, perceiuing that he came short, he turned sayle, and taking seaes at all aduenture by chance he met with *Gæsylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who told him he was sent from LACEDÆMON, to be generall to the SICILIANS in this warre, as *Gylippus* was sent at other times before. He was glad he had met with him to haue such a remedie and defence against *Dion*, & boasted of it vnto the friends & confederats of SYRACVSA, & sent an Herauld before vnto the SYRACVSANS, summoning them to receiue *Gæsylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who was sent to be their generall. *Dion* made answer that the SYRACVSANS had gouerners enough, and though that their affaires did of necessitie require a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine, yet that himselfe was he, for that he was made free in SPARTA. Then *Gæsylus* perceiuing he could not obtaine to be generall, he went vnto SYRACVSA, & came to *Dion*, & there made *Heraclides* and him frends againe, by the great and solemne othes he made: & because *Gæsylus* also sware, that he himselfe would be reuenged of him for *Dions* sake, & punish *Heraclides*, if euer after he did once more conspire against him. After that the SYRACVSANS brake vp their armie by sea, because it did them then no seruice, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, & further did also breed sedition and trouble amongst their gouernors: and so went to lay straighter siege to the castle then euer they did, and built vp the wall againe, which the enemies had ouerthrowen. Then *Dionysius* sonne seeing no aide to come to him from any parte, and that victuals failed them, and further, that the souldiers began to mutine, being vnable to keepe them: he fell to a composition with *Dion*, and deliuered vp the castle into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it: and so tooke his mother and his sisters of *Dion*, and put them abord vpon fiue gallies, with the which he went vnto his father through the safe conduct of *Dion*. There was not a man at that time in all SYRACVSA, but was there to see this sight, or if by chaunce there were any absent, the other that were there called them thither as loud as they could crie, saying, that they did not see the goodliest daye and sunne shine, which the citie of SYRACVSA might see then at her rising, the same being now restored againe to her former libertie. If vntill this present day they doe reckon the flying of *Dionysius*, for one of the rarest examples of fortunes chaunge, as one of the greatest and notablest things that euer was: what ioy thinke we had they that draue him out, and what pleasure had they with themselues, that with the least meane that could be possible, did destroy the greatest tirannie in the world? So when *Apollocrates Dionysius* sonne was imbarked, and that *Dion* was entred into the castle: the women within the castle would not tarie till he came into the house, but went to meete him at the gates, *Aristomachè* leading *Dions* son in her hand, and *Areté* following her weeping, being very fearefull how she should call and salute her husband, hauing lyen with another man. *Dion* first spake to his sister, and afterwardes to his sonne: and then *Aristomachè* offering him *Areté*, said vnto him. Since thy banishment ô *Dion*, we haue led a miserable & captiue life: but now that thou art returned home with victorie, thou hast rid vs out of care and thraldome, and hast also made vs againe bolde to lift vp our heads, sauing her here, whom I wretched creature haue by force (thy selfe alive)

Gæsylus Lacedæmonian cõmeth to Syracusa, to be generall of the Syracusans.

Gæsylus maketh Dion and Heraclides friends againe

The castle of Syracusa surrendred vnto Dion.

The words of Aristomachè vnto Dion, at his entrie into the castle of Syracusa.

seene maried vnto another man. Now then, sith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what iudgement giuest thou of this compulsion? Howe wilt thou haue her to salute thee, as her Vncle, or husband? As *Aristomache* spake these wordes, the water stoode in *Dions* eyes: so, he gently & louingly taking his wife *Arete* by the hand, he gaue her his sonne, and willed her to goe home to his house where he then remained, and so deliuered the castle vnto the SYRACVSANS. He hauing this prosperous successe and victorie, would not reape any present benefite or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed himselfe thankefull to his friendes, giuen great gifts also vnto the confederates of SYRACVSA, and specially, before he had giuen euerie one of his friends in the citie, and his mercenarie souldiers the strangers, some honorable reward according to their deserts, exceeding his habilitie with magnanimitie of minde. When he himselfe liued soberly, and kept a moderate dyet, contenting him with any thing that came first to hand. Euery man that heard of it, wondred at him, considering that not onely all SICILIA and CARTHAGE, but generally all GREECE looked vpon his great prosperitie and good fortune, thinking no man liuing greater then himselfe, nor that any Captaine euer attained vnto such fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come vnto. This notwithstanding *Dion* liued as temperately and modestly in his apparell, and also in his number of seruantes, and seruice at his bord, as if he had liued with *Plato* in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not bene conuersant amongest souldiers and Captaines, which haue no other comfort nor pleasure for all the paines and daungers they suffer continually, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. *Plato* wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But *Dio*, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one citie (to wit, the Academy) and would haue no other iudges nor lookers into his doings, but the schollers of the same: who neither wondred at his great exploites, valiantnesse, nor victorie, but onely considered if he did wisely and modestly vse the fortune he had, and could so keepe himselfe within modest boundes, hauing done so great things. Furthermore, touching the grauetie he had when he spake to any bodie, and his inflexible seueritie which he vsed towards the people, he determined neuer to alter or chaunge it: notwithstanding that his affaires required him to shew courtesie and lenitie, and that *Plato* also reproued him for it, and wrote, that seueritie and obstinacie (as we sayed before) was the companion of solitarinesse. But it seemeth to me that *Dion* did vse it for two respectes. The first, because nature had not framed him, curteous and affable to winne men: secondly he did what he could to drawe the SYRACVSANS to the contrarie, who were ouer licencious, & spoiled with too much flattery: for *Heraclides* began againe to be busie with him. First of all, *Dion* sending for him to come to counsel, he sent him word he would not come: and that being a priuate citizen, he would be at the common councell amongest others when any was kept. Afterwardes he accused him, for that he had not ouerthrowen & rased the castle: and also because he would not suffer the people to breake open the tombe of *Dionysius* the elder, to cast out his bodie: & because he sent for counsellers to CORINTH, and disdained to make the citizens his companions in the gouernment of the cõmon wealth. In deede to confesse a troth, *Dion* had sent for certen CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to establish the forme of a common wealth, which he had in his minde, when they were come. For his minde was vtterly to breake the gouernment of *Democratia*, (to wit, the absolute gouernment and authoritie of the people in a citie, not being as it were a common wealth, but rather a fayer and market where things are solde, as *Plato* saieth) and to establish the LACONIAN or CRETAN common wealth, mingled with a princely, & popular gouernment: and that should be, *Aristocratia*, to wit, the number of a fewe noble men that should gouerne and direct the chiefest and waightiest matters of state. And for that purpose, he thought the CORINTHIANS the meetest men to help him to frame this cõmon wealth, cõsidering that they gouerned their afaires more by choosing a few number of the nobilitie, then otherwise, and that they did not referre many things to the voice of the people. And because he was assured that *Heraclides* would be against him in it all that he could, and that otherwise he knew he was a seditious, a troublesome, and light headed fellow: he then suffered them to kill him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, & so they went home to his house, and slue him there. The murther of *Heraclides* was much misliked of the SYRACVSANS: howbeit *Dion* caused him to be honorably buried, and brought his bodie to the ground, followed with all his armie.

Dion taketh his wife Arete againe, which had forcibly bene maried to another man.

Dions temperance and thriftines.

Heraclides conspireth againe against Dion.

Dion sent to the Corinthians to establish a cõmon wealth to the Syracusans.
Dion ment to abolish Democratia, and to aduance Aristocratia.
The authoritie of the people, resembled by Plato to a faire or market.
The common wealth of the Corinthians.
The murther of Heraclides

Then

Then he made an oration himselfe to the people, and told them, that it was impossible to auoyde sedition and trouble in the citie, so long as *Dion* & *Heraclides* did both gouerne together. At that time there was one *Callippus* an ATHENIAN, a familiar of *Dions*, who (as *Plato* saith) came not acquainted with *Dion* through the occasion of his study in Philosophie: but because he had bene his guide to bring him to see the secret misteries and ceremonies of the sacrifices, and for such other like common talke and companie. This notwithstanding, *Callippus* did accompany him in all this warre, and was very much honoured of him, and was one of the first of all his friendes that entred into SYRACVSA with him, and did valiantly behaue himselfe in all the battels and conflicts that were fought. This *Callippus* seeing that *Dions* best & chiefest friends were all slaine in this warre, & that *Heraclides* also was dead, that the people of SYRACVSA had no more any head, and besides, that the souldiers which were with *Dion* did loue him better then any other man: he became the vnfaithfullest man and the veriest villain of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend *Dion*, he should vndoubtedly come to haue the whole gouernement of all SICILIA, and as some do report, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twentie talents for his labour to commit this murther. So he began to practise, to bribe, and to subborne certaine of the mercenarie souldiers against *Dion*, and that by a marueilous craftie and suttle fetch. For, vsing commonly to report vnto *Dion* certaine seditious wordes, spoken peraduenture by the souldiers indeede, or else deuised of his owne head: he wan such a libertie & boldnesse by the trust *Dion* had in him, that he might safely say what he would to any of the souldiers, and boldly speake euill of *Dion* by his owne commaundement: to the end he might thereby vnderstand the better whether any of the souldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this pollicy, *Callippus* straight sound out those that bare *Dion* grudge, & that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conspiracy. And if any mã vnwilling to geue eare vnto him, went and told *Dion*, that *Callippus* would haue intised him to conspire against him: *Dion* was not angry with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had commaunded him to do. Now as this treason was practising against *Dion*, there appeared a great and monstruous ghost or spirit vnto him. By chaunce sitting late one euening all alone, in a gallerie he had, and being in a deepe thought with himselfe, sodainly he heard a noyse: and therwith casting his eye to the end of his gallery, (being yet day light) he saw a monstrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies shewed in playes, and saw her sweeping of the house with a broome. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his friends, and told them what a sight he had seene: and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were a man beside himselfe, fearing least the spirite would come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithstanding he neuer heard more afterwardes. Howbeit shortly after, his sonne being growen to mans state, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he cast himselfe headlong downe from the toppe of the house, and so was slayne. *Dion* being in this state, *Callippus* went on still with his treason, and spread a rumour abroad among the SYRACVSANS, that *Dion* seeing himselfe now destitute of children, was determined to send for *Apollocrates*, *Dionysius* sonne, to make him his heire and successour, being cosin germaine to his wife, and his sisters daughters sonne. Then began *Dion*, his wife, and sister to mistrust *Callippus* practises, and they were told of it by diuers sundry and manifest proofes. But *Dion* being sory (as I suppose) for *Heraclides* death, and inwardly taking that murther in very euill part, as a fowle blot to his life and doings: he sayd he had rather dye a thousand deathes, and to offer his throate to be cut to any that would, rather then he would liue in that miserie, to be compelled to take heede as well of his friends, as of his enemies. *Callippus* then seeing the women so busie and inquisitiue of his doings, and feating least he should be bewrayed, he came weeping vnto them, and told them it was nothing, and that he was ready to assure them of it by any manner of way they would deuise. The women then willed him to sweare by the great othe, which was in this manner. He that must take this othe, commeth into the temple of the goddesses *Thesmophores*, which are, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. And after certaine sacrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddesse *Proserpina*, holding a burning torch in his hand and sweareth in this manner. *Callippus* hauing done all these ceremonies, and made the oth in forme as I haue told you: he made so light account of the goddesses, that he taried no longer

Callippus Athenian, conspireth against Dion.

Note the suttletie of tale bearers.

A spirite appeared vnto Dion.

The lamentable death of Dions sonne.

Apollocrates Dionysius sonne.

The great othe of the Syracusans.

to do the murther he had determined, but till the very feast day of the goddesse should come, by whom he had sworne: and slue him on the day of the feast of *Proserpina*. Now, I do not thinke that he chose that day of set purpose, knowing right well that he did alwayes sinne against her, what time soeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes specially admitted to the societie and brotherhood with him, of the fraternitie and misteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. Of this conspiracie there were diuers. For, as *Dion* was set in his chamber talking with his friends where there were many beds to sit on: some compassed the house round about, others came to the doores and windowes of his chamber, and they that should do the deede to dispatch him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN souldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any sword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the doores after them, and locked them in, least any man should come out: and they that were within, fell vpon *Dion*, and thought to haue strangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a sword. Neuer a man that was within, durst open the doores, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought euery man to saue their owne liues, by suffering him to be killed, and therefore durst not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, & did nothing. At length there was one *Lycon* a SYRACVSAN, that gaue one of the ZACYNTHIAN souldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut *Dions* throate, as a weather they had holden a long time in their hands, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they cast his sister, and wife, great with child, into prison, and there the poore Lady was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwise to do any thing with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, because *Callippus* began then a litle to grow to some trouble. For at the first, after he had slaine *Dion*, he bare all the whole sway for a time, and kept the citie of SYRACVSA in his hands: and wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immortall gods he was most affrayed of, hauing defiled his hands in so damnable a treason. And therfore, in my opinion, it was not euill spoken, that ATHENS is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the best whē they giue themselues to goodnesse, and the wickedest people also, when they dispose themselues to euill: as their country also bringeth forth the best honny that is, & hemlocke in like maner that quickely dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not suffer this treason and wicked man to raigne long, hauing come to the gouernement of a realme by so damnable a murther: but shortly after they gaue him his payment he had deserued. For *Callippus* going to take a litle town called CATANA, he lost the citie of SYRACVSA: whereupon he sayd that he had lost a citie, and got a* cheese knife. Afterwardes he went to assaile the MESSENIANS, and there he lost a great number of his men, and amongst them were slaine those that killed *Dion*. Now *Callippus* finding no citie in all SICILIA, that would receiue him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of RHEGIO in ITALIE. There being in great distresse and neede of all things, and not able to maintaine his souldiers: he was slaine by *Leptines*, and *Polyperchon*, with the selfe same dagger wherewith *Dion* before was slayne: the which was knowen by the fashion, being short after the LACONIAN daggers, and also by the workemanship vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of *Callippus*. Now for *Aristomache* and *Arete*, they were taken out of prison: and *Icetes* SYRACVSAN, that sometimes had bene one of *Dions* friends, tooke them home to his owne house, & vsed them very well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwardes was woone and corrupted by *Dions* enemies. So he caused a ship to be prouided for them, and bare them in hand that he would send them into PELOPONNESVS: but he gaue them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them ouer bord into the sea. Some say, that the two women, and the litle yong boy, were cast aliue into the sea. But this reward of the sinfull act that he committed, returned againe vpon himselfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by *Timoleon* that put him to death: and besides, the SYRACVSANS did also kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulnesse he had shewed vnto *Dion*.

Dion slayne by Callippus Athenian.

Dions wife brought to bed of a sonne in prison.

The punishment of Callippus.

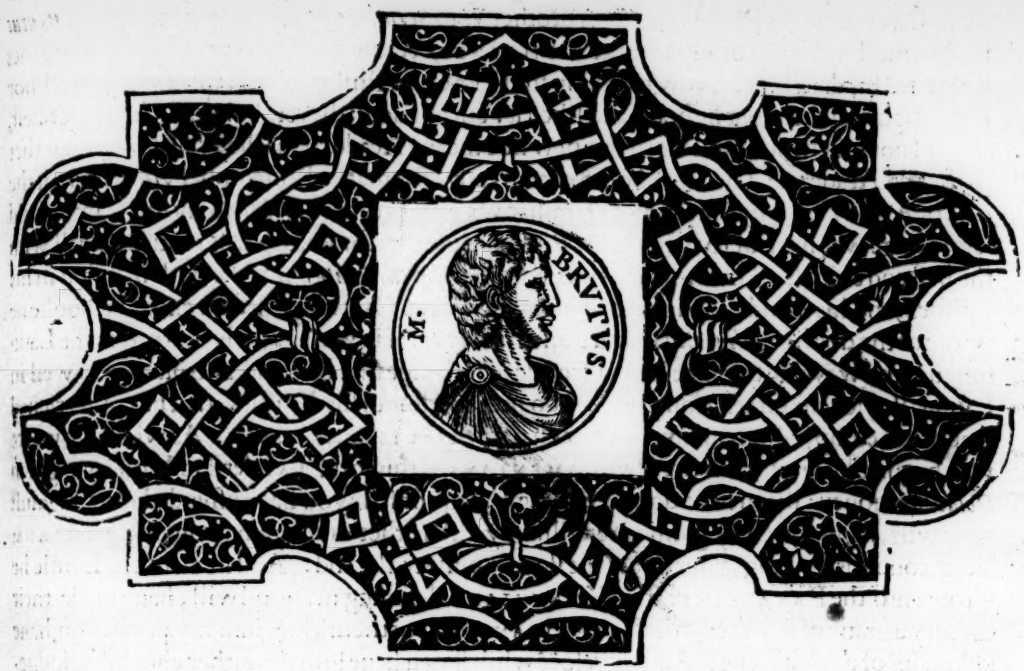
* *Καπάνη in corrupt speach signifieth a knife to scrape or cut cheese, which is truelier called ταυάκη. Iulius Pollux. lib. 10. cap. 24.*

Callippus slaine with the same dagger that slue Dion.

The cruelties of the Syracusans vnto Dion and his posterity.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Brutus.



Marcus Brutus came of that *Iunius Brutus*, for whom the auncient ROMAINES made his ſtatue of braſſe to be ſet vp in the Capitol, with the images of the kings, holding a naked ſword in his hãd: becauſe he had valiantly put down the TARQVINES frõ their kingdome of ROME. But that *Iunius Brutus* being of a ſower ſtearne nature, not ſoftned by reaſon, being like vnto ſword blades of too hard a tẽper: was ſo ſubiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrants, that for their ſakes he cauſed his owne ſonnes to be executed. But this *Marcus Brutus* in contrary maner, whoſe life we preſently write, hauing framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue and ſtudy of Philoſophy, and hauing imployed his wit, which was gentle and conſtant, in attempting of great things: me thinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his very enemies which wiſh him moſt hurt, becauſe of his conſpiracie againſt *Iulius Cæſar*: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conſpiracie, they referre it wholly vnto *Brutus*, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto *Caſſius*, who was *Brutus* familiar friend, but not ſo well giuen, and conditioned as he. His mother *Seruilia*, it is thought came of the bloud of *Seruilius Hala*, who, when *Spurius Melius* went about to make himſelfe king, and to bring it to paſſe had entiſed the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger and hid it cloſe vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto him, and preſſed as neare him as he could: wherefore *Melius* ſtouping downe with his head, to heare what he would ſay, *Brutus* ſtabbed him in with his dagger, and ſlue him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, ſome for the euil wil & malice they bare vnto *Brutus*, becauſe of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, do maintaine that he came not of *Iunius Brutus* that draue out the TARQVINES: for there were none left of his race, conſidering that his two ſonnes were executed for conſpiracie with the TARQVINES: and that *Marcus Brutus* came of a meane houſe, the which was raiſed to honour and office in the common wealth, but of late time. *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher writeth the contrarie, that *Iunius Brutus* indeede ſlue two of his ſonnes which

The parentage of Brutus.

Brutus maners.

Seruilia M. Brutus mother.

Brutus parentage by his father.

to do the murther he had determined, but till the very feast day of the goddesse should come, by whom he had sworne: and slue him on the day of the feast of *Proserpina*. Now, I do not thinke that he chose that day of set purpose, knowing right well that he did alwayes sinne against her, what time soeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes specially admitted to the societie and brotherhood with him, of the fraternitie and misteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. Of this conspiracie there were diuers. For, as *Dion* was set in his chamber talking with his friends where there were many beds to sit on: some compassed the house round about, others came to the doores and windowes of his chamber, and they that should do the deede to dispatch him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN souldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any sword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the doores after them, and locked them in, least any man should come out: and they that were within, fell vpon *Dion*, and thought to haue strangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a sword. Neuer a man that was within, durst open the doores, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought euery man to saue their owne liues, by suffering him to be killed, and therefore durst not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, & did nothing. At length there was one *Lycon* a SYRACVSAN, that gaue one of the ZACYNTHIAN souldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut *Dions* throate, as a weather they had holden a long time in their hands, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they cast his sister, and wife, great with child, into prison, and there the poore Lady was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwise to do any thing with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, because *Callippus* began then a litle to grow to some trouble. For at the first, after he had slaine *Dion*, he bare all the whole sway for a time, and kept the citie of SYRACVSA in his hands: and wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immortall gods he was most affrayed of, hauing defiled his hands in so damnable a treason. And therfore, in my opinion, it was not euill spoken, that ATHENS is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the best whē they giue themselues to goodnesse, and the wickedest people also, when they dispose themselues to euill: as their country also bringeth forth the best honny that is, & hemlocke in like maner that quickely dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not suffer this treason and wicked man to raigne long, hauing come to the gouernement of a realme by so damnable a murther: but shortly after they gaue him his payment he had deserued. For *Callippus* going to take a litle town called CATANA, he lost the citie of SYRACVSA: whereupon he sayd that he had lost a citie, and got a* cheese knife. Afterwardes he went to assaile the MESSENIANS, and there he lost a great number of his men, and amongst them were slaine those that killed *Dion*. Now *Callippus* finding no citie in all SICILIA, that would receiue him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of RHEGIO in ITALIE. There being in great distresse and neede of all things, and not able to maintaine his souldiers: he was slaine by *Leptines*, and *Polyperchon*, with the selfe same dagger wherewith *Dion* before was slayne: the which was knowen by the fashion, being short after the LACONIAN daggers, and also by the workemanship vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of *Callippus*. Now for *Aristomache* and *Arete*, they were taken out of prison: and *Icetes* SYRACVSAN, that sometimes had bene one of *Dions* friends, tooke them home to his owne house, & vsed them very well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwardes was wonne and corrupted by *Dions* enemies. So he caused a ship to be prouided for them, and bare them in hand that he would send them into PELOPONNESVS: but he gaue them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them ouer bord into the sea. Some say, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were cast aliue into the sea. But this reward of the sinfull act that he committed, returned againe vpon himselfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by *Timoleon* that put him to death: and besides, the SYRACVSANS did also kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulnesse he had shewed vnto *Dion*.

Dion slayne by Callippus Athenian.

Dions wife brought to bed of a sonne in prison.

The punishment of Callippus.

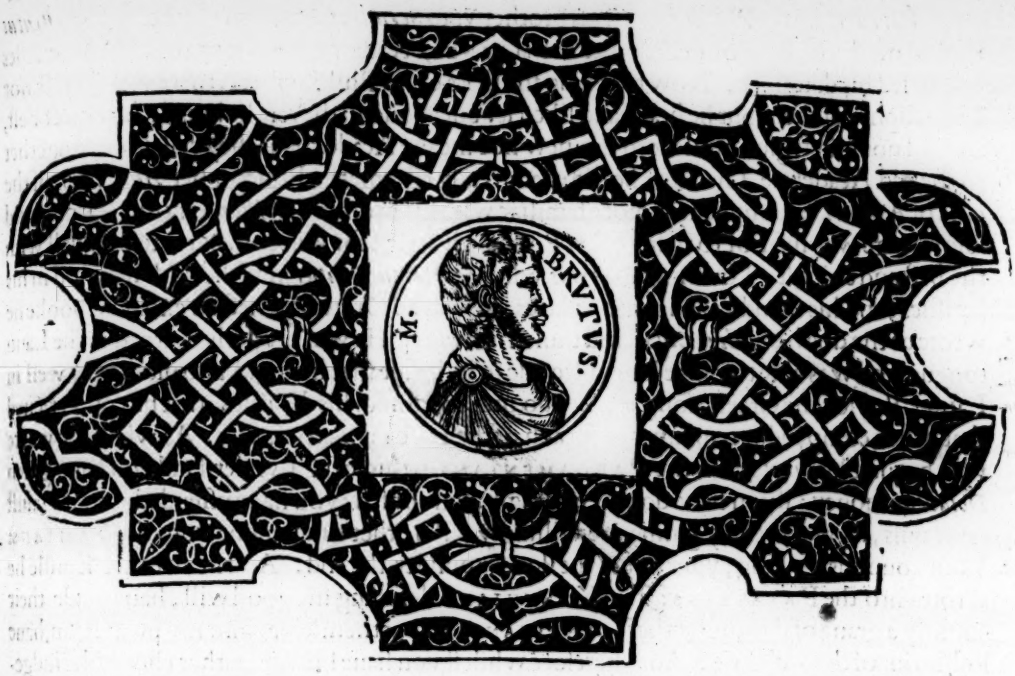
**Καρτάνιν* in corrupt speach signifieth a knife to scrape or cut cheese, which is truelier called τυρόκνημ. Iulius Pollux, lib. 10. cap. 24.*

Callippus slaine with the same dagger that slue Dion.

The cruelties of the Syracusans vnto Dion and his posteritie.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Brutus.



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were men growen, as the hiſtories do declare: howbeit that there was a third ſonne, being but a litle child at that time, from whom the houſe and familie afterwardes was deriued: and furthermore, that there were in his time certaine famous men of that familie, whoſe ſtature and countenaunce reſembled much the image of *Iunius Brutus*. And thus much for this matter. *Marcus Cato* the Philoſopher was brother vnto *Seruilia M. Brutus* mother: whom *Brutus* ſtudied moſt to follow of all the other ROMAINES, becauſe he was his vncle, and afterwardes he maried his daughter. Now touching the GRECIAN Philoſophers, there was no ſect nor Philoſopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but aboue all the reſt, he loued *Platoes* ſect beſt, and did not much giue himſelfe to the new nor meane Academie as they call it, but altogether to the old Academie. Therefore he did euer greatly eſteeme the Philoſopher *Antiochus*, of the citie of ASCALON: but he was more familiar with his brother *Ariſton*, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other Philoſophers, but for wiſedom & curteſie, equall with the beſt and chiefeſt. Touching *Empylus*, whom *Marcus Brutus* himſelfe doth mention in his Epiſtles, and his friends alſo in many places: he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, and tituled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latin tongue, and was able to make long diſcourſe in it, beſide that he could alſo plead very well in Latin. But for the Greeke tongue, they do note in ſome of his Epiſtles, that he counterfeited that briefe compendious manner of ſpeach of the LACEDÆMONIANS. As when the warre was begun, he wrote vnto the PARGAMENIANS in this ſort. I vnderſtand you haue giuen *Dolabella* money: if you haue done it willingly, you confeſſe you haue offended me: if againſt your wils, ſhew it then by giuing me willingly. An other time againe vnto the SAMIANS: Your councels be long, your doings be ſlow, conſider the end. And in an other Epiſtle he wrote vnto the PATAREINS: The XANTHIANS deſpiſing my good will, haue made their country a graue of diſpaire: & the PATAREIANS that put themſelues into my protection, haue loſt no iot of their libertie. And therefore whileſt you haue libertie, either chooſe the iudgement of the PATAREIANS, or the fortune of the XANTHIANS. Theſe were *Brutus* maner of letters which were honored for their briefeneſſe. So *Brutus* being but a young ſtripling went into CYPRVS with his vncle *Cato*, who was ſent againſt *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, who hauing ſlaine himſelf, *Cato* ſtaying for certaine neceſſary buſines he had in the Ile of RHODES, had already ſent * *Caninius*, one of his friendes before to keepe his treaſure and goods. But *Cato* fearing he would be light fingered, wrote vnto *Brutus* forthwith to come out of PAMPHYLIA, (where he was but newly recouered of a ſickeneſſe) into CYPRVS, the which he did. The which iourney he was ſory to take vpon him, both for reſpect of *Caninius* ſhame, whom Cato as he thought wrongfully ſlaundered: as alſo becauſe he thought this office too meane and vnmeete for him, being a young man, and giuen to his booke. This notwithſtanding, he behaued himſelfe ſo honeſtly and carefully, that *Cato* did greatly commende him: and after all the goodes were ſold and conuerted into ready money, he tooke the moſt part of it, and returned withall to ROME. Afterwardes when the Empire of ROME was deuided into factions, and that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* both were in armes one againſt the other, and that all the Empire of ROME was in garboyle and vprore: it was thought then that *Brutus* would take part with *Cæſar*, becauſe *Pompey* not long before had put his father to death. But *Brutus* preferring the reſpect of his country and common wealth, before priuate affection, and perſwading himſelfe that *Pompey* had iuſter cauſe to enter into armes then *Cæſar*: he then tooke part with *Pompey*, though oftetimes meeting him before, he thought ſcorne to ſpeake to him, thinking it a great ſinne and offence in him, to ſpeake to the murtherer of his father. But then ſubmitting himſelfe vnto *Pompey*, as vnto the head of the common wealth: he ſailed into SICILIA, Lieutenant vnder *Seſtius* that was gouernour of that prouince. But when he ſaw that there was no way to riſe, nor to do any noble exployts, and that *Cæſar* & *Pompey* were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of himſelfe vnſent for into MACEDON, to be partaker of the daunger. It is reported that *Pompey* being glad, and wondering at his comming when he ſaw him come to him: he roſe out of his chaire, and went and imbraced him before them all, and vſed him as honourably, as he could haue done the nobleſt man that tooke his part. *Brutus* being in *Pompeys* campe, did nothing but ſtudie all day long, except he were with *Pompey*, & not onely the

Seruilia Catoes ſiſter.

Brutus ſtudies.

Brutus followed the old Academikes.

Empylus an Orator, wrote a booke of Cæſars death, and intituled it, Brutus.

Brutus maner of writing his Epiſtles in Greeke.

A briefe letter to the Samians.

Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus.

* *Or Canidius.*

Brutus taketh part with Pompey.

the dayes before, but the selfe same day also before the great battell was fought in the fields of PHARSALIA, where *Pompey* was ouerthrowen. It was in the middest of summer, and the sunne was very hot, besides that the campe was lodged neare vnto marishes: and they that caried his tent, caried long before they came, whereupon, being very weake with trauell, scant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others slept, he thought what would happen the morrow after, he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long till night, writing a breuiarie of *Polybius*. It is reported that *Cæsar* did not forget him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they should be ware they killed not *Brutus* in fight, and if he yeelded willingly vnto them, that then they should bring him vnto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, then that they should let him goe, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for *Seruiliaes* sake, *Brutus* mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with *Seruilia*, who was extremelie in loue with him. And because *Brutus* was borne in that time when their loue was hotteſt, he perswaded himselfe that he begat him. For proofe hereof the report goeth, that when the waightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracie of *Catiline*, which was likely to haue vndone the citie of ROME, *Cæsar* and *Cato* sate neare together, and were both of contrarie mindes to each other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered *Cæsar* a letter. *Cæsar* tooke it, and read it softly to himselfe: but *Cato* cried out vpon *Cæsar*, and sayd he did not well to receiue aduertisements from enemies. Whereupon the whole Senate began to murmure at it. Then *Cæsar* gaue *Cato* the letter as it was sent him, who read it, and founde that it was a loue letter sent from his sister *Seruilia*: thereupon he cast it againe to *Cæsar*, and sayd vnto him, hold, dronken soppe. When he had done so, he went on with his talke, and maintayned his opinion as he did before: so commonly was the loue of *Seruilia* knowen which she bare vnto *Cæsar*. So, after *Pompeys* ouerthrow at the battell of PHARSALIA, and that he fled to the sea: when *Cæsar* came to besiege his campe, *Brutus* went out of the campe gates vnseene of any man, and lept into a marish full of water and reedes. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of LARISSA: from whence he wrote vnto *Cæsar*, who was very glad that he had scaped, and sent for him to come vnto him. When *Brutus* was come, he did not onely pardon him, but also kept him alwayes about him, and did as much honour and esteeme him, as any man he had in his companie. Now no man could tell whither *Pompey* was fled, and all were maruellous desirous to know it: wherefore *Cæsar* walking a good way alone with *Brutus*, he did aske him which way he thought *Pompey* tooke. *Cæsar* perceiuing by his talke that *Brutus* gessed certainly whither *Pompey* should be fled: he left all other wayes, and tooke his iourney directly towardes ÆGYPT. *Pompey*, as *Brutus* had coniectured, was indeede fled into ÆGYPT, but there he was villanously slayne. Furthermore, *Brutus* obtained pardon of *Cæsar* for *Cassius*: and defending also the king* of LYBIAES cause, he was ouerlayed with a world of accusations against him, howbeit intreating for him, he saued him the best part of his realme and kingdome. They say also that *Cæsar* sayd, when he heard *Brutus* plead: I know not, sayd he, what this young man would, but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as *Brutus* grauitie and constant minde would not graunt all men their requestes that sued vnto him, but being moued with reason and discretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honest: euen so when it was moued to follow any matter, he vsed a kinde of forcible and vehement perswasion that calmed not, till he had obtained his desire. For by flattering of him, a man could neuer obtaine any thing at his handes, nor make him to do that which was vniust. Further he thought it not meete for a man of calling and estimation, to yeeld vnto the requestes and intreaties of a shamelesse and importunate suter, requesting things vnmeete: the which notwithstanding, some men do for shame, because they dare deny nothing, and therefore he was wont to say, that he thought them euill brought vp in their youth, that could deny nothing. Now when *Cæsar* tooke sea to go into AFRICKE, against *Cato* and *Scipio*, he left *Brutus* gouernour of GAVLE in ITALIE, on this side of the Alpes, which was a great good hap for that prouince. For where others were spoyled and polled by the insolencie and couetousnesse of the gouernours, as if it had

Brutus studied in Pompeys campe.

Iulius Cæsar carefull of Brutus safetie.

Iulius Cæsar loued Seruilia, Brutus mother.

Brutus saued by Iulius Cæsar, after the battell of Pharsalia.

** This king was Iuba: how beit it is true also, that Brutus made intercession for Deiotarius king of Galatia: who was deprined notwithstading of the most part of his country, by Cæsar and therefore this place were best to be vnderstãded, by Deiotarus.*

Cæsar made Brutus gouernour of Gaule on this side the mountaines.

bene a country conquered: *Brutus* was a comfort and reſt vnto their former troubles and miſeries they ſuſtained. But he referred it wholly vnto *Cæſars* grace and goodneſſe. For, when *Cæſar* returned out of AFFRICKE, and progreſſed vp and downe ITALIE: the things that pleaſed him beſt to ſee, were the cities vnder *Brutus* charge and gouernement, and *Brutus* himſelfe, who honoured *Cæſar* in perſon, and whoſe companie alſo *Cæſar* greatly eſteemed. Now there were diuers ſortes of Prætorſhippes at ROME, and it was looked for, that *Brutus* or *Caſſius* would make ſute for the chiefeſt Prætorſhip, which the called the Prætorſhip of the citie: becauſe he that had that office, was as a Iudge to miniſter iuſtice vnto the citizens. Therfore they ſtroue one againſt the other, though ſome ſay that there was ſome litle grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did ſet them further out, though they were allyed together. For *Caſſius* had maried *Iunia*, *Brutus* ſiſter. Others ſay, that this contention betwixt them came by *Cæſar* himſelfe, who ſecretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauour. So their ſute for the Prætorſhip was ſo followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put an other in ſute of law. *Brutus* with his vertue and good name contended againſt many noble exploits in armes, which *Caſſius* had done againſt the PARTHIANS. So *Cæſar* after he had heard both their obiections, he told his friends with whom he conſulted about this matter: *Caſſius* cauſe is the iuſter, ſayd he, but *Brutus* muſt be firſt preferred. Thus *Brutus* had the firſt Prætorſhip, and *Caſſius* the ſecond: who thanked not *Cæſar* ſo much for the Prætorſhip he had, as he was angry with him for that he had loſt. But *Brutus* in many other things taſted of the benefite of *Cæſars* fauour in any thing he requeſted. For if he had liſted, he might haue bene one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friendes, and of greateſt authoritie and credit about him. Howbeit *Caſſius* friendes did diſſwade him from it (for *Caſſius* and he were not yet reconciled together ſithence their firſt contention and ſtrife for the Prætorſhip) and prayed him to beware of *Cæſars* ſweet intiſements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauours: the which they ſayd *Cæſar* gaue him, not to honour his vertue, but to weaken his conſtant minde, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now *Cæſar* on the other ſide did not truſt him ouermuch, nor was not without tales brought vnto him againſt him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority, & friends. Yet on the other ſide alſo, he truſted his good nature, & fayre conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that *Antonius* and *Dolabella* did conſpire againſt him: he aunſwered, that theſe fat long haired men made him not affrayed, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that, by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. At an other time alſo when one accuſed *Brutus* vnto him, and bad him beware of him: What, ſayd he againe, clapping his hand on his breſt: thinke ye that *Brutus* will not tarie till this body dye? Meaning that none but *Brutus* after him was meete to haue ſuch power as he had. And ſurely, in my opinion, I am perſwaded that *Brutus* might indeed haue come to haue bene the chiefeſt man of ROME, if he could haue contented himſelfe for a time to haue bene next vnto *Cæſar*, and to haue ſuffred his glory and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to conſume with time. But *Caſſius* being a chollericke man, and hating *Cæſar* priuatly, more then he did the tyranny openly: he incenſed *Brutus* againſt him. It is alſo reported, that *Brutus* could euill away with the tyranny, and that *Caſſius* hated the tyrant: making many complaintes for the iniuries he had done him, and amongeſt others, for that he had taken away his Lyons from him. *Caſſius* had prouided them for his ſports, when he ſhould be Ædilis, and they were found in the citie of MEGARA, when it was wonne by *Calenus*, & *Cæſar* kept them. The rumor went, that theſe Lyons did maruellous great hurt to the MEGARIANS. For when the citie was take, they brake their cages where they were tied vp, and turned them looſe, thinking they would haue done great miſchiefe to the enemies, & haue kept them from ſetting vpō them: but the Lyons contrary to expectation, turned vpon themſelues that fled vnarmed, and did ſo cruelly teare ſome in peeces, that it pitied their enemies to ſee them. And this was the cauſe, as ſome do report, that made *Caſſius* conſpire againſt *Cæſar*. But this holdeth no water. For *Caſſius* euen frō his cradle could not abide any maner of tyrants, as it appeared whē he was but a boy, and went vnto the ſame ſchoole that *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla* did. And *Fauſtus* bragging among other boyes, highly boaſted of his fathers kingdome: *Caſſius* roſe vp on his feete, and gaue him two good whirts on the eare. *Fauſtus* gouernors would haue put this matter in ſute againſt *Caſſius*:

Brutus and Caſſius contend for the Prætorſhip of the citie.

Caſſius maried Iunia, Brutus ſiſter.

The firſt cauſe of Caſſius malice againſt Cæſar.

Cæſar ſuſpected Brutus.

Cæſars ſaying of Brutus.

Caſſius incenſeth Brutus againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius Lyons at Megara.

Caſſius an enemy of tyrants.

But

But *Pompey* would not ſuffer them, but cauſed the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them how the matter came to paſſe. Then *Caſsius*, as it is written of him, ſayd vnto the other: goe to *Fauſtus*, ſpeake againe and thou dareſt, before this noble man here, the ſame wordes that made me angry with thee, that my fiſtes may walke once againe about thine eares. Such was *Caſsius* hot ſtirring nature. But for *Brutus*, his friendes and countrey men, both by diuers procurements, and ſundry rumours of the citie, and by many bils alſo, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For, vnder the image of his auncеſter *Iunius Brutus*, that draue the kings out of ROME, they wrote: O, that it pleaſed the goddes thou wert now aliue, *Brutus*: and againe, that thou wert here among vs now. His tribunall (or chaire) where he gaue audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of ſuch billes: *Brutus*, thou art a ſleepe, and art not *Brutus* indeede. And of all this, *Cæſars* flatterers were the cauſe: who beſide many other exceeding and vnſpeakeable honours they dayly deuiſed for him, in the night time they did put Diademes vpon the heades of his images, ſuppoſing thereby to allure the common people to call him king, in ſtead of Dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrary, as we haue written more at large in *Iulius Cæſars* life. Now when *Caſsius* felt his friendes, and did ſtirre them vp againſt *Cæſar*: they all agreed and promiſed to take part with him, ſo *Brutus* were the chiefe of their conſpiracie. For they told him, that ſo high an enterpriſe and attempt as that, did not ſo much require men of manhood, and courage to draw their ſwordes: as it ſtood them vpon to haue a man of ſuch eſtimation as *Brutus*, to make euery man boldly thinke, that by his onely preſence the fact were holy, and iuſt. If he tooke not this courſe, then that they ſhould goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they ſhould be more fearefull: becauſe euery man would thinke that *Brutus* would not haue refuſed to haue made one with them, if the cauſe had bene good and honeſt. Therefore *Caſsius* conſidering this matter with himſelfe, did firſt of all ſpeake to *Brutus*, ſince they grew ſtraunge together for the ſute they had for the Prætorſhippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had imbraced one an other: *Caſsius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate houſe, the firſt day of the moneth of Marche, becauſe he heard ſay that *Cæſars* friendes ſhould moue the counſell that day, that *Cæſar* ſhould be called king by the Senate. *Brutus* aunſwered him, he would not be there. But if we be ſent for ſayd *Caſsius*: how then? For my ſelfe then ſayd *Brutus*, I meane not to hold my peace, but to withſtand it, and rather dye then loſe my libertie. *Caſsius* being bold, and taking hold of this word: why, quoth he, what ROMAINE is he aliue that will ſuffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knoweſt thou not that thou art *Brutus*? Thinkeſt thou that they be cobblers, tapſters, or ſuch like baſe mechanicall people, that write theſe billes and ſcrowles which are found dayly in thy Prætors chaire, and not the nobleſt men and beſt citizens that do it? No, be thou well aſſured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common diſtributions amongeſt the people, and for common playes, and to ſee fenſers fight at the ſharpe, to ſhew the people paſtime: but at thy handes, they ſpecially require (as a due debt vnto them) the taking away of the tyrannie, being fully bent to ſuffer any extremitie for thy ſake, ſo that thou wilt ſhew thy ſelfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kiſſed *Brutus*, and imbraced him: and ſo each taking leaue of other, they went both to ſpeake with their friendes about it. Now amongeſt *Pompeys* friendes, there was one called * *Caius Ligarius*, who had bene accuſed vnto *Cæſar* for taking part with *Pompey*, and *Cæſar* diſcharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Cæſar* ſo much for his diſcharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his hart he was alway his mortall enemie, and was beſides verie familiar with *Brutus*, who went to ſee him being ſicke in his bed, and ſayd vnto him: O *Ligarius*, in what a time art thou ſicke? *Ligarius* riſing vp in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, ſayd vnto him: *Brutus*, ſayd he, if thou haſt any great enterpriſe in hand worthy of thy ſelfe, I am whole. After that time they began to feele all their acquitaunce whom they truſted, and layed their heades together conſulting vpon it, and did not onelie picke out their friendes, but all thoſe alſo whom they thought ſtout enough to attempt any deſperate matter, and that were not affrayed to loſe their liues.

How Brutus was incenſed againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius prayeth Brutus firſt, to helpe him to put downe the tyrant.

** In an other place they call him Quintus. Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the conſpiracie.*

They do hide the conſpiracie againſt Cæſar from Cicero.

For this cauſe they durſt not acquaint *Cicero* with their conſpiracie, although he was a man whom they loued dearely, and truſted beſt: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age alſo hauing increaſed his feare, he would quite turne and alter all their purpoſe, and quench the heate of their enterpriſe, the which ſpecially required hot and earneſt execution, ſeeking by perſwaſion to bring all things to ſuch ſafetie, as there ſhould be no perill. *Brutus* alſo did let other of his friendes alone, as *Statilius* EPICVRIAN, and *Faonius*, that made profeſsion to follow *Marcus Cato*. Becauſe that hauing caſt out wordes a farre off, diſputing together in Philoſophie to feele their mindes: *Faonius* aunſwered, that

Ciuill warre worſe then tyrannicall gouernement.

ciuill warre was worſe then tyrannicall gouernement vſurped againſt the law. And *Statilius* told him alſo, that it were an vnwiſe part of him, to put his life in daunger, for a ſight of ignoraunt fooles and aſſes. *Labeo* was preſent at this talke, and maintained the contrary againſt them both. But *Brutus* held his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a hard thing to haue decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made *Labeo* priuie to his intent: who very readily offered himſelfe to make one. And they thought good alſo to bring in an other *Brutus* to ioyne with him, ſurnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his handes himſelfe, but becauſe he was able to bring good force of a great number of ſlaues, and fenſers at the ſharpe, whom he kept to ſhew the people paſtime with their fighting, beſides alſo that *Cæſar* had ſome truſt in him. *Caſſius* and *Labeo* told *Brutus Albinus* of it at the firſt, but he made them no aunſwere. But when he had ſpoken with *Brutus* himſelfe alone, and that *Brutus* had told him he was the chiefe ringleader of all this conſpiracie: then he willingly promiſed him the beſt aide he could. Furthermore, the onely name and great calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the moſt of them to giue conſent to this conſpiracie. Who hauing neuer taken othes together, nor taken or giuen any caution or aſſuraunce, nor binding themſelues one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter ſo ſecret to themſelues, and could ſo cunningly handle it, that notwithſtanding the goddes did reueale it by manifeſt ſignes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of ſacrifices: yet all this would not be beleeued. Now *Brutus*, who knew very well that for his ſake all the nobleſt, valianteſt, and moſt courageous men of ROME did venture their liues, waighing with himſelfe the greatneſſe of the daunger: when he was out of his houſe, he did ſo frame and faſhion his countenaunce and lookes, that no man could diſcerne he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne houſe, then he was cleane chaunged. For, either care did wake him againſt his will when he would haue ſlept, or elſe oftentimes of himſelfe he fell into ſuch deepe thoughtes of this enterpriſe, caſting in his minde all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there was ſome maruellous great matter that troubled his minde, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himſelfe. His wife *Porcia* (as we haue told you before) was the daughter of *Cato*, whom *Brutus* maried being his coſin, not a mayden, but a young widow after the death of her firſt husband *Bibulus*, by whom ſhe had alſo a young ſonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and geſtes of *Brutus*, extant at this preſent day. This young Lady being excellently well ſeene in Philoſophie, louing her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as ſhe was alſo wiſe: becauſe ſhe would not aske her husband what he ayled before ſhe had made ſome prooſe by her ſelfe, ſhe tooke a litle raſour ſuch as barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and cauſing her maydes and women to go out of her chamber, gaue her ſelfe a great gaſh withall in her thigh, that ſhe was ſtraight all of a goare bloud, and incontinently after, a vehement feuer tooke her, by reaſon of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiuing her husband was maruellouſly out of quiet, and that he could take no reſt: euen in her greateſt payne of all, ſhe ſpake in this ſort vnto him. I being, O *Brutus*, (ſayd ſhe) the daughter of *Cato*, was maried vnto thee, not to be thy bedfellow and companion in bed and at borde onelie, like a harlot, but to be partaker alſo with thee, of thy good and euill fortune. Now for thy ſelfe, I can finde no cauſe of fault in thee touching our matche: but for my part, how may I ſhewe my duetie towardes thee, and how much I would do for thy ſake, if I can not conſtantlie beare a ſecret miſchaunce

The wonderfull faith and ſecrecie of the conſpirators of Cæſars death.

Porcia, Catoes daughter, wife vnto Brutus.

Bibulus booke of Brutus actes.

Porcia ſtudied in Philoſophie.

The courage of Porcia.

Great difference betwixt a wife and a harlot.

Porcias words vnto her huſband Brutus.

or

or griefe with thee, which requireth ſecrecie and fidelity? I confeſſe, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a ſecret ſafely: but yet, *Brutus*, good education, and the companie of vertuous men, haue ſome power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my ſelfe, I haue this benefit moreouer: that I am the daughter of *Cato*, & wife of *Brutus*. This notwithſtanding, I did not truſt to any of theſe things before: vntill that now I haue found by experience, that no paine nor griefe whatſoeuer can ouercome me. With thoſe wordes ſhe ſhewed him her wounde on her thigh, and told him what ſhe had done to proue her ſelfe. *Brutus* was amazed to heare what ſhe ſayd vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the goddes to giue him the grace he might bring his enterpriſe to ſo good paſſe, that he might be founde a husband, worthie of ſo noble a wife as *Porcia*: ſo he then did comfort her the beſt he could. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Cæſar* would not fayle to come: the conſpiratours determined then to put their enterpriſe in execution, becauſe they might meete ſafelie at that time without ſuſpition, and the rather, for that all the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of the citie would be there. Who when they ſhould ſee ſuch a great matter executed, would euery man then ſet to their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought alſo that the appointment of the place where the councell ſhould be kept, was choſen of purpoſe by diuine prouidence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of ſeates for men to ſit in, where alſo was ſet vp the image of *Pompey*, which the citie had made and conſecrated in honour of him: when he did beautifie that part of the citie with the Theater he built, with diuers porches about it. In this place was the aſſembly of the Senate appointed to be, iuſt on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the Romaines call, Idus Martias: ſo that it ſeemed ſome god of purpoſe had brought *Cæſar* thither to be ſlaine, for reuenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his houſe with a dagger by his ſide vnder his long gowne, that no body ſaw nor knew, but his wife onely. The other conſpiratours were all aſſembled at *Caſſius* houſe, to bring his ſonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis, and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto *Pompeys* porche, looking that *Cæſar* would ſtraight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull aſſured conſtancie of theſe conſpiratours, in ſo daungerous and waightie an enterpriſe as they had vndertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reaſon of their office, whoſe duetie is to miniſter iuſtice to euery body: they did not onely with great quietneſſe and curteſie heare them that ſpake vnto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentiue eare, as if they had had no other matter in their heades: but moreouer, they gaue iuſt ſentence, and carefully diſpatched the cauſes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine ſumme of money, refuſed to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale vnto *Cæſar*. Then *Brutus* caſting his eyes vpon the conſpiratours, ſayd, *Cæſar* ſhall not let me to ſee the law executed. Notwithſtanding this, by chaunce there fell out many misfortunes vnto them, which was enough to haue marred the enterpriſe. The firſt and chiefeſt was, *Cæſars* long tarying, who came very late to the Senate: for becauſe the ſignes of the ſacrifices appeared vnluckie, his wife *Calpurnia* kept him at home, and the Soothſayers bad him beware he went not abroad. The ſecond cauſe was, when one came vnto *Caſca* being a conſpiratour, and taking him by the hand, ſayd vnto him: O *Caſca*, thou kepteſt it cloſe from me, but *Brutus* hath told me all. *Caſca* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and ſayd: why, how now, how commeth it to paſſe thou art thus rich, that thou doeſt ſue to be Ædilis? Thus *Caſca* being deceiued by the others doubtfull wordes, he told them it was a thouſand to one, he blabbed not out all the conſpiracie. An other Senator called *Popilius Læna*, after he had ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* more friendly then he was wont to do: he rounded ſoftly in their eares, and told them, I pray the goddes you may go through with that you haue taken in hand, but withall, diſpatch I read you, for your enterpriſe is bewrayed. When he had ſayd, he preſently departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conſpiracie would out. Now in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men poſt haſt vnto him, and told him his wife was a dying. For *Porcia* being verie carefull and penſiue for that which

The wonderfull conſtancie of the conſpiratours in killing of Cæſar.

Sundry misfortunes to haue broken off the enterpriſe.

The weakneſſe of Porcia, notwithſtanding her former courage.

was to come, and being too weake to away with ſo great and inward griefe of minde: ſhe could hardly keepe within, but was frighted with euery litle noyſe and crie ſhe heard, as thoſe that are taken and poſſeſt with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking euery man that came from the market place, what *Brutus* did, and ſtill ſent meſſenger after meſſenger, to know what newes. At length, *Cæſars* comming being prolonged as you haue heard, *Porciaes* weakeneſſe was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon ſhe ſodainly ſwounded, that ſhe had no leaſure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the middeſt of her houſe, where her ſpeach and ſenſes failed her. Howbeit ſhe ſoone came to her ſelfe againe, and ſo was layed in her bed, and tended by her women. When *Brutus* heard theſe newes, it grieued him, as it is to bepreſuppoſed: yet he left not off the care of his country and common wealth, neither went home to his houſe for any newes he heard. Now, it was reported that *Cæſar* was comming in his litter: for he determined not to ſtay in the Senate all that day (becauſe he was affrayed of the vnlucky ſignes of the ſacrifices) but to adiorne matters of importaunce vnto the next ſeſsion and councell holden, fayning himſelfe not to be well at eaſe. When *Cæſar* came out of his litter: *Popilius Læna*, that had talked before with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterpriſe to paſſe: went vnto *Cæſar*, and kept him a long time with a talke. *Cæſar* gaue good eare vnto him. Wherefore the conſpiratours (if ſo they ſhould be called) not hearing what he ſayd to *Cæſar*, but coniecturing by that he had told them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie diſcouerie of their conſpiracie: they were affrayed euerie man of them, and one looking in an others face, it was eaſie to ſee that they all were of a minde, that it was no tarying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they ſhould kill themſelues with their owne hands. And when *Caſſius* and certaine other clapped their handes on their ſwordes vnder their gownes to draw them: *Brutus* marking the countenaunce and geſture of *Læna*, and conſidering that he did vſe himſelfe rather like an humble and earneſt ſuter, then like an accuſer: he ſayd nothing to his companion (becauſe there were many amongeſt them that were not of the conſpiracie) but with a pleaſaunt countenaunce encouraged *Caſſius*. And immediatly after, *Læna* went from *Cæſar*, and kiſſed his hand: which ſhewed plainly that it was for ſome matter concerning himſelfe, that he had held him ſo long in talke. Now all the Senators being entred firſt into this place or chapter houſe where the councell ſhould be kept, all the other conſpiratours ſtraight ſtood about *Cæſars* chaire, as if they had had ſome thing to haue ſayd vnto him. And ſome ſay, that *Caſſius* caſting his eyes vpon *Pompeys* image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had bene aliue. **Trebonius* on the other ſide, drew *Antonius* aſide, as he came into the houſe where the Senate ſate, and held him with a long talke without. When *Cæſar* was come into the houſe, all the Senate roſe to honour him at his comming in. So when he was ſet, the conſpirators flocked about him, & amongſt them they preſented one* *Tullius Cimber*, who made humble ſute for the calling home againe of his brother that was baniſhed. They all made as though they were interceſſours for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kiſſed his head and breſt. *Cæſar* at the firſt, ſimply refuſed their kindneſſe and intreaties: but afterwardes, perceiuing they ſtill preſſed on him, he violently thruſt them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his hands plucked *Cæſars* gowne ouer his ſhoulders, and *Caſca* that ſtood behind him, drew his dagger firſt, and ſtrake *Cæſar* vpon the ſhoulder, but gaue him no great wound. *Cæſar* feeling himſelfe hurt, tooke him ſtraight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: O traitour, *Caſca*, what doeſt thou? *Caſca* on the other ſide cried in Greeke, and called his brother to helpe him. So diuers running on a heape together to flie vpon *Cæſar*, he looking about him to haue fled, ſaw *Brutus* with a ſword drawen in his hand ready to ſtrike at him: then he let *Caſcaes* hand go, and caſting his gowne ouer his face, ſuffered euery man to ſtrike at him that would. Then the conſpiratours thronging one vpon an other becauſe euery man was deſirous to haue a cut at him, ſo many ſwordes and daggers lighting vpon one body, one of them hurt an other, and among them *Brutus* caught a blow on his hand, becauſe he would make one in murdering of him, and all the reſt alſo were euery man of them bloudied. *Cæſar* being ſlaine in this maner, *Brutus* ſtanding in the middeſt of the houſe, would haue ſpoken, and ſtayed the other Senatours that were not of the conſpiracie, to haue told them

Brutus with his countenaunce encouraged his fearefull conſorters.

** In Cæſars life it is ſayd, it was Decius Brutus Albinus, that kept Antonius with a talke without.*

** In Cæſars life he is called Metellus Cimber.*

The murther of Cæſar. Caſca, the firſt that wounded him.

them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both affrayed and amazed, fled one vpon an others necke in hast to get out at the doore, and no man followed them. For it was set downe, and agreed betweene them, that they should kill no man but *Cæsar* only, and should intreate all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspiratours, but *Brutus*, determining vpon this matter, thought it good also to kill *Antonius*, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature fauoured tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with souldiers, hauing bene conuersant of long time amongest them: and specially hauing a minde bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Consull with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. First, for that he sayd it was not honest: secondly, because he told them there was hope of chaunge in him. For he did not mistrust, but that *Antonius* being a noble minded and couragious man (when he should know that *Cæsar* was dead) would willingly helpe his countrey to recouer her libertie, hauing them an example vnto him, to follow their courage & vertue. So *Brutus* by this meanes saued *Antonius* life, who at that present time disguised himselfe, and stale away. But *Brutus* & his consorts, hauing their swordes bloudy in their handes, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the ROMAINES as they went, to take their libertie again. Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done, there were sodaine outcryes of people that ranne vp and downe the citie, the which indeede did the more increase the feare and tumult. But when they saw they slue no man, neither did spoyle or make hauock of any thing, then certaine of the Senators, and many of the people imboldening themselues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being assembled together one after an other: *Brutus* made an oration vnto them to winne the fauour of the people, and to iustifie that they had done. All those that were by, sayd they had done well, and cryed vnto them that they should boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereupon, *Brutus* and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in troupe, but *Brutus* went formost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, through the market place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels of all sortes, and had a good will to make some sturre: yet being ashamed to do it for the reuerence they bare vnto *Brutus*, they kept silence, to heare what he would say. When *Brutus* began to speake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when an other called *Cinna* would haue spoken, and began to accuse *Cæsar*: they fell into a great vprore among them, and marueilously railed him, so much that the conspiratours returned againe into the Capitoll. There *Brutus* being affrayed to be besieged, sent backe againe the noble men that came thither with him, thinking it no reason, that they which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being assembled, and holden within the temple of the goddesse *Tellus*, to wit the earth: and *Antonius*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero*, hauing made a motion to the Senate in that assembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to stablish friendship and peace againe: it was decreed, that they should not onely be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should referre it to the Senate, what honours should be appointed vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and *Antonius* the Consull, to put them in hart that were in the Capitoll, sent them his sonne for a pledge. Vpon this assurance, *Brutus* and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where curteously man saluted and imbraced ech other, among the which, *Antonius* himselfe did bid *Cassius* to supper to him: and *Lepidus* also bad *Brutus*, and so one bad an other, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to counsell, did first of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a ciuill warre: then they also gaue *Brutus* and his consorts great prayses, and lastly they appointed them seuerall gouernements of prouinces. For vnto *Brutus*, they appointed CRETE: ASIE vnto *Cassius*: AFRICK vnto *Trebonius*: BITHYNIA vnto *Cimber*: and vnto the other *Decius Brutus Albinus*, GAVLE on this side the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke of *Cæsars* will and testament, and of his funerals and tombe. Then *Antonius* thinking good his testament should be read openly, and also that his body should be honorably buried,

Why Antonius was not slayne with Cæsar.

Brutus with his consorts went vnto the Capitoll.

Honours decreed for the murtherers of Cæsar.

Cæsars will, & funerals.

and not in hugger mugger, leaſt the people might thereby take occaſion to be worſe offended if they did otherwiſe: *Caſſius* ſtoutly ſpake againſt it. But *Brutus* went with the motion, & agreed vnto it: wherein it ſeemeth he committed a ſecond fault. For the firſt fault he did was, when he would not conſent to his fellow conſpiratours, that *Antonius* ſhould be ſlayne: And therefore he was iuſtly accuſed, that thereby he had ſaued and ſtrengthened a ſtrong and grieuous enemy of their conſpiracy. The ſecond fault was, when he agreed that *Ceſars* funerals ſhould be as *Antonius* would haue them: the which indeede marred all. For firſt of all, when *Ceſars* teſtament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery Citizen of ROME, 75. Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbors vnto the people, which he had on this ſide of the riuer of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loued him, and were maruellous ſory for him. Afterwards when *Ceſars* body was brought into the market place, *Antonius* making his funerall oration in prayſe of the dead, according to the auncient cuſtome of ROME, and perceiuing that his wordes moued the common people to compaſsion: he framed his eloquence to make their harts yerne the more, and taking *Ceſars* gowne all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the ſight of them all, ſhewing what a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. Therewithall the people fell preſently into ſuch a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongeſt the common people. For ſome of them cryed out, kill the murtherers: others plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funerals of *Clodius*, and hauing layed them all on a heape together, they ſet them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of *Ceſar*, and burt it in the middeſt of the moſt holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, ſome here, ſome there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houſes that had killed him, to ſet them a fire. Howbeit the conſpiratours foreſeeing the daunger before, had wiſely prouided for themſelues, and fled. But there was a Poet called *Cinna*, who had bene no partaker of the conſpiracy, but was alway one of *Ceſars* chiefeſt friends: he dreamed the night before, that *Ceſar* bad him to ſupper with him, and that he refuſing to go, *Ceſar* was very importunate with him, and compelled him, ſo that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruellouſly affrayd, he was driue to follow him in ſpight of his hart. This dreame put him all night into a feuer, and yet notwithſtanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried *Ceſars* body to buriall, being aſhamed not to accompany his funerals: he went out of his houſe, and thruſt himſelfe into the preaſe of the common people that were in a great vprore. And becauſe ſome one called him by his name, *Cinna*: the people thinking he had bene that *Cinna*, who in an oration he made had ſpoken very euill of *Ceſar*, they falling vpon him in their rage, ſlue him outright in the market place. This made *Brutus* and his companions more affrayd, then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of *Antonius*. Wherefore they got them out of ROME, and kept at the firſt in the citie of ANTIVM, hoping to returne againe to ROME, when the furie of the people were a litle aſſwaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, conſidering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconſtant multitude, eaſie to be caried, and that the Senate ſtood for them: who notwithſtanding made no enquiery of them that had torne poore *Cinna* the Poet in peeces, but cauſed them to be ſought for and apprehended, that went with fire brands to ſet fire of the conſpiratours houſes. The people growing weary now of *Antonius* pride and inſolency, who ruled all things in manner with abſolute power: they deſired that *Brutus* might returne againe, and it was alſo looked for, that *Brutus* would come himſelfe in perſon to play the playes which were due to the people, by reaſon of his office of Prætorſhip. But *Brutus* vnderſtanding that many of *Ceſars* ſouldiers which ſerued vnder him in the warres, and that alſo had lands and houſes giuen them in the cities where they lay, did lye in wait for him to kill him, and that they dayly by ſmall companies came by one and by one into ROME: he durſt no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleaſure and paſtyme in his abſence, to ſee the games and ſportes he made them, which were ſumptuouſly ſet forth and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, ſparing for no coſt. For he had bought a great number of ſtraunge beaſtes, of the which he would not giue one of them to any friend he had, but that they ſhould all be employed in his

Brutus committed two great faults after Ceſars death.

Antonius funerall oration for Ceſar.

The ſtraunge dreame of Cinna the Poet.

The murther of Cinna the Poet, being miſtaken for an other of that name.

Brutus and his conſorts do flye from Rome.

Brutus playes and ſportes at Rome in his abſence.

his games: and went himselfe as farre as BYZANTIVM, to speake to some plaiers of comedies and Musitions that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one *Canutius* an excellent player, that whatsoeuer they did, they should intreate him to play in these playes: For, said he, it is no reason to compell any GRECIAN, vnlesse he will come of his owne good will. Moreouer, he wrote also vnto *Cicero*, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these playes. Now the state of ROME standing in these termes, there fell out an other chaunge and alteration, when the young man *Octauius Cæsar* came to ROME. He was the sonne of *Iulius Cæsars* Nece, whom he had adopted for his sonne, and made his heire, by his last will and testament. But when *Iulius Cæsar*, his adopted father was slaine, he was in the citie of APOLLONIA, where he studied tarying for him, because he was determined to make warre with the PARTHIANS: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to ROME, where to begin to currie fauour with the common people, he first of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, and made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled *Antonius* sorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers souldiers together, that had serued in the warres with him. And *Cicero* himselfe, for the great malice he bare *Antonius*, did fauour his proceedings. But *Brutus* marueilously reproued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sorie to haue a Maister, but onely to be affraide to haue one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the common wealth did witnesse, that he chose to be subiect to a milde and courteous bondage, sith by his words and writings he did commend this young man *Octauius Cæsar*, to be a good and gentle Lorde. For our predecessors saide he, would neuer abide to be subiect to any Maisters, how gentle or milde soeuer they were: and for his owne part that he had neuer resolutely determined with himselfe to make warre, or peace, but otherwise, that he was certainely minded neuer to be slaue nor subiect. And therefore he wondred much at him, how *Cicero* could be affraide of the daunger of ciuill warres, and would not be affraide of a shamefull peace: and that to thrust *Antonius* out of the vsurped tyrannie, in recompence he went about to stablish young *Octauius Cæsar* tyrant. These were the contentes of *Brutus* first letters he wrote vnto *Cicero*. Now, the citie of ROME being deuided in two factions, some taking part with *Antonius*, other also leaning vnto *Octauius Cæsar*, and the souldiers making port sale of their seruice to him that would giue most: *Brutus* seeing the state of ROME would be vtterly ouerthrowen, he determined to goe out of ITALY, and went a foote through the countrie of LVKE, vnto the citie of ELEA, standing by the sea. There *Porcia* being ready to depart from her husband *Brutus*, and to returne to ROME, did what she could to dissemble the griefe and sorrow she felt at her heart: But a certaine painted table bewrayed her in the end, although vntill that time she alwaies shewed a constant and patient minde. The deuise of the table was taken out of the Greeke stories, how *Andromachè* accompanied her husband *Hector*, when he went out of the citie of TROY to goe to the warres, and how *Hector* deliuered her his litle sonne, and how her eyes were neuer off him. *Porcia* seeing this picture, and likening her selfe to be in the same case, she fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. *Acilius* one of *Brutus* friendes perceiuing that, rehearsed the verses *Andromachè* speaketh to this purpose in *Homer*:

Octauius Cæsars comming to Rome.

Brutus reproued Cicero for taking part with Octauius Cæsar.

Porciaes sorow full returne to Rome for the absence of her husband Brutus.

The storie of Hector and Andromachè set forth in painted tables.

Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother,
And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not any other.

Then *Brutus* smyling, aunswered againe: but yet (saide he) I can not for my part say vnto *Porcia*, as *Hector* aunswered *Andromachè* in the same place of the Poet:

Tush, meddle thou with weying dewly out
Thy maydes their taske, and pricking on a clout.

For in deede the weake constitution of her bodie doth not suffer her to performe in shewe, the valiant acts that we are able to do: but for courage and constant mind, she shewed her selfe as stout in the defence of her country, as any of vs. *Bibulus*, the sonne of *Porcia*, reporteth this storie thus. Now *Brutus* imbarking at ELEA in LVKE, he sayled directly towardes ATHENS. When he arriued there, the people of ATHENS receiued him with common ioyes of reioycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went

How Brutus bestowed his time at Athens

daily to heare the lectures of *Theomneſtus* ACADEMICK Philoſopher, & of *Cratippus* the PERIPATETICKE, and ſo would talke with them in Philoſophie, that it ſeemed he left all other matters, & gaue himſelfe only vnto ſtudie: howbeit ſecretly notwithſtanding, he made preparation for warre. For he ſent *Heroſtratus* into MACEDON, to win the Captaines and ſouldiers that were vpon thoſe marches, and he did alſo entertaine all the young gentlemen of the ROMAINES, whom he found in ATHENS ſtudying Philoſophie: amongſt them he found *Ciceroes* ſonne, whom he highly prayſed and commended, ſaying: that whether he waked or ſlept, he found him of a noble mind and diſpoſition, he did in nature ſo much hate tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertiſed that there came out of ASIA a certaine fleete of ROMAINE ſhips that had good ſtore of money in them, and that the Captaine of thoſe ſhips (who was an honeſt man, and his familiar friend) came towards ATHENS: he went to meete him as farre as the Ile of CARYSTOS, and hauing ſpoken with him there, he handled him ſo, that he was contented to leaue his ſhips in his hands. Whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his houſe, becauſe is was on his birth day. When the feaſt day came, and that they began to drinke luſtily one to another: the gueſts dranke to the victorie of *Brutus*, and the libertie of the ROMAINES. *Brutus* therefore to encourage them farther, called for a bigger cup, and holding it in his hand, before he dranke ſpake this aloud:

Brutus commendeth Ciceroes ſonne.

Brutus prepareth himſelfe to warre.

My deſtinie and Phœbus are agreede,
To bring me to my finall end with ſpeede.

And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that the ſame day he fought his laſt battell by the citie of PHILIPPES, as he came out of his tent, he gaue his men for the word and ſignall of battell, *Phœbus*: ſo that it was thought euer ſince, that this his ſodaine crying out at the feaſt, was a prognoſtication of his misfortune that ſhould happen. After this, *Antiſtius* gaue him of the money he caried into ITALY, 50. Myriades. Furthermore, all *Pompeys* ſouldiers that ſtraggled vp and downe THESSALY, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from *Cinna* alſo, fiue hundred horſemen, which he caried into ASIA, vnto *Dolabella*. After that, he went by ſea vnto the citie of DEMETRIADE, and there tooke a great deale of armor and munition which was going to *Antonius*: and the which had bene made and forced there by *Iulius Cæſars* commaundement, for the warres againſt the PARTHIANS. Furthermore, *Hortenſius* gouernour of MACEDON, did reſigne the gouernement thereof vnto him. Beſides, all the princes, kings and noble men thereabouts, came and ioyned with him, when it was told him that *Caius* (*Antonius* brother) comming out of ITALIE, had paſſed the ſea, & came with great ſpeede towards the citie of DYRRACHIVM, and APOLLONIA, to get the ſouldiers into his hands, which *Gabinius* had there. *Brutus* therefore to preuent him, went preſently with a fewe of his men in the middeſt of winter when it ſnewe hard, and tooke his way thorough hard and foule countries, and made ſuch ſpeede in deede, that he was there long before *Antonius* ſumpters, that caried the victuals. So that when he came neere vnto DYRRACHIVM, a diſeaſe tooke him which the Phiſitians call Βουλιμία, to ſay, a cormorant and vnſatiable appetite to eate: by reaſon of the cold and paines he had taken. This ſickneſſe chanceth often, both to men and beaſts, that trauell when it hath ſnowen: Either becauſe the naturall heate being retyred into the inward parts of the bodie, by the coldnes of the aire hardening the skinne, doth ſtraight digeſt and conſume the meate: or elſe becauſe a ſharpe ſubtle winde comming by reaſon of the ſnow when it is molten, doth pearce into the bodie, and driueth out the naturall heate which was caſt outward. For it ſeemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinne of the bodie: cauſeth the ſweates that followe the diſeaſe. But hereof we haue ſpoken at large in other places. *Brutus* being verie faint, and hauing nothing in his campe to eate: his ſouldiers were compelled to go to their enemies, and comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what caſe *Brutus* was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwardes when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vſe the Citizens thereof curteouſly, but all the inhabitants of the citie alſo for their ſakes. Now, when *Caius Antonius* was arriued in the citie of APOLLONIA, he ſent vnto the ſouldiers thereabouts to come vnto him. But when he vnderſtoode that they went all to *Brutus*, and furthermore, that the

A ſtrange diſeaſe tooke Brutus at Dyrrachium.

Why by ſnow this hungry diſeaſe taketh men that are wearied with trauell.

Brutus thankfulneſſe and clemencie.

Citizens

Citizens of APOLLONIA did fauor him much: he then forsooke that citie, and went vnto the citie of BVTHROTVS, but yet he lost three of his ensignes by the way, that were slaine euerie man of them. Then he sought by force to winne certaine places of strength about BYLLIS, & to driue *Brutus* men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtaine his purpose, he fought a battell with *Cicero*, the sonne of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by whom he was ouercome. For *Brutus* made the younger *Cicero* a Captaine, and did many notable exploites by his seruice. Shortly after, hauing stolen vpon *Caius Antonius* in certaine marishes farre from the place from whence he fled: he would not set on him with furie, but onely rode round about him, commaunding his souldiers to spare him & his men, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striking: and so indeed it hapned. For they yeelded themselues, and their Captaine *Antonius*, vnto *Brutus*: so that *Brutus* had now a great army about him. Now *Brutus* kept this *Caius Antonius* long time in his office, and neuer tooke from him the markes and signes of his Consulship, although many of his friendes, & *Cicero* among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he saw *Antonius* secretly practised with his Captaines to make some alteration: then he sent him into a shippe, and made him to be kept there. When the souldiers whom *C. Antonius* had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of APOLLONIA, and sent from thence vnto *Brutus* to come vnto them: he made them answere, that it was not the maner of ROMAINE Captaines to come to the souldiers, but the souldiers to come to the Captaine, and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So *Brutus* preparing to goe into ASIA, newes came vnto him of the great chaunge at ROME. For *Octauius Cæsar* was in armes, by commandement and authoritie from the Senate, against *Marcus Antonius*. But after that he had driuen *Antonius* out of ITALY, the Senate then began to be affraid of him: because he sued to be Consull, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the Empire of ROME had no neede of them. On the other side, *Octauius Cæsar* perceiuing the Senate stayed not there, but turned vnto *Brutus* that was out of ITALIE, and that they appointed him the gouernment of certaine prouinces: then he began to be affraid for his part, and sent vnto *Antonius* to offer him his friendship. Then comming on with his armie neere to ROME, he made himselfe to be chosen Consull, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a strippling or springal of twenty yere old, as himselfe reporteth in his owne commentaries. So when he was Consull, he presently appointed Iudges to accuse *Brutus* and his companions, for killing of the noblest person in ROME, & chiefest Magistrate, without law or iudgement: and made *L. Cornificus* accuse *Brutus*, and *M. Agrippa*, *Cassius*. So, the parties accused were condemned, because the Iudges were compelled to giue such sentence. The voice went, that when the Herauld (according to the custome after sentence giuen) went vp to the chaire or pulpit for orations, & proclaimed *Brutus* with a loude voice, summoning him to appeare in person before the Iudges: the people that stoode by sighed openly, and the noble men that were present hong downe their heades, & durst not speake a word. Among them, the teares fell from *Publius Silicius* eyes: who shortly after, was one of the proscripts or outlawes appointed to be slaine. After that, these three *Octauius Cæsar*, *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, made an agreement betwene themselues, and by those articles deuided the prouinces belonging to the Empire of ROME among themselues, and did set vp bils of proscription & outlawry, cõdemning two hundred of the noblest men of ROME to suffer death, and among that number, *Cicero* was one. Newes being brought thereof into MACEDON, *Brutus* being then inforced to it, wrote vnto *Hortensius*, that he should put *Caius Antonius* to death, to be reuenged of the death of *Cicero*, and of the other *Brutus*, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this cause therfore, *Antonius* afterwards taking *Hortensius* at the battell of PHILIPPES, he made him to be slaine vpon his brothers tombe. But then *Brutus* said, that he was more ashamed of the cause for the which *Cicero* was slaine, then he was otherwise sorie for his death: and that he could not but greatly reproue his friends he had at ROME, who were slaues more through their own fault, then through their valiantnes or manhood which vsurped the tyrannie: considering that they were so cowardly and faint harted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eies, the report wherof should onely haue grieued them to the heart. Now when *Brutus* had passed ouer his armie (that was

C. Antonius yeelded vnto Brutus.

Octauius Cæsar ioyneth with Antonius

Brutus accused & condemned, by Octauius Cæsars meanes, for the death of Iulius Cæsar.

The Triumuirate.

C. Antonius murdered.

very great) into ASIA, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of ſhips together, as well in the coaſt of BITHYNIA, as alſo in the citie of CYZICVM, becauſe he would haue an army by ſea: and himſelfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giuing audience to Princes & noble men of the country that had to do with him. Afterwards he ſent vnto *Caſſius* in SYRIA, to turne him from his iorney into ÆGYPT, telling him that it was not for the conqueſt of any kingdome for themſelues, that they wandred vp and down in that ſort, but contrarily, that it was to reſtore their country againe to their libertie: and that the multitude of ſouldiers they gathered together, was to ſubdue the tyrants that would keep them in ſlauerie and ſubiection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpoſe and intent, they ſhould not be farre from ITALY, as neere as they could poſſible, but ſhould rather make all the haſte they could, to helpe their countrymen. *Caſſius* beleeued him, & returned. *Brutus* went to meete him, & they both met at the citie of SMYRNA, which was the firſt time that they ſaw together ſince they tooke leaue each of other, at the hauen of PIRÆA, in ATHENS: the one going into SYRIA, and the other into MACEDON. So they were maruellous ioyfull, and no leſſe coragious, when they ſaw the great armies together which they had both leauied: conſidering that they departed out of ITALY, like naked and poore baniſhed men, without armor & mony, nor hauing any ſhip readie, nor ſouldier about them, nor any one towne at their commandement: yet notwithſtanding, in a ſhort time after they were now met together, hauing ſhips, money and ſouldiers enow, both footemen and horſemen, to fight for the Empire of ROME. Now *Caſſius* would haue done *Brutus* as much honor, as *Brutus* did vnto him: but *Brutus* moſt cõmonly preuented him, and went firſt vnto him, both becauſe he was the elder man, as alſo for that he was ſickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwiſe maruellous chollericke & cruell, who ſought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other ſide he was too familiar with his friends, and would ieſt too broadly with them. But *Brutus* in contrary maner, for his vertue and valiantneſſe, was welbeloued of the people and his owne, eſteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not ſo much as of his enemies: becauſe he was a maruellous lowly and gentle perſon, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleaſure and couetouſneſſe, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wrong or iniuſtice, the which was the chiefeſt cauſe of his fame, of his riſing, and of the good will that euery man bare him: for they were all perſwaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleeue, that if *Pompey* himſelf had ouercome *Cæſar*, he would haue reſigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would ſtill keepe the ſoueraigntie and abſolute gouernment in his hands, taking onely, to pleaſe the people, the title of Conſull or Dictator, or of ſome other more ciuill office. And as for *Caſſius*, a hot, chollericke, & cruell man, that would oftentimes be caried away from iuſtice for gaine: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put himſelfe into ſundry dangers, more to haue abſolute power and authoritie, then to defend the libertie of his country. For, they that will alſo conſider others, that were elder men then they, as *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*: it is out of doubt that the end & hope of their victorie, was to be Lords of their country: and in manner they did all confeſſe that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lords of the Empire of ROME. And in contrary manner, his enemies themſelues did neuer reproue *Brutus*, for any ſuch change or deſire. For, it was ſaid that *Antonius* ſpake it openly diuers times that he thought, that of all them that had ſlaine *Cæſar*, there was none but *Brutus* only that was moued to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it ſelfe: but that all the other conſpirators did conſpire his death, for ſome priuate malice or enuie, that they otherwiſe did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that *Brutus* did not truſt ſo much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue: as is to be ſeene by his writings. For approching neere to the inſtant danger, he wrote vnto *Pomponius Atticus*, that his affayres had the beſt happe that could be. For, ſaid he, either I will ſet my country at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certaine & aſſured of all things elſe, this one thing only was doubtfull to them: whether they ſhould liue or die with liberty. He wrote alſo that *Antonius* had his due paimẽt for his folly. For where he might haue bin a partner equally of the glory of *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, & *Cato*, and haue made one with them: he liked better to chooſe to be

Brutus and Caſſius do ioine armies together.

The ſharpe and cruel conditions of Caſſius. Brutus gentle and faire conditions.

Brutus intent good, if he had ouercome.

Antonius teſtimonie of Brutus.

Brutus noble mind to his countrie.

ioyned

ioyned with *Octauius Cæsar* alone: with whom, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet shall he shortly after also haue warre with him. And truely he proued a true Prophet, for so came it in deede to passe. Now whilest *Brutus* and *Cassius* were together in the citty of SMYRNA: *Brutus* prayed *Cassius* to let him haue some part of his money whereof he had great store, because all that he could rappe and rend of his side he had bestowed it in making so great a number of shippes, that by meanes of them they should keepe all the sea at their commaundement. *Cassius* friends hindered this request, and earnestly disswaded him from it: perswading him, that it was no reason that *Brutus* should haue the money which *Cassius* hath gotten together by sparing, and leauied with great euill will of the people their subiectes, for him to bestow liberally vpon his souldiers, and by this meanes to winne their good willes, by *Cassius* charge. This notwithstanding, *Cassius* gaue him the thirde part of his totall summe. So *Cassius* and *Brutus* then departing from ech other, *Cassius* tooke the city of RHODES, where he too dishonestly & cruelly vsed himselfe: although when he came into the citie, he answered some of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and King, that he was neither Lord nor King, but he only that had slaine him, that would haue bene Lord and King. *Brutus* departing from thence, sent vnto the LYCIANS to require money, and men of warre. But there was a certaine Orator called *Naucrates*, that made the cities to rebell against him, insomuch that the countrimen of that country kept the straights and litle mountaines, thinking by that meanes to stoppe *Brutus* passage. Wherefore *Brutus* sent his horsemen against them, who stale vppon them as they were at dinner, and slew sixe hundred of them: and taking all the small townes and villages, he did let all the prisoners he tooke, goe without payment of ransome, hoping by this his great courtesie to winne them, to draw all the rest of the country vnto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that they would mutine; for euery small hurt they receiued as they passed by their countrie, and did despise his curtesie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to besiege the citie of the XANTHIANS, within the which were shut vp the cruellest and most warlikest men of LYCIA. There was a riuer that ranne by the wals of the citie, in the which many men saued themselues, swimming betwene two waters, and fled: howbeit they laide nets ouerthwart the riuer, and tyed litle belles on the toppe of them, to sound when any man was taken in the nets. The XANTHIANS made a salie out by night, and came to fire certaine engines of batterie that beate downe their walles: but they were presently driuen in againe by the ROMAINES, so soone as they were discouered. The winde by chaunce was maruellous bigge, and increased the flame so sore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the citie, that the next houses vnto them were straight set a fire thereby. Wherefore *Brutus* being affraide that all the citie would take on fire, he presently commaunded his men to quench the fire, and to saue the towne if it might be. But the LYCIANS at that instant fell into such a frensie, and straunge and horrible despaire, that no man can well expresse it: and a man can not more rightly compare or liken it, then to a franticke and most desperate desire to die. For all of them together, with their wiues and children, Maisters and seruantes, and of all sortes of age whatsoeuer, fought vppon the ramper of their walles, and did cast downe stones and fireworkes on the ROMAINES, which were verie busie in quenching the flame of the fire, to saue the citie. And in contrarie manner also, they brought faggots, drie wood, and reedes, to bring the fire further into the citie asmuch as might be, increasing it by such thinges as they brought. Nowe when the fire had gotten into all the partes of the citie, and that the flame burnt bright in euerie place: *Brutus* being sorie to see it, got vppon his horse, and rode rounde about the walles of the citie, to see if it were possible to saue it, and helde vppe his handes to the inhabitantes, praying them to pardon their citie, and to saue themselues. Howbeit they would not be perswaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselues away, not onely men and women, but also litle children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast them selues into the fire: others headlong throwing themselues downe from the walles, brake their neckes: others also made their neckes bare, to the naked swordes of their fathers, and vndid their clothes, praying them to kill them with their owne handes. After the citie was burnt, they found a woman hanged vp by the necke, holding one of her children in her hande dead by her, hanged vp also: and in

Brutus, a true Prophet of Antonius.

Cassius wanne the citie of Rhodes.

Brutus geste in Lycia.

The citie of Xanthus set a fire.

The desperate ende of the Xanthians.

the other hande a burning torch setting fire on her house. Some would haue had *Brutus* to haue seene her, but he would not see so horrible and tragicall a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused a Herauld to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would giue a certaine summe of money, to euery souldier that could saue a XANTHIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftie of them saued, and yet they were saued against their willes. Thus the XANTHIANS hauing ended the reuolution of their fatall destinie, after a long continuance of time: they did through their desperation, renew the memorie of the lamentable calamities of their Auncestors. Who in like manner, in the warres of the PERSIANS, did burne their citie, and destroyed themselues. Therefore *Brutus* likewise besieging the citie of the PATARBIANS, perceiuing that they stoutly resisted him: hee was also affraide of that, and could not well tell whether he should giue assault to it, or not, least they would fall into the despaire and desperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit hauing taken certaine of their women prisoners, he sent them backe againe, without payment of ransome. Nowe they that were the wiues and daughters of the noblest men of the citie, reporting vnto their parents, that they had found *Brutus* a mercifull, iust, and courteous man: they perswaded them to yeelde themselues and their citie vnto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded themselues, diuers other cities also followed them, and did the like: and founde *Brutus* more mercifull and courteous, then they thought they should haue done, but specially farre aboue *Cassius*. For *Cassius*, about the selfe same time, after he had compelled the RHODIANS euery man to deliuer all the readie money they had in gold and siluer in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eight thousand talents: yet he condemned the citie besides, to pay the summe of fiue hundred talents more. Where *Brutus* in contrarie manner, after he had leauied of all the countrie of LYCIA but a hundred and fiftie talentes onely: he departed thence into the countrie of IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Now *Brutus* in all this iourney, did many notable acts and worthy of memorie, both for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserued it. Wherefore among the rest, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himselfe, and all the noblemen of the ROMAINES were maruellous glad. When *Pompey* the great (hauing lost the battell against *Iulius Cæsar*, in the fields of PHARSALIA) came and fell vpon the coast of ÆGYPT, hard by the citie of PELVSIVM: those that were protectors to the young king *Ptolomy*, being then but a childe, sate in councell with his seruantes and friendes, what they should determine in that case. They were not all of one minde in this consultation: for some thought it good to receiue *Pompey*, others also, that they should driue him out of ÆGYPT. But there was a certaine Rethoritian called *Theodotus*, that was borne in the Ile of CHIO, who was the kings schoolemaister to teach him Rethoricke. He being called to this councell for lacke of sufficient men, saide, that both the one and the other side went awry, aswell those that were of opinion to receiue *Pompey*, as the other that would haue had him driuen away: and that the best way was (considering the present time) that they should lay holde on him, and kill him, adding withall, this sentence, that a dead man biteth not. The whole councell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto *Pompey*: *Pompey* the great was slaine, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rethoritian *Theodotus*, as *Theodotus* afterwardes did him selfe boast of it. But when *Iulius Cæsar* came afterwardes into ÆGYPT, the wicked men that consented to this counsell, had their payment according to their deserts: for they died euery man of them a wicked death, saue this *Theodotus*, whom fortune respighted a litle while longer, and yet in that time he liued a poore and miserable life, neuer tarying long in anie one place. So *Brutus* going vppe and downe ASIA, *Theodotus* could hide himselfe no longer, but was brought vnto *Brutus*, where he suffered paines of death: so that he wanne more fame by his death, then euer he did in his life. About that time, *Brutus* sent to pray *Cassius* to come to the citie of SARDIS, and so he did. *Brutus* vnderstanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Now, as it commonly hapneth in great affaires betweene two persons, both of them hauing many friends, and so many Captaines vnder them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with

The Patareians doe yeelde themselues vnto Brutus.

The extreame couetousnesse and cruelitie of Cassius to the Rhodians.

Brutus clemencie vnto the Lycians.

Theodotus borne in Chio a Rethoritian Scholemaister to Ptolomy the young king of AEgypt.

Theodotus saying: a dead man biteth not.

Theodotus Chian, the Rethoritian that gaue counsell to kill Pompey: was put to death by Brutus.

Brutus & Cassius doe meete at the citie of Sardis.

with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad euery man auoide and did shut the dores to them. Then they began to powre out their complaintes one to the other, and grew hot and loude, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them loud within, and angry betweene themselues, they were both amased, and afraied also least it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commaunded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding, one *Marcus Phaonius*, that had beene a frend and follower of *Cato* while he liued, and tooke vpon him to counterfeate a Philosopher, not with wisedome & discretion, but with a certaine bedlem and franticke motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boot to let *Phaonius*, when a mad moode or toy tooke him in the head: for he was a hot hasty man, and sodaine in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all. Now, though he vsed this bold manner of speach after the profession of the Cynicke Philosophers, (as who would say, dogs) yet this boldnes did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This *Phaonius* at that time, in despite of the doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine scoffing and mocking gesture which hee counterfeated of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old *Nestor* sayd in *Homer*:

Brutus and Cassius complaints one vnto the other.
M. Phaonius a follower of Cato.

Cynicke Philosophers, counted dogs.

My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
For I haue seene moe yeares than suchie three.

Cassius fell a laghing at him: but *Brutus* thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeate Cynicke. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. The selfe same night *Cassius* prepared his supper in his chamber, and *Brutus* brought his frends with him. So when they were set at supper, *Phaonius* came to sit downe after he had washed. *Brutus* told him aloude, no man sent for him, and bad them set him at the vpper end: meaning in deede at the lower end of the bed. *Phaonius* made no ceremony, but thrust in amongest the middest of them, and made all the company laugh at him: So they were merry all supper time, and full of their Philosophy. The next day after, *Brutus*, vppon complaint of the SARDIANS, did condemne and noted *Lucius Pella* for a defamed person, that had beene a Prætor of the ROMAINES, and whom *Brutus* had giuen charge vnto: for that he was accused and conuicted of robbery, and pilferie in his office. This iudgement much misliked *Cassius*: because he him selfe had secretely (not many daies before) warned two of his friends, attainted and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of seruice as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproued *Brutus*, for that he would shew him selfe so straight and seuere in such a time, as was meeter to beare a litle, then to take things at the worst. *Brutus* in contrary manner aunswered, that he should remember the Ides of Marche, at which time they slue *Iulius Cæsar*: who neither piled nor polled the country, but onely was a fauorer and suborner of all them that did robbe and spoile, by his countenaunce and authority. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly sette aside iustice and equity: they should haue had more reason to haue suffered *Cæsars* friendes, to haue robbed and done what wrong and iniury they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then sayed he, they could but haue sayed they had bene cowardes: and now they may accuse vs of iniustice, beside the paines we take, and the daunger we put our selues into. And thus may we see what *Brutus* intent and purpose was. But as they both prepared to passe ouer againe, out of ASIA into EVROPE: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull signe vnto him. *Brutus* was a carefull man, and slept very litle, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He neuer slept in the day time, and in the night no longer, then the time he was driuen to be alone, and when euery body else tooke their rest. But now whilest he was in warre, and his head euer busily occupied to thinke of his affaires, and what would happen: after he had slumbered a litle after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his waightiest causes, and after he had taken order for them, if hee had any leysure left him, he would reade some booke till the third watch of the night, at what time the Captaines, petty Captaines and Colonels, did vse to come to him. So, being ready to goe into EVROPE, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as hee was in his

Iulius Cæsar slaine at the Ides of March

The wonderful constancy of Brutus, in matters of iustice & equity.
Brutus care and watching.

A spirit appeared vnto Brutus in the city of Sardis.

tent with a litle light, thinking of waighty matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the dore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull straunge and monstruous shape of a body comming towards him, and sayd neuer a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit aunswered him, I am thy euill spirit, *Brutus*: and thou shalt see me by the city of PHILIPPES. *Brutus* being no otherwise afraied, replied againe vnto it: well, then I shall see thee againe. The spirite presently vanished away: and *Brutus* called his men vnto him, who tolde him that they heard no noise, nor saw any thing at all. Thereupon *Brutus* returned againe to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went vnto *Cassius*, to tell him what vision had appeared vnto him in the night. *Cassius* being in opinion an EPICVRIAN, and reasoning thereon with *Brutus*, spake to him touching the vision thus. In our sect, *Brutus*, we haue an opinion,

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that we doe not alwayes feele, or see, that which we suppose we doe both see and feele: but that our senses being credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their owne obiects) are induced to imagine they see and coniecture that, which they in trueth doe not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to worke (without either cause or matter) any thing in the imagination whatsoeuer. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay, and the minde to the potter: who without any other cause then his fancy and pleasure,

The cause of dreames.

chaungeth it into what fashion and forme he will. And this doth the diuersity of our dreames shew vnto vs. For our imagination doth vppon a small fancy grow from conceite to conceite, altering both in passions and formes of things imagined. For the minde of man is euer occupied, and that continual mouing is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature giuen to melancholicke discoursing, and of late continually occupied: your wittes and sences hauing bene ouerlabored, doe easilier yeelde to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angels, and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voyces, or any power at all to come vnto vs: it is a mockery. And for mine owne part, I would there were such, because that we should not onely haue souldiers, horses, and shippes, but also the aide of the goddes, to guide and further our honest and honorable attempts. With these words *Cassius* did somwhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they

A wonderfull signe by two Eagles.

raised their campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a maruellous force, lighted vppon two of the foremost ensignes, and alwaies followed the souldiers, which gaue them meat, and fed them, vntill they came neare to the city of PHILIPPES: and there one day onely before the battell, they both flew away. Now *Brutus* had conquered the most part of all the people, and nations of that countrey: but if there were any other city or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleare before them, and so drew towardes the coastes of THASSOS. There *Norbanus* lying in campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place called SYMBOLON: (which is a port of the sea) *Cassius* & *Brutus* compassed him in in such sort, that he was driuen to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger beside to haue lost all his army. For, *Octauius Cæsar* could not follow him because of his sickes, and therefore stayed behinde: whereuppon they had taken his army, had not *Antonius* aide bene, which made such wonderfull speed, that *Brutus* could scant beleeue it. So *Cæsar* came not thither of ten daies after: and *Antonius* camped against *Cassius*, and *Brutus* on the other side against *Cæsar*. The ROMAINS called the valley betweene both camps, the PHILIPPIAN fields: and there were neuer seene two so great armies of the ROMAINS, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, *Brutus* army was inferior to *Octauius Cæsars*, in number of men: but for brauery and rich furniture, *Brutus* army far excelled *Cæsars*. For the most part of their armors were siluer & gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully giuen them: although in all other things he taught his Captaines to liue in order without excesse. But for the brauery of armour, and weapon, which souldiers should cary in their hands, or otherwise weare vpon their backes: he thought that it was an encoragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, and that it maketh them also fight like deuils that loue to get, and to be afraied to lose: because they fight to keepe their armor and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, *Octauius Cæsar* tooke the muster of his army within the trenches of his campe, & gaue his men onely a litle corne, and fiue siluer Drachmas to euery man to sacrifice to the gods, and

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And yet further, there were seene a maruellous number of fowles of prey, that feed vpon dead carkasses: and bee-hiues also were found, where Bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the campe: the which place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would haue of it. The which began somewhat to alter *Cassius* minde from *Epicurus* opinions, and had put the souldiers also in a maruellous feare. Thereuppon *Cassius* was of opinion not to try this warre at one battell, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. 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greatly blame and reproue *Cato* for killing of himselfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valiant, not to giue place and yeeld to diuine prouidence, and not constantly & patiently to take whatsoeuer it pleaseth him to send vs, but to draw back and flie: but being now in the middest of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs: I will looke no more for hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for war again, but wil rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my countrey in the Ides of March, for the which I shall liue in an other more glorious world. *Cassius* fell a laughing to heare what he saied, and imbracing him, come on then saied he, let vs goe and charge our enemies with this minde. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not neede to feare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then *Brutus* praied *Cassius* he might haue the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was farre meeter for *Cassius*: both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet *Cassius* gaue it him, and willed that *Messala* (who had charge of one of the warrelikest legions they had) should be also in that wing with *Brutus*. So *Brutus* presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footmen also were as willing and ready to giue charge. Now *Antonius* men did cast a trench from the marishe by the which they lay, to cutte off *Cassius* way to come to the sea: and *Cæsar*, at the least his army stirred not. As for *Octauius Cæsar* him selfe, he was not in his campe, because he was sicke. And for his people, they litle thought the enemies would haue giuen them battell, but onely haue made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts and slings to haue kept them from finishing of their worke: but they taking no heede to them that came full vpon them to giue them battell, maruelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trench. In the meane time *Brutus* that ledde the right wing, sent litle bils to the Colonels and Captaines of priuate bandes, in the which hee wrote the word of the battell: and he him selfe riding a horse backe by all the troupes, did speake to them, and incoraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this meanes very few of them vnderstoode what was the word of the battell, and besides, the most part of them neuer tayed to haue it told them, but ranne with great furie to assaile the enemies: whereby through this disorder, the legions were maruellously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all, *Messalaes* legion, and then the next vnto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glauncing by them, ouerthrew some as they went, and so going on further, fell right vpon *Cæsars* campe, out of the which (as him selfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a litle before, through the counsell and aduise of one of his friendes called *Marcus Artorius*: Who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared vnto him, that commaunded *Octauius Cæsar* should be caried out of his campe. Insomuch as it was thought he was slaine, because his litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There was great slaughter in this campe. For amongest others, there were slaine two thousand LACEDÆMONIANS, who were arriued but euen a litle before, comming to aid *Cæsar*. The other also that had not glanced by, but had giuen a charge full vpon *Cæsars* battell: they easily made them flie, because they were greatly troubled for the losse of their campe, and of them there were slaine by hand, three legions. Then being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ranne in amongest them hand ouer head into their campe, and *Brutus* among them. But that which the conquerours thought not of, occasion shewed it vnto them that were ouercome: and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, and vnguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too farre off, in following of them that were ouerthrowen. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not breake into the middest of their battell, where they found men that receiued them, and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrew the left wing where *Cassius* was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them beating them into their campe, the which they spoyled, none of both the Chieftaines being present there. For *Antonius*, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the first charge, was gotten

The battell at Philippes, against Octauius Cæsar, and Antonius.

gotten into the next marish: and no man could tel what became of *Octauius Cæsar*, after he was caried out of his campe. Insomuch that there were certaine souldiers that shewed their swords bloodied, and sayd that they had slaine him, and did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore the vpward, and the middest of *Brutus* battell, had already put all their enemies to flight that withstoode them, with great slaughter: so that *Brutus* had conquered all on his side, and *Cassius* had lost all on the other side. For nothing vndid them, but that *Brutus* went not to helpe *Cassius*, thinking he had ouercome them, as him selfe had done: and *Cassius* on the other side taried not for *Brutus*, thinking he had bene ouerthrowen, as him selfe was. And to proue that the victory fell on *Brutus* side, *Messala* confirmeth it: that they wan three Eagles, and diuers other ensignes of their enemies, and their enemies wan neuer a one of theirs. Now *Brutus* returning from the chase, after he had slaine and sacked *Cæsars* men: he wondred much that he could not see *Cassius* tent standing vp high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his campe standing as they were before, because all the whole campe had bene spoiled, & the tents throwen downe, at the first comming in of the enemies. But they that were about *Brutus*, whose sight serued them better, told him that they saw a great glistering of harnesse, and a number of siluered targets, that went and came into *Cassius* campe, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the camp: and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies, and great ouerthrow, as there should haue bene, if so many legions had bene slaine. This made *Brutus* at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to lead them to aide *Cassius*, who was in this state as you shall heare. First of all he was maruellous angry, to see how *Brutus* men ran to giue charge vpon their enemies, and tarried not for the word of the battell, nor commandement to giue charge: and it grieued him beside, that after he had ouercome them, his men fell straight to spoile, and were not careful to compasse in the rest of the enemies behinde. But with tarying two long also, more then through the valiantnesse or foresight of the Captaines his enemies: *Cassius* found him selfe compassed in with the right wing of his enemies army. Whereuppon his horsemen brake immediatly, and fled for life towardes the sea. Furthermore, perceiuing his footemen to giue ground, hee did what he could to keepe them from flying, and tooke an ensigne from one of the ensigne bearers that fled, and stucke it fast at his feete. although with much a do he could scant keepe his owne guard together. So *Cassius* himselfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plaine: howbeit *Cassius* him selfe saw nothing, for his sight was very bad, sauing that he saw (and yet with much a do) how the enemies spoiled his campe before his eyes. He saw also a great troupe of horsmen, whom *Brutus* sent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him. But yet he sent *Titinnius*, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. *Brutus* horsemen saw him comming a far off, whom when they knew that he was one of *Cassius* chiefest friends, they shouted out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about a horseback, with songs of victory and great rushing of their harnesse, so that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For *Cassius* thinking in deede that *Titinnius* was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: desiring too much to liue, I haue liued to see one of my best friendes taken, for my sake, before my face. After that, he got into a tent where no body was, and tooke *Pyndarus* with him, one of his freede bondmen, whom he reserued euer for such a pinch, since the cursed battel of the PARTHIANS, where *Crassus* was slain, though he notwithstanding scaped from that ouerthrow: but then casting his cloke ouer his head, and holding out his bare necke vnto *Pindarus*, he gaue him his head to be striken off. So the head was found seuered from the body: but after that time *Pindarus* was neuer seene more. Whereuppon, some tooke occasion to say, that he had slaine his maister without his commandement. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towardes them, and might see *Titinnius* crowned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great speed vnto *Cassius*. But when he perceiued by the cries and teares of his friendes which tormented them selues, the misfortune

Octauius Cæsar falsely reported to be slaine at the battell of Thilippes.

Cassius misfortune.

Cassius offended with the sundry errors Brutus and his men committed in battell.

Cassius valiantnes in wars

The importance of error and mistaking in warres.

Cassius slaine by his man Pindarus.

The death of Vitinnius.

that had chaunced to his Captaine *Cassius*, by mistaking: he drew out his sword, cursing him selfe a thousand times that he had taried so long, and so slue him selfe presently in the fielde. *Brutus* in the meane time came forward still, and vnderstoode also that *Cassius* had bene ouerthrowen: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very neare to his campe. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Cassius*, calling him the last of all the Romaines, being vnpossible that Rome should euer breede againe so noble and valiant a man as he: he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thassos, fearing least his funerals within the campe should cause great disorder. Then he called his souldiers together, & did encorage them againe. And when he saw that they had lost all their cariage, which they could not brooke well: he promised euery man of them two thousand Drachmas in recompence. After his souldiers had heard his Oration, they were all of them pretily cheared againe, wondering much at his great liberality, and waited vpon him with great cries when he went his way, praising him, for that he onely of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battell. And to speake the trueth, his deedes shewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conquerour. For with few legions, he had slaine and driuen all them away, that made head against him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not out gone their enemies to runne to spoile their goods: surely it was like enough he had slaine them all, and had left neuer a man of them aliue. There were slaine of *Brutus* side, about eight thousand men, counting the souldiers slaues, whom *Brutus* called Brigas: and of the enemies side, as *Messala* writeth, there were slaine as he supposeth, more then twise as many moe. Wherefore they were more discoraged then *Brutus*, vntill that very late at night, there was one of *Cassius* men called *Demetrius*, who went vnto *Antonius*, and caried his maisters clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encoraged *Brutus* enemies, and made them so braue, that the next morning betimes they stoode in battell ray againe before *Brutus*. But on *Brutus* side, both his campes stoode wauering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being full of prisoners, required a good guard to looke vnto them: and *Cassius* campe on the other side tooke the death of their Captaine very heauily, and beside, there was some vile grudge betweene them that were ouercome, and those that did ouercome. For this cause therefore *Brutus* did set them in battell ray, but yet kept him selfe from giuing battell. Now for the slaues that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to and fro amongst the armed men, not without suspition: he commanded they should kill them. But for the freemen, he sent them freely home, and said, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them, they were slaues and seruaunts: and with him, they were free men, and citizens. So when he saw that diuers Captaines and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no meanes saue their liues: *Brutus* him selfe hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one *Volumnius* a iester, and *Sacculio* a common player, of whom *Brutus* made no accompt at all. Howbeit his friends brought them vnto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorne, and to iest broadly with them. *Brutus* made no answere to it, because his head was occupied otherwaies. Whereupon, *Messala Coruinus* sayd: that it were good to whippe them on a skaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their enemies, to shewe them their shame, to keepe such mates as those in their campe, to play the fooles, to make them sport. Some that stoode by, laughed at his deuise. But *Publius Casca*, that gaue *Iulius Cæsar* the first wound when he was slaine, sayd then: It doth not become vs to be thus merry at *Cassius* funerals: and for thee, *Brutus*, thou shalt shew what estimation thou madest of such a Captaine thy compeere, by putting to death, or sauing the liues of these bloods, who heareafter will mocke him, and defame his memory. *Brutus* aunswered againe in choller: why then doe you come to tell me of it, *Casca*, and doe not your selues what you thinke good? When they heard him say so, they tooke his aunswere for a consent against these poore vnfortunate men, to suffer them to doe what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, & slue them. Afterwardes *Brutus* performed the promise he had made to the souldiers, and gaue them the two thousand Drachmas a peece, but yet he first reproued them, because they went and gaue charge vpon the enemies at the first battell, before they had

The number of men slaine, at the battell of Philippes.

Brutus clemency and curtesie.

had the worde of battell giuen them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battell they fought like men, he would giue them the sacke and spoyle of two cities, to wit, THESSALONICA, & LACEDAEMON. In all *Brutus* life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gainsaid: though *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæsar* did reward their souldiers farre worse for their victory. For when they had driuen all the natural ITALIANS out of ITALY, they gaue their souldiers their landes & townes, to the which they had no right: and moreouer, the only marke they shot at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome, and raigne. Wherein contrary manner they had so great an opinion of *Brutus* vertue, that the common voice & opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to saue himself, otherwise then iustly and honestly, and specially after *Cassius* death: whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moued *Brutus* to great cruelties. But now, like as the mariners on the sea after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest, do seek to naile on some other peece of wood in lieu thereof, & do helpe themselues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be vpon that instant daunger: euen so *Brutus*, hauing such a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires standing verie tickle, and hauing no other Captaine coequall with him in dignitie & authoritie: he was forced to imploy them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, & was of mind himselfe also to grant them any thing, that he thought might make them serue like noble souldiers at time of neede. For *Cassius* souldiers were very euill to be ruled, and did shew themselues very stubborne and lustie in the campe, because they had no Chiefetaine that did cõmand them: but yet ranke cowards to their enemies, because they had once ouercome them. On the other side *Octauius Cæsar*, & *Antonius*, were not in much better state: for first of al, they lacked victuals. And because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a harde and sharpe winter, being camped as they were by the marish side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently. But beside all these discommodities, there came newes vnto them of the great losse they had of their men by sea. For *Brutus* shippes met with a great aide and supply of men, which were sent them out of ITALY, and they ouerthrew them in such sort, that there scaped but few of them: and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eate the tackle and sailes of their ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to fight a battell againe, before *Brutus* should haue intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chanced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the selfe same day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Captaines, this victorie came not to *Brutus* eare, till twenty daies after. For had he knowen of it before, he would not haue bene brought to haue fought a second battell, considering that he had excellent good prouision for his army for a long time, and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his campe could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: & further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would haue marueilously encoraged him. Howbeit the state of ROME (in my opinion) being now brought to that passe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lords, but required one onely absolute Gouernor: God, to preuent *Brutus* that it should not come to his gouernment, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though in deede it came but a litle too late. For the day before the last battell was giuen, very late in the night, came *Clodius*, one of his enemies into his camp, who told that *Cæsar* hearing of the ouerthrow of his army by sea, desired nothing more then to fight a battell before *Brutus* vnderstood it. Howbeit they gaue no credite to his words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him vnto *Brutus*, because they thought it was but a lie deuised, to be the better welcome for this good newes. The selfe same night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before vnto *Brutus* in the citie of SARDIS, did now appeare againe vnto him in the selfe same shape & forme, and so vanished away, and said neuer a word. Now *Publius Volumnius*, a graue and wise Philosopher, that had bene with *Brutus* from the beginning of this warre, he doth make no mention of this spirite, but saith: that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was couered ouer with a swarme of bees, and that there was one of the Captaines, whose arme sodainely fell a sweating, that it dropped oyle of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but all would do no

Brutus fault wisely excused by Plutarke.

Brutus victory by sea.

Wonderfull famine among Cæsars souldiers by sea.

The ignorance of Brutus victorie by sea, was his vtter destruction.

The euill spirit appeared again vnto Brutus.

Straunge sights before Brutus second battell.

good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought betwene both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruellous great silence all the valley ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betwene them: and that in the end, the Eagle towardes *Brutus* gaue ouer, and flew away. But this is certaine, and a true tale: that when the gate of the campe was open, the first man the standerd bearer met that caried the Eagle, was an ÆTHIOPIAN, whom the souldiers for ill lucke mangled with their swords. Now after that *Brutus* had brought his armie into the fielde, and had set them in battell ray, directly against the vward of his enemie: he pawsed a long time, before he gaue the signall of battell. For *Brutus* riding vp and downe to view the bandes and companies: it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides, that some came to tell him so much as he thought. Moreouer, he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to giue charge: but still staied, to see what the footemen would doe. Then sodainely, one of the chiefest Knights he had in all his armie called *Camulatius*, and that was alway maruellously esteemed of for his valiantnesse, vntill that time: he came hard by *Brutus* on horsebacke, and rode before his face to yeeld himselfe vnto his enemies. *Brutus* was maruellous sorie for it, wherefore partly for anger, and partly for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he sodainly caused his armie to march, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. So in that place where he himselfe fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of his enemies, which gaue him way, through the helpe of his horsemen that gaue charge with his footemen, when they sawe the enemies in a maze, and affraid. Howbeit the other also on the right wing, when the Captaines would haue had them to haue marched: they were affraid to haue bene compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number then their enemies, and therefore did spread themselues, and leaue the middest of their battell. Whereby they hauing weakened themselues, they could not withstand the force of their enemies, but turned taile straight, and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight vpon it to compasse *Brutus* behind, who in the middest of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilfull Captaine and valiant souldier: both for his wisedom, as also for his hardinesse, for the obtaining of victorie. But that which wanne him the victory at the first battell, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut in peeces: but at the second battell, of *Cassius* men that were put to flight, there were fewe slaine: and they that saued themselues by speede, being affraid because they had bene ouercome, did discourage the rest of the army when they came to ioyne with them, and filled all the armie with feare and disorder. There was the sonne of *M. Cato* slaine, valiantly fighting amongst the lustie youthes. For, notwithstanding that he was vetie wearie, and ouerharried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slaine rounde about him. So there were slaine in the field, all the chiefest gentlemen & nobility that were in his armie: who valiantly ranne into any daunger to saue *Brutus* life. Amongst them there was one of *Brutus* friends called *Lucilius*, who seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of al men else they met in their way, but going all together right against *Brutus*, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behind, told them that he was *Brutus*: and because they should beleeue him, he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he said he was affraide of *Cæsar*, and that he did trust *Antonius* better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking themselues happie men: they caried him in the night, and sent some before vnto *Antonius*, to tell him of their comming. He was maruellous glad of it, and went out to meete thē that brought him. Others also vnderstāding of it, that they had brought *Brutus* prisoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying, that it was not done like himselfe so cowardly to be taken aliue of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neere together, *Antonius* staied a while bethinking himselfe howe he should vse *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said. *Antonius*, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken nor shall take *Marcus Brutus* a liue: and I beseech God keepe him from that fortune. For whersoeuer he be found, aliue or dead: he will be found like himselfe. And now for my selfe, I am

Brutus second battell.

Brutus valiantnesse and great skill in warres.

The death of the valiant young man Cato, the sonne of Marcus Cato.

The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Brutus.

I am come vnto thee, hauing deceiued these men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was *Brutus*: and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* words made them all amazed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other side, looking vpon all them that had brought him, said vnto them: my cõpanions, I thinke ye are sorie you haue failed of your purpose, and that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I do assure you, you haue taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For, in stead of an enemy, you haue brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me *Brutus* aliue, truely I can not tell what I should haue done to him. For, I had rather haue such men my friends, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time deliuered him to one of his friendes in custodie, and *Lucilius* euer after serued him faithfully, euen to his death. Nowe *Brutus* hauing passed a litle riuer, walled in on either side with hie rockes, and shadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but stayed at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and friends that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full of starres, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect, *Brutus flying.*

Let not the wight from whom this mischiefe went
(O Ioue) escape without dew punishment.

And saith that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his friendes that he had seene slaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh then before: specially when he came to name *Labio* and *Flauius*, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other Captaine of the pioners of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie being a thirst, and seeing *Brutus* a thirst also: he ranne to the riuer for water, and brought it in his sallet. At the selfe same time they heard a noise on the other side of the riuer. Whereupon *Volumnius* tooke *Dardanus*, *Brutus* seruant with him, to see what it was: and returning straight againe, asked if there were any water left. *Brutus* smiling, gently tolde them all was drunke, but they shall bring you some more. Thereupon he sent him againe that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly scaped, being sore hurt. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought that there was no great number of men slaine in battell, and to knowe the truth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promised to goe through his enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to goe see their campe) and from thence if all were well, that he would lift vp a torch light in the aire, and then returne againe with speede to him. The torch light was lift vp as he had promised, for *Statilius* went thither. Nowe *Brutus* seeing *Statilius* tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he said: if *Statilius* be aliue, he will come againe. But his euill fortune was such, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands, and was slaine. Now, the night being farre spent, *Brutus* as he sate bowed towards *Clitus* one of his men, and told him somwhat in his eare, the other answered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued *Dardanus*, and said somewhat also to him: at length he came to *Volumnius* himselfe, and speaking to him in Greeke, praied him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarying for them there, but that they must needs flie. Then *Brutus* rising vp, we must flie in deede said he, but it must be with our handes not with our feete. Then taking euery man by the hand, he said these words vnto them with a cheerefull countenance. It reioyceth my heart that not one of my friends hath failed me at my neede, and I doe not complaine of my fortune, but only for my countries sake: for, as for me, I thinke my selfe happier than they that haue ouercome, considering that I leaue a perpetuall fame of our courage and manhoode, the which our enemies the conquerors shall neuer attaine vnto by force nor money, neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughty and vniust men, haue slaine good men, to vsurpe tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Hauing said so, he praied euery man to shift for themselues, and then he went a litle aside with two or three only, among the which *Strato* was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the studie of Rethoricke. He came as neere to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his handes, and falling downe vppon the point of it, ranne himselfe through. Others say, that not he, but *Strato* (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that *Brutus* fell

Appian meaneth this by Antonius.

The death of Statilius.

Brutus saying of flying with hands, and not with feete.

Brutus slew himselfe.

Strato Brutus familiar and friend.

downe vpon it: and ſo ranne himſelfe through, and dyed preſently. *Meſſala*, that had beene *Brutus* great friend, became afterwards *Octauius Cæſars* friend. So, ſhortly after, *Cæſar* being at good leaſure, he brought *Strato*, *Brutus* friend vnto him, and weeping ſaid: *Cæſar*, behold, here is he that did the laſt ſeruice to my *Brutus*. *Cæſar* welcomed him at that time, and afterwardes he did him as faithfull ſeruice in all his affaires, as any GRECIAN elſe he had about him, vntill the battell of ACTIVM. It is reported alſo, that this *Meſſala* himſelfe anſwered *Cæſar* one day, when he gaue him great praiſe before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affection for him, at the battell of ACTIVM: (notwithſtanding that he had bene his cruell enemie before, at the battell of PHILIPPES, for *Brutus* ſake) I euer loued, ſaide he, to take the beſt and iuſteſt part. Now, *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* bodie, he cauſed it to be wrapped vp in one of the richeſt cote armors he had. Afterwards alſo, *Antonius* vnderſtanding that this cote-armor was ſtolen, he put the theefe to death that had ſtolen it, and ſent the aſhes of his bodie vnto *Seruilia* his mother. And for *Porcia*, *Brutus* wife: *Nicolaus* the Philoſopher, and *Valerius Maximus* doe write, that ſhe determining to kill her ſelfe (her parents and friendes carefully looking to her to keepe her from it) tooke hotte burning coles, and caſt them into her mouth, and kept her mouth ſo cloſe, that ſhe choked her ſelfe. There was a letter of *Brutus* found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his wife being ſicke, they would not helpe her, but ſuffred her to kill her ſelfe, chooſing to die, rather then to languiſh in paine. Thus it appeareth, that *Nicolaus* knew not well that time, ſith the letter (at the leaſt if it were *Brutus* letter) doth plainely declare the diſeaſe and loue of this Ladie, and alſo the manner of her death.

Strato receiued into Cæſars friendſhip.

Meſſala Coruinus Brutus friend.

Brutus funerals.

Porcia, Brutus wife, killed her ſelfe with burning coles.

THE COMPARISON OF *Dion with Brutus.*

TO come now to compare theſe two noble perſonages together, it is certaine that both of them hauing had great gifts in them (& ſpecially *Dion*) of ſmall occaſions they made themſelues great men: & therfore *Dion* of both deſerueth chiefeſt praiſe. For, he had no cohelper to bring him vnto that greatneſſe, as *Brutus* had of *Caſſius*: who doubtleſſe was not comparable vnto *Brutus*, for vertue and reſpect of honor, though otherwiſe in matters of warre, he was no leſſe wiſe and valiant then he. For many doe impute vnto *Caſſius*, the firſt beginning and originall of all the warre and enterpriſe: and ſaid it was he that did encourage *Brutus*, to conſpire *Cæſars* death. Where *Dion* furniſhed himſelfe with armor, ſhips and ſouldiers

souldiers and wanne those friendes and companions also that did helpe him, to prosecute his warre. Nor he did not as *Brutus*, who rose to greatnesse by his enterprises, and by warre got all his strength and riches. But he in contrarie maner, spent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his countrie and disbursed of his owne money, that should haue kept him in his banishment. Furthermore, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were compelled of necessitie to make warres, because they could not haue liued safely in peace, when they were driuen out of ROME: for that they were condemned to death, and pursued by their enemies. And for this cause therefore they were driuen to hazard themselues in warre, more for their owne safetie, then for the libertie of their country men. Whereas *Dion* on the other side, liuing more merily and safely in his banishment, then the tyrant *Dionysius* himselfe that had banished him: did put himselfe to that danger, to deliuer SICILE from bondage. Now the matter was not a like vnto the ROMAINES, to be deliuered from the gouernement of *Cæsar*: as it was for the SYRACVSANS, to be rid of *Dionysius* tyranny. For *Dionysius* denyed not, that he was not a tyrant, hauing filled SICILE with such misery and calamitie. Howbeit *Cæsars* power and gouernment when it came to be established, did in deede much hurt at his first entry and beginning vnto those that did resist him: but afterwardes, vnto them that being ouercome had receiued his gouerment, it seemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyrant, then otherwise that he was so in deede. For there neuer followed any tyrannicall nor cruell act, but contrarily, it seemed that he was a mercifull Phisitian, whom God had ordeined of speciall grace to be Gouernor of the Empire of ROME, and to set all things againe at quiet stay, the which required the counsell & authoritie of an absolute Prince. And therefore the ROMAINES were maruellous sorie for *Cæsar* after he was slaine, and afterwards would neuer pardon them that had slaine him. On the other side, the cause why the SYRACVSANS did most accuse *Dion*, was: because he did let *Dionysius* escape out of the castle of SYRACVSA, and because he did not ouerthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, touching the warres: *Dion* alway shewed himselfe a Captaine vnreproueable, hauing wisely and skilfully taken order for those things, which he had enterprised of his owne head and counsell, and did amend the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them. Wherein it seemeth, that *Brutus* did not wisely to receiue the second battell: considering his estate stood vpon it. For, after he had lost the battell, it was vnpossible for him euer to rise againe: and therefore his heart failed him, & so gaue vp all, and neuer durst striue with his euill fortune as *Pompey* did, considering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his souldiers, and being beside a dreadfull Lord all the sea ouer. Furthermore, the greatest reproach they could obiect against *Brutus*, was: that *Iulius Cæsar* hauing saued his life, and pardoned all the prisoners also taken in battell, as many as he had made request for, taking him for his friend, and honoring him aboue all his other friends: *Brutus* notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his bloud, wherewith they could neuer reproue *Dion*. For on the contrarie side, so long as *Dion* was *Dionysius* friend and kinsman, he did alway helpe him to order and gouerne his affaires. But after he was banished his countrie, and that his wife was forcibly married to another man, and his goods also taken from him: then he entred into iust and open warres against *Dionysius* the tyrant. But in this point, they were contrarie together. For wherein their chiefest praise consisted, to wit, in hating of tyrants and wicked men: it is most true that *Brutus* desire was most sincere of both. For hauing no priuate cause of complaint or grudge against *Cæsar*, he ventred to kil him, only to set his coũtry againe at libertie. Where if *Dion* had not receiued priuate cause of quarrell against *Dionysius*: he would neuer haue made warre with him. The which *Plato* proueth in his Epistles, where is plainly seene: that *Dion* being driuen out of the tyrants Court against his will, and not putting himselfe to voluntarie banishment, he draue out *Dionysius*. Furthermore, the respect of the cõmon wealth caused *Brutus*, that before was *Pompeys* enemie, to become his friend, and enemie vnto *Cæsar*, that before was his friend: onely referring his friendship and enmitie, vnto the consideration of iustice and equitie. And *Dion* did many things for *Dionysius* sake and benefite, all the while he trusted him: and when he began to mistrust him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherfore all his friends did not beleeue, but after he had driuen out *Dionysius*, he would stablish the gouernment of himselfe, flattering the people with a more courteous and gentle

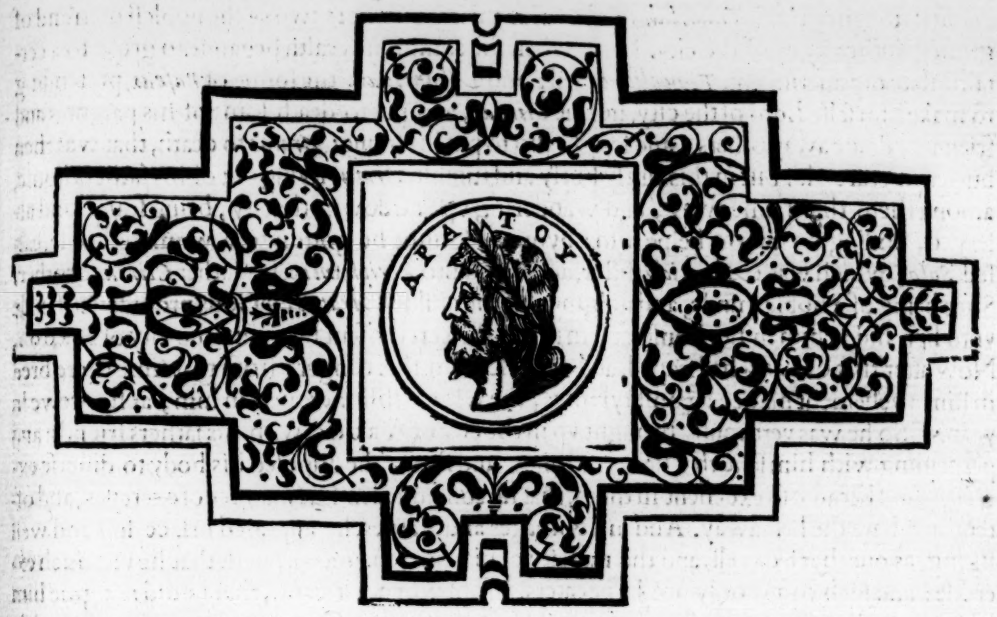
In what things Dion was inferior vnto Brutus.

title then the name of a tyrant. But for *Brutus*, his very enemies themselues confessed, that of all those that conspired *Cæsars* death, he onely had no other ende and intent to attempt his enterprise, but to restore the Empire of ROME againe to her former state and gouernement. And furthermore, it was not all one thing to deale with *Dionysius*, as it was to haue to do with *Iulius Cæsar*. For no man that knew *Dionysius*, but would haue despised him, considering that he spent the most part of his time in drinking, dycing, and in haunting lewd womens companie. But to haue vndertaken to destroy *Iulius Cæsar*, and not to haue shrunke backe for feare of his great wisedome, power, and fortune, considering that his name only was dreadfull vnto euery man, and also not to suffer the kings of PARTHIA and INDIA to be in rest for him: this could not come but of a maruellous noble mind of him, that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any part of his courage. And therefore, so soone as *Dion* came into SICILIA, many thousandes of men came and ioyned with him, against *Dionysius*. But the fame of *Iulius Cæsar* did set vp his friends againe after his death, and was of such force, that it raised a young stripling, *Octauius Cæsar*, (that had no meanes nor power of himselfe) to be one of the greatest men of ROME: and they vsed him as a remedie to encounter *Antonius* malice and power. And if men will say, that *Dion* draue out the tyrant *Dionysius* with force of armes, and sundrie battels: and that in contrarie maner *Brutus* slew *Cæsar*, being a naked man, and without guard: then do I answere againe, that it was a noble part, and of a wise Captaine, to choose so apt a time and place, to come vpon a man of so great power, and to find him naked without his guard. For he went not sodainly in a rage, and alone, or with a small company to assaile him: but his enterprise was long time before determined of, and that with diuers men, of all the which, not a man of them once failed him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chose them honest men, or else that by his choise of them, he made them good men. Whereas *Dion*, either from the beginning made no wise choise in trusting of euill men, or else because he could not tell how to vse them he had chosen: of good men he made them become euill, so that neither the one nor the other could be the part of a wise man. For *Plato* himselfe reproueth him, for that he had chosen such men for his friends, that he was slaine by them, and after he was slaine, no man would then reuenge his death. And in contrarie maner, of the enemies of *Brutus*, the one (who was *Antonius*) gaue his bodie honorable burial: and *Octauius Cæsar* the other, reserued his honors and memories of him. For at *Millaine*, (a citie of GAVLE on ITALY side,) there was an image of his in brasse, very like vnto him: the which *Cæsar* afterwardes passing that way, beheld very aduisedly, for that it was made by an excellent workman, and was very like him, and so went his way. Then he stayed sodainly againe, and called for the Gouernors of the citie, and before them all told them, that the citizens were his enemies, and traitors vnto him, because they kept an enemie of his among them. The Gouernors of the citie at the first were astonied at it, and stoutly denyed it: and none of them knowing what enemie he ment, one of them looked on an other. *Octauius Cæsar* then turning him vnto *Brutus* statue, bending his browes, said vnto them: this man you see standing vp here, is he not our enemie? Then the Gouernors of the citie were worse affraid then before, and could not tell what answere to make him. But *Cæsar* laughing, and commending the GAVLES for their faithfulnesse to their friends, euen in their aduersities: he was contented *Brutus* image should stand still as it did.

Brutus honored of his enemies after his death.

Brutus image or statue standing in brasse in Millaine, was preserued and kept by Octauius Cæsar.

THE LIFE OF
Aratus.



Hriſyppus the Philoſopher (my friend *Polycrates*) being afrayed as it ſeemeth of the euill ſound of an auncient prouerbe not rightly as it was ſpoken, and in vſe, but as he thought it beſt, hee wrote in this manner:

VVhat children do their aunceſtors commend,
But thoſe whom fortune fauors to the end?

But *Dionyſodorus* TROEZENIAN reprouing him, doth rehearſe the prouerbe rightly as in deede it is?

VVhat children do their aunceſtors commend,
But thoſe whoſe life is vertuous to the end?

Saying, that this prouerbe ſtoppeth their mouthes who of them ſelues are vnworthy of praiſe, and yet are ſtill boaſting of the vertues of their aunceſters, whoſe praiſe they highly extoll. But before thoſe that (as *Pindarus* ſaith,)

Do match their noble aunceſtors in proweſſe of their owne,
And by their fruites commend the ſtocke whence they them ſelues are growne.

(As thy ſelfe that comformeſt thy life vnto the examples and manners of thy vertuous aunceſters:) it is no ſmall good happe for them, often to remember the noble deedes of their parentes in hearing them ſpoken of, or otherwiſe for them ſelues oftentimes to remember ſome notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praiſe and glory: but in ioyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their aunceſters, they do increaſe their glory, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their diſcent by blond. Therefore, hauing written the life of *Aratus* thy countrey man, and one of thy aunceſters, whoſe glory and greatneſſe thou doeſt not blemiſhe, I doe ſend it vnto thee, not that I thinke but that thou haſt more diligently then any man elſe, ſearched out all his deedes and ſayings: But yet, becauſe that thy two ſonnes, *Polycrates*, and *Pythocles*, reading, and ſtill hearing ſomething reported, might be brought vp at home by the example of their aunceſters, whoſe deedes ſhall lie before them to follow. For he loueth him ſelfe more, then he regardeth perfect vertue, or his credite: that thinketh him ſelfe ſo perfect, as he needeth not follow any others example.

The example of our aunceſters, wherein profitable to their poſterity.

The common weale of the Sicyonians conuerted into tyranny.

The city of SICYONE, after it fell from her first gouernment of the optimacy and nobility, which is proper to the city of the DORIANS: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into ciuill warres and seditious practises, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceased to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway chaunging new tyraunts, vntill that *Cleon* being slaine they chose *Timoclidas* and *Clinias* their Gouernors, two of the noblest men and of greatest authority in all the city. Now when the common wealth beganne to grow to a certaine state of gouernment, *Timoclidas* died: and *Abantidas*, the sonne of *Paseas*, pretending to make him selfe Lord of the city, he slue *Clinias*, and put to death some of his parentes and friendes, draue away others, and sought also to put his sonne *Aratus* to death, that was then but seuen yeare old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, *Aratus* flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandering vp and downe the city, being scared and affrayed, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he gotte into a womans house, called *Soso*, which was *Abantidas* sister, and wife vnto *Periphantus*, his father *Clinias* brother. Shee being of a noble minde, and iudging that the childe *Aratus* by Gods prouidence fledde vnto her: hidde him in her house, and in the night secretly sent him vnto the city of ARGOS. Now after that *Aratus* had scaped, and was safe from this danger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice against tyraunts, the which still increased in him, as he grewe in yeares. So he was vertuously brought vp in the city of ARGOS, with his fathers friends: and perceiuing with him selfe that he waxed bigge and strong, he disposed his body to diuerse exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in fiue manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face, full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the maiesty of his countenaunce argueth that he vsed such exercise: and such commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not giue him selfe so much to pleading, as peraduenture was requisite for a Gouernor of a common wealth. Howbeit, some doe iudge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloquenter tong then seemed vnto some: because he wrote them in hast, hauing other businesse in hand, and euen as things came first into his minde. But afterwardes, *Dinias* and *Aristotle* Logitian, slue *Abantidas*, who did commonly vse to sit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and opportunity to worke their feate they did. After *Abantidas* death, his father *Paseas* possessed the tyranny: whom *Nicocles* afterwardes slue also by treason, and made him selfe tyrant in his place. It is reported that this *Nicocles* did liuely resemble the countenance of *Periander*, the sonne of *Cypselus*, as *Orontes* PERSIAN was very like vnto *Alcmeon*, the sonne of *Amphiaraus*: and an other young LACEDÆMONIAN, vnto *Hector* of TROIA, whom *Myrsillus* writeth, was troden vnder mens feete, through the ouer great presse of people that came to see him, when they heard of it. This *Nicocles* was tyrant foure monethes together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the city, and had almost lost it, the ÆTOLIANS comming on a sodaine, who were like to haue taken it. Now *Aratus* was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatly esteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they found in him, which was no small matter: and besides that, he had a maiesty in his countenaunce, being wiser then was looked for in a young man of his yeares. Therefore the banished men from the city of SICYONE, repaired vnto him before any other man. *Nicocles* for his part also was not careless of his doings, but had an eye euer to see what *Aratus* intended, although he litle mistrusted any such bolde enterprise, nor so daungerous an exploite of him: but did onely coniecture that he did stirre vp the kings which had bene his dead fathers friendes. And so in deede *Aratus* tooke that course. But when hee saw that *Antigonus* still delayed his promises, and did alwaies tract time, and that the hope of aide from king *Ptolomy* of ÆGYPT was too farre off: at length he determined to vndertake to destroy the tyraunt him selfe. So hee first consulted with *Aristomachus* and* *Ecdelus*: of the which the one was banished from SICYONE, and the other an ARCADIAN, from the city of MEGALIPOLIS, a Philosopher, and a valiaunt man of his handes, and had bene scholler to *Arcesilaus* the Academicke, in the citie of ATHENS. These two men being contented to ioyne with *Aratus*, he practised with other of the banished men also: of the which there were some that were ashamed, not to be partakers of

Abantidas tyrant of Sicyone

Aratus the son of Clinias, scapeth the handes of the tyrant Abantidas.

Aratus malice against tyrants.

Aratus fauor.

Aratus wrote a book of Commentaries.

Abantidas the tyrant slaine.

Aristotle the Logitian.

Aratus goeth about to deliuer his country from the tyranny.

* *In an other place he calleth him Ecdemus.*

Aristomachus and Ecdelus, doe ioyne with Aratus.

of his hope and noble attempt, and ſo did alſo ioyne with him. Howbeit the moſt part of them did not onely refuſe to enter into that practiſe, but further, went about to diſſwade *Aratus* from his enterpriſe, ſaying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he vnderſtood not the danger in vndertaking ſuch a matter, altogether ſo vnlikely. Now, as *Aratus* was thinking in his minde to keepe a certaine place in the territory of SICYONE, from whence they might make warre with the tyraunts: there came a priſoner vnto them out of the city of ARGOS, that had broken priſon from the tyrant of SICYONE: and was brother vnto *Xenocles*, one of the baniſhed men. He being brought by the ſame *Xenocles* vnto *Aratus*, told that in the place whereby he had ſaued him ſelfe, the ground within was almoſt as high as the toppe of the wall, the which in that part ioyned vnto high ſtony places: and that without the wall the height was not ſo great, but that it was eaſily ſcalable with ladders. When *Aratus* heard that, he ſent two of his men, *Seuthas*, and *Technon*, with *Xenocles* to view the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to proue ſecretly to execute his pretended enterpriſe, and quickely to put it to a venture: then to beginne a long warre, and to prepare an open army, he being a priuate man, to goe againſt the power of a tyraunt. *Xenocles* being returned againe to *Aratus*, after he had meaſured the height of the wall: he reported that the place was not vnſcalable, but yet very hard to come to it vndiſcouered, becauſe of certaine litle curſt curres a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would neuer leaue barking. Howbeit *Aratus* would not leaue off his enterpriſe ſo. Now it was not ſtraunge to ſee euery man prepare them ſelues of armor and weapon, becauſe at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed by high wayes, and one would aſſault an other: but for the ladders, *Euphranor* that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not ſticke to make them openly, becauſe his common occupation did take away all ſuſpition why they were made. For this carpenter was himſelfe alſo a baniſhed man from SICYONE, as the reſidue were. Furthermore, *Aratus* friendes hee had in ARGOS, of thoſe few men they had, did euery man of them lend him tenne men, and armed thirty of his owne men: beſide them, *Aratus* himſelfe alſo did hire ſome prety number of ſouldiers, by the practiſe of *Xenophilus*, whom the Captaines of the theeues did furniſhe him. They were giuen to vnderſtand that they ſhould be led to the territory of SICYONE, to take a prey of cattell and coltes of the king: and they were ſent before, ſome one way, ſome an other, with commaundement, all to meete together at the tower of Polygnotus, where they ſhould tary. So he ſent *Capheſias* alſo before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who ſhould come to this gardiners houſe in the night, like ſtrangers and trauellers, to lie in his houſe, and to locke him vp and his dogs, becauſe they had no other deuiſe to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were certain ſpials of *Nicocles* the tyrant diſcouered, that walked vp and downe the city (making no countenance of any matter) to ſee what *Aratus* did. Wherefore, *Aratus* went out of his houſe early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with his friends. Then he went to the ſhew place (or place of exerciſes) and there ſtripped himſelfe, annointed him, and wreſtled, and in the end tooke certaine of the yong gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make mery, and to paſſe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his ſeruants was ſeen in the market place, carying of garlands of flowers. An other was ſeene alſo buying of linckes and torches, and an other hiring of theſe common dauncing and ſinging women, which follow feaſtes and banquets with their inſtruments. *Nicocles* ſpials ſeeing that, were deceiued: for one of them laughing on an other ſayd, that they might eaſily ſee by that, there was nothing more fearfull and timerous then a tyrant: conſidering that *Nicocles* being Lord of ſo great a city, was afraied of a yong ſtripling, that ſpent all that he could rap and rend to keepe him in his baniſhment, vpon vaine banquets, and feaſts, at noone daies. And thus were the tyrants ſpials finely mocked. *Aratus* ſelfe departed immediatly after dinner out of ARGOS, and went vnto his ſouldiers, whom he had appointed before to meete him at the tower of Polygnotus, & led them ſtraight vnto NEMEA. There he told them openly his full intent and purpoſe, hauing before made an Oration vnto them to encourage them, and alſo made them maruellous faire promiſes. Then he gaue them for their watch word, *Apollo* fauorable, and ſo went directly to the city of SICYONE, marching with great ſpeede at the firſt becauſe of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwards ſlackened

Aratus preparation to deliuer his country from tyranny.

Aratus policy to deceiue Nicocles ſpials.

his pace a litle, ſo that they had Moone light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, vntill they were come to the gardiners houſe that was hard by the wall. So *Cepheſias*, whom he had ſent before vnto the gardiners houſe, came to meete with *Aratus*, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, becauſe they ranne away: howbeit that he had made faſt the gardiner in his owne houſe. This diſcouraged the moſt part of all the company, who would needes haue him in any caſe to returne backe againe. But *Aratus* then began to comfort them, and promiſed that he would lead them backe againe, if it chaunced that the dogges were too buſie with them: and therewithall preſently cauſed the ladder men to goe before, whom *Ecdelus* and *Mnaſitheus* led, and he him ſelfe came faire and ſoftly after. The dogges made a fowle barking, and were baying about *Ecdelus* and his company. This notwithſtanding, they came ſafely to the wall, and did ſet vp their ſcaling ladders. But euen as the firſt men got vp on them, the Captain of the watch that had giuen place to him that ſhould ward in the morning, came by chaunce, and paſſed hard by them, viſiting the ſouldiers with a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noiſe of men that followed him. They that were vppon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and ſtirred not: and thereby the ſouldiers that paſſed by them, could not ſee them. But now the new morning watch came towardes them alſo, which did put them in great daunger to be diſcouered: but yet they once againe ſcaped them and were not diſcouered, becauſe the ſecond watch went beyond them, and ſtayed not. Then *Ecdelus* and *Mnaſitheus* immediatly ſcaled the wall, and ſent *Techon* with all poſſible ſpeed vnto *Aratus*, to will him to make all the haſt he could to come to them. Now there was no great diſtance betwixt the garden where the dogs were, and the wall, and and a litle tower where they kept a great greyhound to keepe watch: but the greyhound neuer heard their comming, either becauſe he was a cowardly curre of nature, or elſe for that he had bene ouercourſed and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle curres that bald and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhound with their barking, who at the firſt began to anſwere them with a ſoft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out aloude, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Inſomuch, that the skoute which was farther off, called aloude to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made ſuch a barking, and whether there were any thing ſtutring or not that angered him. The hunt within the tower anſwered, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was waked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that paſſed by, and at the noyſe of the bell. This made *Aratus* ſouldiers a great deale the bolder: becauſe they thought that the hunt had beene made priuy to their enterpriſe, and that he went about to hide their ſecrete attempt, and hoped alſo that there were many other within the city that would further their enterpriſe. When they came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height, and very daungerous, becauſe the ladders ſhooke, and bowed by reaſon of the waight of the men, vnles they did come vp faire and ſoftly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in ſome perill, becauſe the cocks began to crow, and the countrey folke that brought things to the market to ſell, beganne to come a pace to the towne out of euery quarter. And therefore *Aratus* made haſt to get vppe, hauing only forty men aboue with him, and looked for ſome beſides to come vp, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrants pallace, where his hiered ſouldiers kept watch and ward: and comming ſodainely vpon them, layd hold of euery man of them, & ſlue not one. Then he ſent into the city to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. Thereupon they ranne out of euery corner to *Aratus*. Now the day began to breake, and ſtraight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, becauſe of the noyſe and ſturre they heard in the city, not knowing what the matter ment: vntill at length an Herauld proclaymed with open voice, that it was *Aratus* the ſonne of *Clinias*, who called his country men and Citizens to the recouery of their liberty. Then they perſwading them ſelues, that the thing which they long wiſhed and looked for, was now come to paſſe: they ranne all in a troupe together to the tyrants houſe, and ſet it a fire. But the flame roſe ſo high and great after the fire had taken it in euery part, that it was ſeene to the city of CORINTHE: inſomuch that the CORINTHIANS wondring what the matter ſhould be, were in minde to haue gone to helpe it. Now for *Nicocles*, he ſaued him ſelfe, and got out of the city by ſecret vaultes he had made vnder

Aratus daungers, in deliuering of his countrey from the tyranny of Nicocles.

Aratus wan the city of Sicyone without bloudſhed.

vnder the ground. The ſouldiers on the other ſide quenching the fire with the helpe of the Citizens, did ſacke all they found in the tyrants pallace. The which *Aratus* hindered not, but did moreouer make all the reſt of the tyrants goods common amongeſt them. So his enterpriſe had ſo good ſucceſſe, that there was none of his owne company ſlaine he brought with him, neither any of their enemies that were within the city, fortune kept this exploite ſo pure and cleane from any bloudſhed. Then *Aratus* reſtored foure ſcore men vnto their lands and goods againe, whom the tyraunt *Nicocles* had baniſhed: and others alſo, that had beene baniſhed by former tyrants, to the number of fiue hundred men, who had bene well neare fifty yeres ſpace baniſhed out of their countrey. Now the moſt of them being come home poore and needy, would haue entred on their goods and lands they enioyed before: and ſo, entring againe vpon their lands in their countrey, and their houſes in the city, they amazed *Aratus* withall, ſeeing *Antigonus* on the one ſide practiſe all the meanes he could to winne SICYONE being now free, and they all in an vprore and mutiny in the city. Therefore, following the beſt counſell he could thinke vppon and deuiſe, conſidering the daunger of the preſent time: he ioyned the city in league and friendſhippe with the ACHAIANS, and of them all, made but one body. And becauſe the Citizens of SICYONE were DORIANS, they were glad to ſubmit themſelues to be gouerned and protected by the name of the ACHAIANS, who were at that time of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great bounds of lands, neither were they very ſpeciall good, for that they ſtoode vpon the ſea ſide, where was no manner of hauen nor port, but ſtones and rockes good ſtore: and the ſea beating vppon them, did eate into the maine land. This notwithſtanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of GREECE when it was vnited and gouerned by good policy was of great force, and almoſt inuincible. For the ACHAIANS being in compariſon of the ancient force of GREECE, of no regard, and but a part of one city enfeebled with ciuill and forraine warre: So long as they could ſubmit them ſelues to be ruled by the wiſdome and vertue of their Captaine, and not enuy and malice his proſperity and ſoueraintie: they did not onely maintaine them ſelues as free men, in the middeſt of the ſeruitude of ſo many great cities, large and mighty, but did alſo deliuer many other people of GREECE from their tyrants. Now, for *Aratus* maners: he was one that in nature loued ciuill gouernment, and equality among Citizens in one ſelfe city: he was nobly minded, and more painefull about the affaires of the common weale, then carefull of his owne buſines, and hated tyrants to the death, and imployed his good or euill will wholy for the ſeruice of the common wealth. And therefore he ſeemed not to be ſo ſound a friend, as he was a gentle and mercifull enemy: framing him ſelfe in either of both, as time ſerued for the common wealth. To be ſhort, it was a generall and common voyce among all the cities confederates, in priuate company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that *Aratus* loued nothing but vertue, and honeſty. That in open warres he was not ſo valiant and couragious, as he was crafty and ſubtill, to take a city on the ſodaine. Furthermore, though he was valiant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would neuer haue brought to paſſe: yet it ſeemeth he left many things poſſible vndone, the which hee might eaſily haue done, for that he durſt not venter on them. For as there be beaſtes whoſe ſight is perfecteſt by night, and by day they can ſee nothing, becauſe the ſubtilty of the humor & moyſture in their eyes is dried vp, and can not abide the bright light of the day: euen ſo, men that otherwiſe by nature are very wiſe, are eaſily afrayed of danger, when they muſt venter on it at noone dayes, where contrarily they are bold in ſecrete enterpriſes, ſodainely to attempt any thing. Now, this contrariety and difference in men well brought vp, groweth through ignorance and lacke of inſtruction of Philoſophy, which of it ſelfe doth noriſh vertue, as frute that ſpringeth vp without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is beſt diſcerned by examples. So *Aratus* hauing ioyned himſelfe and his city SICYONE vnto the ACHAIANS, and ſeruing in perſon as a man of arms amõg the reſt: he was maruellouſly beloued of his generals, that ſaw him ſo obedient. For, notwithſtanding that he had made ſo large a contribution as the eſtimation of him ſelfe, and the force of his city vnto the common wealth of the ACHAIANS: yet he was as ready to obey and execute the commandements of the generals, as the pooreſt and meaneſt ſouldier, were he of DYMA, or of TRITA, or of any other ſmall village whatſoeuer. Further-

Nicocles the tyrant flieth.

Aratus ioineth the city of Sicyone vnto the Achaians.

Aratus referred all things to the common wealth.

Why owles ſee beſt by night, and not by day. Men ignorant of Philoſophy be likened vnto owles.

more, a great summe of money being sent him from king *Ptolomy* for a gift, amounting to twenty and fiue talents, he tooke it, but forthwith disposed it amongest his poore countrey men, both to relecue their want, as also to redeeme prisoners. This notwithstanding the banished men still vexed and troubled them that had their goods and landes, to haue them out of their hands, and otherwise would be satisfied by no means. Their common wealth therefore being in great danger to fall into ciuill warre, *Aratus* perceiuing there was no other way to helpe this mischiefe, but by *Ptolomies* liberality: he determined to goe vnto him, to pray him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he imbarked at the hauen of METHONA, aboue the foreland of MALEA, to saile from thence into ÆGYPT: howbeit he had such a contrary winde, and the seas rose so high, that the maister of the shippe was driuen to let her go whither she would to take sea roome. So being driuen quite from his direct course, with great danger he got to the city of ANDRIA, which was his enemy: because *Antigonus* kept it, and had a garrison in it. But *Aratus* did wisely preuent it, going a shoare, and wandred farre from the sea, with one of his friends called *Timanthes*, and got into a wod, whereby they had an euill nights rest. He had not gone farre after he had left his shippe, but the Captaine of the garrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his seruaunts had mocked him finely, (being before instructed by *Aratus* what answere they should make) saying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of EVBOEA. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garrison stayed the shippe, his men, and all things els she had in her, and tooke her for a good prise. Within few dayes after, *Aratus* being maruellously troubled, and at a straight with him selfe what he should doe: there happily arriued a ROMAINE shippe hard by the place where he kept most, partly to hide himselfe, and partly also to see if he could discouer any thing. This shippe was bound for SYRIA. So he had dealt with the maister of the ship in that sort, that he tooke him aboard, and promised he would deliuer him in CARIA, and so he did. But he was in as much daunger, this second iourney againe by sea, as he was in the first he made towards ÆGYPT. From CARIA, a long time after, *Aratus* went into ÆGYPT, and spake with the king, who made very much of him: for *Aratus* fed him still by sending of him passing faire tables, and pictures of GREECE of excellent workemanship. And in deede hauing a singular good wit, he alwayes got together, and bought the excellentest painted pictures he could get, but specially the pictures of *Pamphilus* and *Melanthus*, to send them vnto the king. For learning florished yet in the city of SICYONE, and they esteemed the painting of tables in that city, to be the perfectest for true colours, and fine drawing, of all other places. Insomuch as *Apelles*, (though he was then of a maruellous fame for painting) went thither, and gaue to these two excellent painters a talent, to remaine a while in their company: not so much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as thereby to winne him selfe fame. And therefore when *Aratus* had restored his city againe to liberty, he caused all the images of the tyraunts to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit he stood doubtfull a long time, whether he should deface *Aristratus* picture or not, who raigned in the time of *Philip*. For it was painted with the hands of all the schollers of *Melanthus*, being by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victory, and as *Polemon* the Geographer writeth, *Apelles* hand was to it. This picture was a passing peece of worke to see to, so that *Aratus* at the first yeelded, and was contented to saue it for the excellency of the workemanship: yet in the end, ouercome with the extreame hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it should be defaced. Now it is reported also, that *Nealces* the painter being one of *Aratus* friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon such a notable peece of worke. But when he saw *Aratus* so hard hearted that he would not graunt it: he told him it was good reason to make war with tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (quoth he) leaue the chariot of triumphe and victory, and I will make thee see *Aristratus*, willingly to come out of the table. *Aratus* was contented to let him haue his will. Then *Nealces* defaced the picture of *Aristratus*, and in place thereof drew onely a palme tree, and durst adde nothing else to it of his owne deuise. Some say, that vnder the chariot were conueied *Aristratus* feete defaced. So *Aratus* by meanes of these tables and pictures, was maruellously well beloued of king *Ptolomy*. But after that he was acquainted with him, and knew his conuersation: he loued him then better then before. Insomuch that he gaue him a hundred and fifty talents to helpe his city withall: of the which, hee caried forty away

Aratus taketh sea to goe to king Ptolomy into AEgypt.

The pictures and painted tables made in the city of Sicyone, did passe all the other paintings in Greece.

The excellency of Aristratus picture the tyrant of Sicyone painted by all Melanthus schollers and Apelles helpe: and Aratus consultation for the defacing of it.

The saying of Nealces the painter, touching tyraunts.

The great liberality of Ptolomy vnto Aratus.

away with him vnto PELOPONNESVS, and the king afterwards sent him the rest at sundrie times. Now this was a maruellous matter of him to get such a masse of money together for his Citizens: considering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouernors of free cities, for a little summe of money onely which they haue taken of kings and princes, haue bene corrupted and betrayed their townes and country. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this money, he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and rich, and furthermore, saued vpright all the people of SICYONE, where he shewed himselfe maruellous wise and temperate, being of that great power and authoritie he was. For after they had chosen him Arbitrator to iudge compounde, and absolutely to decide all quarrels and strife betwene the banished men: he would neuer vndertake it himselfe alone, but tooke fifteene other of the chiefest Citizens with him, and with them, with great paines and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his Citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not onely all the inhabitants and Citizens of SICYONE together, did not onely decree publike honors meete for him: but also the banished men themselues did priuately cast his image in brasse, and set it vp, vnder the which they caused this inscription to be grauen. *Aratus* temperance

Thy prowesse and thy feates of armes, thy counsaile sage and wise,
Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skies,
But also to the vtmost streights of Marrok blowen by fame.
And we that through thy goodnesse home into our country came,
Haue set this image vp to thee Aratus, as a signe
Of our delia'rance through thy loue and through the power diuine.
For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth restore
Vs country, lawes, and libertie, bereft vs quite before.

Aratus hauing done all these things, he suppressed the enuie of the Citizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king *Antigonus* being angry with *Aratus* in his mind, and seeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of *Ptolomy*: he did him many other great curtesies, *Aratus* neuer seeking them at his hands. But one day specially aboue the rest, as he did sacrifice vnto the gods at CORINTH, he sent *Aratus* part of his weathers he had sacrificed, vnto SICYONE. And at the feast of his sacrifice in the hearing of many noble men that were bidden guests, he said openly of *Aratus*: I did alway thinke that this young SICYONIAN could not but haue a liberall mind, louing the liberty of his contrie and countrimen: but I perceiue now he is a man that can iudge of Princes manners and affaires. For heretofore he made no account of vs, because his hope was out of his countrie, and he greatly esteemed the riches of ÆGYPT, hearing talke of so many Elephants, of such a great fleete of shippes, and of such a sumptuous Court, as king *Ptolomyes* Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a smoke and vaine pompe, he is come to vs: & for my part, he is welcome to me, and I wil haue you al to take him for my frend. These words of king *Antigonus*, were straight taken at bound of certaine enuious men, and caried for lacke of better matter vnto king *Ptolomy*, euery man striuing who should write all the euil they could against him: So that *Ptolomy* thereuppon sent a Messenger of purpose vnto him, to reproue him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, betweene the earnest loue of these Princes and kings, that contended with each other who should haue *Aratus*. Furthermore, the first time that *Aratus* was chosen Lieutenant generall of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, hee forraged and spoiled the country of LOCRIDE, which lieth directly ouer against ACHAIA, & CALYDONIA also. Howbeit he came not time enough to aide the BOEOTIANS, in the battell which they lost before the city of CHÆRONEA, against the ÆTOLIANS: where *Abœocritus*, Gouernor of BOEOTIA was slain in the field, with a thousad other BOEOTIANS. Howbeit the next yeare following, he being the second time chosen Lieutenant generall, he attempted to winne the castell of CORINTH againe, being an enterprise which not onely concerned the priuat benefite of SICYONE it selfe, and the tribe of the ACHAIANS, but also of all GREECE besides. For, he was fully bent to driue the garrison of the MACEDONIANS thence, the which seemed euen a very yoke that held al the GRECIANS noses to the grindstone. For like as *Chares*, Captaine of the ATHENIANS, hauing in a certaine conflicte, discomfited the kings Lieutenants, *Aratus* doings in his first Prætorship.

wrote to the ATHENIANS that had wonne a victory halfe sister to the victory of *Marathon*. Euen so me thinkes it were no disgrace to say, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tirants, which was done by *Pelopidas* THEBAN, and *Thrasybulus* ATHENIAN, sauing that this last acte was more famous, because it was not against GRECIANS, but against strangers and forren power and gouernment, vpon whom it was executed. For the Isthmus or barre of PELOPONNESVS, which separateth the sea Ægeum from the sea Ionium, doth come and ioine the firme land of the rest of GREECE, with the PRISCHEAN Iland of PELOPONNESVS. Euen so likewise the mountaine called Acrocorinth, on the which the castle standeth, rising vp in the middest of GREECE, when there is any garrison of men of warre in it, it cutteth off all traffike and passage by, of any armies of them which inhabit within the straight: for them that are without the straight, both by sea and by lande, and maketh him onely Lord of the countrie that keepeth the castle. So that it was not for sporte, but for truth, and in good earnest, that *Philip* the young king of MACEDON was wont to call the citie and castle of CORINTH the stockes and gyues of GREECE. And therefore was this castle maruellously wished and desired of euerie man, but specially of Kings and Princes. But the desire *Antigonus* had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a franticke louer. For he did nothing else continually but study and deuise how he might winne it vpon the sodaine, from them that kept it: because otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that castle, being poysoned (as it is reported) by *Antigonus* practise, the castle being left in the handes of his wife *Nicæa*, who gouerned the state of CORINTHE, and did carefully cause the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he immediatly sent his sonne *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicæa* in good hope to marry her with this young Prince: a thing that pleased this Ladie well, though she was verie olde. So, for her selfe she was wonne straight, by meanes of his young sonne *Demetrius*, whom he vsed as a stale to intrappe her. Howbeit *Nicæa* for all this goodly offer, forsooke not her castle, but alwaies made it straightly to be looked vnto. *Antigonus* seemed to make no account of it, but daily gaue himselfe to make sumptuous sacrifices, feastes, and playes to the gods, within the citie of CORINTHE for the mariage: as though he had ment no other thing, but banqueting and iolitie all that might be. When the houre was come to see these sportes, and that the Musitian *Amœbeus* began to sing: he himselfe made as though he would accompanie *Nicæa* vnto the Theater, being conueyed thither in a sumptuous rich litter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing lesse then of that which happened her. But when *Antigonus* came to the end of a streete that turned to goe vp the hill towardes the castle, he bad her keepe on still to the Theater: and himselfe in the meane time left *Amœbeus* there with his singing, and all the feast of the mariage, and went straight vp to the castle, forcing himselfe aboue his strength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates shut, he knocked with his staffe, and commaunded the garrison to open him the gates. They wondring to see him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the castell, he was so exceeding ioyfull of it, that he had no reason to moderate his ioy, but would banquet in the middest of streetes, and in the market place, hauing minstrels to play vppon their instruments at his table, wearing garlandes of flowers on their heads for ioy, and did so fondly and lightly behaue him selfe, as if he had beene a light young man, (and not as he was) an old man: who had proued such sundry chaunges of fortune, and yet suffered him selfe to be thus caried away with pleasure, that he embraced, and spake to euery man he met. Whereby it is easy to iudge, that ioy possessing a man without wit or discretion, it maketh him besides him selfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then paine or feare. Now *Antigonus* hauing wonne the castell of the Acrocorinthe, as you haue heard, he put it into the handes of those he trusted best, to be safely kept: and therefore made *Persæus* the Philosopher Captaine of the castell. But in deede *Aratus* was in minde to haue attempted the taking of the castell, in *Alexanders* life time: yet he let it alone, because he ioyned him selfe with the ACHAIANS. But at that time there was offered him an other occasion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At CORINTHE, there were foure brethren borne in SYRIA, of the which, one of them being called *Diocles*, was a souldier of the garrison of the castell: and the rest, hauing robbed the kings treasure,

Pxesche, an Iland of Peloponnesus.

Acrocorinthus mons.

Young king Philips saying of the castle of Corinthe.

Antigonus craft and deceite.

Antigonus craftily taketh the castell of the Acrocorinthe.

Ouer great ioy to a simple man, maketh him mad.

Persæus the Philosopher, made Captaine of the Acrocorinthe.

Aratus determination for the taking of the Acrocorinthe.

ſure, went ſtraight vnto SICYONE, to *Aegias* the banker, whom *Aratus* imployed in his faultie. Theſe three brethren immediatly ſold him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them called *Erginus*, comming often to ſee him, by litle and litle ſold him all the reſt. By this meanes *Aegias* fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garriſon of the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe. *Erginus* told him, that going vnto his brother vp thoſe ſteepe and high rockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the caſtle, which was verie lowe. *Aegias* hearing that, aunſwerd him ſmyling: alas, my friend, what meane you to ſteale a litle peece of gold to hinder the king, when in one houres ſpace you can ſell ſuch a great maſſe of money together? For as well ſhall you dye if you be apprehended for this felonie, as if you were otherwiſe attainted for treaſon. *Erginus* with that fell a laughing, and promiſed that he would feele his brother *Diocles* minde in it, for he did not greatly truſt his other bretheren. So, returning ſhortly after, he bargayned with *Aratus* to bring him to a place of the wall that was not aboue fifteene foote high, promiſing that he would helpe him to execute the reſt, with his brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* promiſed then to giue him fifty talentes, if he brought his enterpriſe to paſſe: and if he fayled, that he would then giue either of them, a houſe & a talent. *Erginus* would haue the whole 50 talents put into *Aegias* the bankers hands. *Aratus* had not ſo much readie money, and beſides, he would not take it vp at vſury, for feare of giuing cauſe to ſuſpect his enterpriſe. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and ſiluer, and his wiues iewels, and layde them to gage to *AEgias*, to diſburſe the ſaid ſumme. But *Aratus* had ſo great and noble a mind in him, and was ſo bent to doe notable actes: that knowing how *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* had bene eſteemed for the iuſteſt and honeſteſt men of GREECE, becauſe they had refuſed great giftes that were offered them, and would neuer ſell nor ſtaine their honor for money: he yet ſurpaſſing them, was contented to ſpend his owne, to bring any good enterpriſe to paſſe, and did put his life in danger for the common benefite of his country men, they themſelues knowing nothing of his enterpriſe, which turned all to their benefite. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and courage of ſuch a man, and that will not euen now as it were, be willing to aide him: conſidering how dearely he bought ſo great a daunger of his perſon, and howe he laide his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middeſt of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, hauing no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of ſuch a noble enterpriſe, and nothing elſe? But now, though the enterpriſe of it ſelfe was daungerous, an error chauncing through ignorance at the firſt, made it yet more daungerous. For *Aratus* had ſent *Technon*, one of his men before with *Diocles*, to view the wall. This *Technon* had neuer ſpoken with *Diocles*, howbeit he thought in his mind what manner of man he was, by the markes that *Erginus* had giuen him of him: that he had a blacke curled haire, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Nowe *Technon* being come to the place where *Erginus* ſayd he would be with *Diocles*: he ſtayed before the towne in a place called ORNIS. So whileſt he was tarying there, the elder brother of *Diocles*, called *Dionyſius* (who knew nothing of the enterpriſe, nor was made acquainted withall, and looked very like his brother *Diocles*) came that way by chaunce. *Technon* being moued by the markes he ſaw in him, like vnto thoſe he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kinne vnto *Erginus*. The other anſwered, he was his brother. Then *Technon* perſwading him ſelfe it was certainly *Diocles* that ſpake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquirie of him: he tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practiſe he had with *Erginus*, and to aske him of it. *Dionyſius* taking the matter vpon him, & feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the city, holding him on ſtill with talke, *Technon* miſtruſting nothing. But euen as *Dionyſius* was ready to take him faſt by the choller: his brother *Erginus* came. Who, perceyuing how *Technon* had miſtaken the matter, and the daunger he was in: beckned to him with his head to flie, and ſo they both ranne for life vnto *Aratus*, to ſaue them ſelues. Howbeit *Aratus* was nothing the more diſcoraged for this, but ſent *Erginus* ſtraight to cary his brother *Dionyſius* money, and to pray him not to be acknowen of anie thing: who furthermore brought him with him vnto *Aratus*. But after they had him once, they made him ſure for ſtarting: for the bound him, and locked him vp faſt in a chamber, whileſt they went about their enter-

The error and danger by likenes of men one vnto another.

priſe. So when all things were readie, *Aratus* commanded the reſt of his army that they ſhould tarie behind, armed all night: and he himſelfe with foure hundreth of the beſt men he had (not knowing themſelues whither they went, nor to what intent) went ſtraight to the gates of the citie, paſſing by the temple of *Iuno*. This was about the middeſt of ſummer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element verie cleare without cloudes: inſomuch that they were afraid their armors would gliſter by moonelight, and bewray them. But as the formoſt of them came neare vnto the citie, there roſe cloudes out of the ſea that darkened all the citie and places thereabouts, and ſhadowed them. Then all of them ſitting downe on the ground, plucked off their ſhooes, both becauſe they ſhould make leſſe noiſe, as alſo for that their footing ſhould be ſurer, and that they ſhould ſlippe leſſe vpon the ladders. But *Erginus*, and ſeuen other companions with him like men that trauell, came ſecretly into the gate of the citie, and ſlewe the porter and warders there. At that verie inſtant, *Aratus* cauſed the ladders to be ſet vp againſt the walles, and made an hundreth of his ſouldiers get vp on them: and ſent alſo to command the reſt, that they ſhould follow him with all poſſible ſpeede. Then drawing vp his ladders after him, as faſt as he could, he went through the citie with his hundreh men toward the caſtle, with ſuch a ioyfull cheere, as if he had had it alreadie in his hand, for that he ſawe he was not diſcouered. But as he went on, he ſaw foure of the watch comming with a light againſt them. They ſaw not *Aratus* and his company, but the enemies ſaw them plainly a far off. *Aratus* and his men therefore ſtood vp cloſe againſt old wals to tarrie their comming, and at the firſt onſet, ſlew three of them: but the fourth hauing a blow on his head with a ſworde, ranne away, making an outcry, that the enemies were in the citie. The trumpets forthwith ſounded the alarme, all the citie was in an vprore, the ſtreetes were ſtraight full of people running vp and downe, and of lights in euery corner, both beneath in the citie, as alſo in the caſtle, and the noyſe was great euery where. *Aratus* in the meane time forced to get vp the hie rockes faire & ſoftly at the firſt, and with great paine and difficulty, being out of his path he ſhould haue found, which he miſſed, being very deepe into the rockes, and with many crookes & crankes went to the foote of the caſtle: but ſodainely, euen as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the cloudes, when they were in their worſt way, it gaue thē light, & brought them to that part of the wall where they ſhould be, and ſtraight the Moone was ſhadowed againe. Now the three hundred ſouldiers whom *Aratus* had left at the gate by the temple of *Iuno*, when they were come into the citie, being full of lightes, and in vprore, and beſides could not find the path by the which their Captaine *Aratus* went before them: they ſtood cloſe together vnder a rocke that ſhadowed them, ſorowfully looking to heare ſome news of *Aratus*: who was then fighting with the garriſon of the caſtle, the which made head againſt him with all the force and power they could. Vnder the caſtle there was a great noyſe heard of men that fought, but yet the noyſe was ſo confuſed by the ſound rebounding againſt the rockes and mountaine, that they could not deuiſe whence it ſhould come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them ſelues: *Archelaus*, Captaine of king *Antigonus* men, hauing a good number of ſouldiers with him, went vp the hil with great cries and noiſe of trumpets to ſet vppon *Aratus*, and his company behinde. But after he was paſſed by theſe three hundred ſouldiers of *Aratus* band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they had bene layed there in ambuſh of purpoſe, and ſlue the firſt they encountred withall, and made the others ſo affrayed, and *Archelaus* him ſelfe, that they diſperſed them, and made ſome flie one waie, ſome an other way. So, as they were ouerthrowen, *Erginus* came to theſe three hundred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that *Aratus* and them of the caſtell, were come to the ſword together, and valiantly defended themſelues, luſtely fighting for the wall, and therefore it was time for them to helpe him quickely. Then the ſouldiers bad him bring them thither ſtraight, and ſo he did. So they climing vp the hill, did ſignifie by their cries to their men, that they came to ayde him. Furthermore, the Moone being then at the full, and ſhining on their harneſſe, made their enemies in the caſtell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, becauſe of the long way they had to make to gette vppe vppon the rockes: and alſo becauſe of the ſound in the night, that made their cry ſeeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length they

Aratus great danger in taking of the caſtle of the Acrocorinth.

The happy benefit of the Moone.

Aratus taketh the Acrocorinthe.

they ioyning with *Aratus*, they fought it out so lustely, that they draue the garrison out of the walles, and by breake of day wanne the castle. So that their exployte was discouered by the rising of the Sunne, and besides, all the rest of their armye that came from the citie of SICYONE: whom the CORINTHIANS verie gladly receiued, and did set open their gates vnto them, and ayded them to take King *Antigonus* men. Afterwardes, when they thought that all was safe, then *Aratus* came from the castle vnto the Theater of the citie, whither repaired an infinite number of people, aswell for the desire they had to see him, as also to heare him speake vnto the CORINTHIANS. So, hauing placed the ACHAIANS of either side, at the comming into the Theater: *Aratus* being armed, went vp into the chaire or pulpit for orations, hauing his face quite chaunged, both for the great paines he had taken, and also for lacke of sleepe: so that his bodie being ouerwearied, his spirits were euen done. Now when all the assemblie of the people (seeing him in the chayer) did humble themselues to shew him all the honor and kindnesse they could possible: he tooke his speare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and bodie somewhat, he leaned vpon it, and so stoode a great while in this manner before he spake, receiuing the cryes of ioy and clapping of hands which the people made, praising his valiantnes, and blessing his good hap and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, meete for the enterprise from whence he came: and perswaded them to ioyne to the ACHAIANS. So therewithall, they presently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer before that time in their power, since the raigne of king *Philip*. Nowe touching the other Captaines of king *Antigonus*: *Aratus* hauing taken *Archelaus* prisoner, he let him goe, but put *Theophrastus* to death, because he would not goe out of CORINTH. *Persaus* (Captaine of the castle) seeing the castle but lost: he secretly saued himselfe, & fled vnto the citie of CENCHREES. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philosophie, where one maintaining that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnles he were a perfect wise man: This (q. he) is one of *Zenoes* opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleased me best: but now this young SICYONIAN *Aratus*, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this saying of *Persaus*. Furthermore, *Aratus* wanne presently the temple of *Iuno*, and the hauen of LECHÆVM where he tooke fiue and twentie shippes of king *Antigonus*, and fiue hundred horse of seruice for the warre, & foure hundred SYRIANS, which he sold euery one of them. The ACHAIANS left within the castle of the Acrocorinthe, a garrison of foure hundred footemen, and fiftie dogges, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the castle. Now, the ROMAINS wondring at the valiantnes of *Philopæmen*: they called him the last of the GRECIANS. Euen so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this act is the last and most famous of all the GRECIANS, and deserueth to be equall, aswell for valiantnes, as also good successe, with the greatest exploites of the most famous auncients: as that which followed immediately after doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS reuolting from king *Antigonus*, did straight ioine with *Aratus*: and the TROEZENIANS also with the EPIDAVRIANS, did likewise enter into league and friendship with the ACHAIANS. So at the first inuasion he made, he went to spoile the country of ATTICA, and crossed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA, and spoiled and destroyed it, euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of prison, to serue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he sent home the ATHENIAN prisoners without paying of ransome: and all of policy to make them desirous to rebell against the MACEDONIANS. Furthermore, he made king *Ptolomy* a frend and confederat of the ACHAIANS, with condition, that he should be Lieutenaunt generall both by sea and by land. For these respects *Aratus* was of maruellous estimation and credit with the ACHAIANS: insomuch that where they could not yearely choose him their generall, being cõtrary to their law: they chose him at the least euery second yeare, but in effect, all was done by his aduise and counsell. For they saw plainely, that it was neither honor, nor riches, nor friendship of kings & Princes, nor the priuate benefite of his owne city wherein he was borne, nor any other thing else that hee preferred, before the glory and increase of the common weath of the ACHAIANS. For he was of opinion, that cities by themselues were but weake, & being ioyned together with the chaine

Aratus ioyneth the citie of Corinth vnto Achaia.

Zenoes opinion, that a man could not be a good Captaine vnlesse he were a perfect wise man.

Persæus answere to Zenoes opinion.

Philopæmen the last famous man of the Grecians.

Aratus power and authoritie with the Achaians.

priſe. So when all things were readie, *Aratus* commanded the reſt of his army that they ſhould tarie behind, armed all night: and he himſelfe with foure hundreth of the beſt men he had (not knowing themſelues whither they went, nor to what intent) went ſtraight to the gates of the citie, paſſing by the temple of *Iuno*. This was about the middeſt of ſummer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element verie cleare without cloudes: inſomuch that they were afraid their armors would gliſter by moonelight, and bewray them. But as the formoſt of them came neare vnto the citie, there roſe cloudes out of the ſea that darkened all the citie and places thereabouts, and ſhadowed them. Then all of them ſitting downe on the ground, plucked off their ſhooes, both becauſe they ſhould make leſſe noiſe, as alſo for that their footing ſhould be ſurer, and that they ſhould ſlippe leſſe vpon the ladders. But *Erginus*, and ſeuen other companions with him like men that trauell, came ſecretly into the gate of the citie, and ſlewe the porter and warders there. At that verie inſtant, *Aratus* cauſed the ladders to be ſet vp againſt the walles, and made an hundreth of his ſouldiers get vp on them: and ſent alſo to command the reſt, that they ſhould follow him with all poſſible ſpeede. Then drawing vp his ladders after him, as faſt as he could, he went through the citie with his hundreh men toward the caſtle, with ſuch a ioyfull cheere, as if he had had it alreadie in his hand, for that he ſawe he was not diſcouered. But as he went on, he ſaw foure of the watch comming with a light againſt them. They ſaw not *Aratus* and his company, but the enemies ſaw them plainly a far off. *Aratus* and his men therefore ſtood vp cloſe againſt old wals to tarrie their comming, and at the firſt onſet, ſlew three of them: but the fourth hauing a blow on his head with a ſworde, ranne away, making an outcry, that the enemies were in the citie. The trumpets forthwith ſounded the alarme, all the citie was in an vprore, the ſtreetes were ſtraight full of people running vp and downe, and of lights in euery corner, both beneath in the citie, as alſo in the caſtle, and the noyſe was great euery where. *Aratus* in the meane time forced to get vp the hie rockes faire & ſoftly at the firſt, and with great paine and difficulty, being out of his path he ſhould haue found, which he miſſed, being very deepe into the rockes, and with many crookes & crankes went to the foote of the caſtle: but ſodainely, euen as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the cloudes, when they were in their worſt way, it gaue thē light, & brought them to that part of the wall where they ſhould be, and ſtraight the Moone was ſhadowed againe. Now the three hundred ſouldiers whom *Aratus* had left at the gate by the temple of *Iuno*, when they were come into the citie, being full of lightes, and in vprore, and beſides could not find the path by the which their Captaine *Aratus* went before them: they ſtood cloſe together vnder a rocke that ſhadowed them, ſorowfully looking to heare ſome news of *Aratus*: who was then fighting with the garriſon of the caſtle, the which made head againſt him with all the force and power they could. Vnder the caſtle there was a great noyſe heard of men that fought, but yet the noyſe was ſo confuſed by the ſound rebounding againſt the rockes and mountaine, that they could not deuiſe whence it ſhould come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them ſelues: *Archelaus*, Captaine of king *Antigonus* men, hauing a good number of ſouldiers with him, went vp the hil with great cries and noiſe of trumpets to ſet vppon *Aratus*, and his company behinde. But after he was paſſed by theſe three hundred ſouldiers of *Aratus* band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they had bene layed there in ambuſh of purpoſe, and ſlue the firſt they encountred withall, and made the others ſo affrayed, and *Archelaus* him ſelfe, that they diſperſed them, and made ſome flie one waie, ſome an other way. So, as they were ouerthrowen, *Erginus* came to theſe three hundred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that *Aratus* and them of the caſtell, were come to the ſword together, and valiantly defended themſelues, luſtely fighting for the wall, and therefore it was time for them to helpe him quickely. Then the ſouldiers bad him bring them thither ſtraight, and ſo he did. So they climing vp the hill, did ſignifie by their cries to their men, that they came to ayde him. Furthermore, the Moone being then at the full, and ſhining on their harneſſe, made their enemies in the caſtell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, becauſe of the long way they had to make to gette vppe vppon the rockes: and alſo becauſe of the ſound in the night, that made their cry ſeeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length they

Aratus great danger in taking of the caſtle of the Acrocorinth.

The happy benefit of the Moone.

Aratus taketh the Acrocorinthe.

they ioyning with *Aratus*, they fought it out ſo luſtely, that they draue the garriſon out of the walles, and by breake of day wanne the caſtle. So that their exployte was diſcouered by the riſing of the Sunne, and beſides, all the reſt of their armye that came from the citie of SICYONE: whom the CORINTHIANS verie gladly receiued, and did ſet open their gates vnto them, and ayded them to take King *Antigonus* men. Afterwardes, when they thought that all was ſafe, then *Aratus* came from the caſtle vnto the Theater of the citie, whither repaired an infinite number of people, aſwell for the deſire they had to ſee him, as alſo to heare him ſpeake vnto the CORINTHIANS. So, hauing placed the ACHAIANS of either ſide, at the comming into the Theater: *Aratus* being armed, went vp into the chaire or pulpit for orations, hauing his face quite chaunged, both for the great paines he had taken, and alſo for lacke of ſleepe: ſo that his bodie being ouerwearied, his ſpirits were euen done. Now when all the aſſemblie of the people (ſeeing him in the chayer) did humble themſelues to ſhew him all the honor and kindneſſe they could poſſible: he tooke his ſpeare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and bodie ſomewhat, he leaned vpon it, and ſo ſtoode a great while in this manner before he ſpake, receiuing the cryes of ioy and clapping of hands which the people made, praiſing his valiantnes, and bleſſing his good hap and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, meete for the enterpriſe from whence he came: and perſwaded them to ioyne to the ACHAIANS. So herewithall, they preſently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer before that time in their power, ſince the raigne of king *Philip*. Nowe touching the other Captaines of king *Antigonus*: *Aratus* hauing taken *Archelaus* priſoner, he let him goe, but put *Theophraſtus* to death, becauſe he would not goe out of CORINTH. *Perſaus* (Captaine of the caſtle) ſeeing the caſtle but loſt: he ſecretly ſaued himſelfe, & fled vnto the citie of CENCHREES. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philoſophie, where one maintaining that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnles he were a perfect wiſe man: This (ſaid he) is one of *Zenoes* opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleaſed me beſt: but now this young SICYONIAN *Aratus*, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this ſaying of *Perſaus*. Furthermore, *Aratus* wanne preſently the temple of *Iuno*, and the hauen of LECHÆVM where he tooke fiue and twentie ſhippes of king *Antigonus*, and fiue hundred horſe of ſeruice for the warre, & foure hundred SYRIANS, which he ſold euery one of them. The ACHAIANS left within the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe, a garriſon of foure hundred footemen, and fiftie dogges, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the caſtle. Now, the ROMAINS wondring at the valiantnes of *Philopæmen*: they called him the laſt of the GRECIANS. Euen ſo might I alſo (in my opinion) ſay, that this act is the laſt and moſt famous of all the GRECIANS, and deſerueth to be equall, aſwell for valiantnes, as alſo good ſucceſſe, with the greateſt exploites of the moſt famous auncients: as that which followed immediately after doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS reuolting from king *Antigonus*, did ſtraight ioine with *Aratus*: and the TROEZENIANS alſo with the EPIDAVRIANS, did likewiſe enter into league and friendſhip with the ACHAIANS. So at the firſt inuaſion he made, he went to ſpoile the country of ATTICA, and croſſed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA, and ſpoiled and deſtroyed it, euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of priſon, to ſerue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he ſent home the ATHENIAN priſoners without paying of ranſome: and all of policy to make them deſirous to rebell againſt the MACEDONIANS, Furthermore, he made king *Ptolomy* a frend and confederat of the ACHAIANS, with condition, that he ſhould be Lieutenaunt generall both by ſea and by land. For theſe reſpects *Aratus* was of maruellous eſtimation and credit with the ACHAIANS: inſomuch that where they could not yearely chooſe him their generall, being cõtrary to their law: they choſe him at the leaſt euery ſecond yeare, but in effect, all was done by his aduiſe and counſell. For they ſaw plainely, that it was neither honor, nor riches, nor friendſhip of kings & Princes, nor the priuate benefite of his owne city wherein he was borne, nor any other thing elſe that hee preferred, before the glory and increaſe of the common weath of the ACHAIANS. For he was of opinion, that cities by themſelues were but weake, & being ioyned together with the chaine

Aratus ioyneth the citie of Corinth vnto Achaia.

Zenoes opinion, that a man could not be a good Captaine vnleſſe he were a perfect wiſe man.

Perſaus anſwere to Zenoes opinion.

Philopæmen the laſt famous man of the Grecians.

Aratus power and authoritie with the Achaians.

of common benefit, they were a strength one to preserue the other. And in like manner, euen as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beastes haue life & sustenance, being ioyned & knit together, and straight so soone as there is any seperation of them the one from the other, they liue no more & putrifie: euen so cities also were brought to decay by thē that did disperse their societie among them, & in contrary manner did then againe increase, when ioyning with any other great body & city, they were gouerned with wisdom & good counsell. So *Aratus* seeing the chiefest cities thereaboutes enioy their lawes and liberties: thought it a shamefull thing to leaue the ARGIVES in slauerie & bondage. Wherfore he practised to kill the tirant *Aristomachus* that gouerned them, both to shew himselfe thankefull to the citie for his bringing vppe there: as also to ioyne that great & mightie citie vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. Now there were diuerse men, that had the harts and courage to vndertake to do it, of the which the chiefest were *Aeschylus* and *Charimenes* the Soothsayer, but they had no swordes: for they were straightly forbidden by the tirant, and grieuous punishments ordayned for them that should be found with their swordes. *Aratus* therefore caused certen litle short daggers to be made at CORINTHE for them, the which he sowed vp in packs caried on certen beasts loden with other baggage and stuffe. But the soothsayer *Charimenes*, did impart this enterprise vnto a third man, and made him one of the conspiracie with them. *Aeschylus* being very much offended with it, began therefore to enter into practise by himselfe, and left their companie. *Charimenes* perceiuing that, tooke such a toy in his head in a mad moode, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterprise. This notwithstanding, the most part of the conspirators saued themselues, and fled to CORINTHE. So the tyrant *Aristomachus* was slaine shortly after, by his owne men. But then another tyrant *Aristippus*, a crueller man than the first, made haste to take the tyranny before he could be resisted. This notwithstanding, *Aratus*, with all the yong men of the ACHAIANS able to serue in the field, went sodainly thither with aide, hoping to find them of the city very glad to recouer their liberty. Howbeit the people being acquainted, and of long time vsed patiently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe, and did nothing, sauing that therby the ACHAIANS were accused, because that in open peace they had made warre, and therefore they were put in sute before the MANTINIANS, at *Aristippus* request, tyrant of ARGOS. The matter was pleaded in *Aratus* absence, and the ACHAIANS were condemned to pay the summe of 30. Minas. After this proofe & attempt of *Aratus*, *Aristippus* being affraid of *Aratus*, & hating him to the death, sought waies to kill him, with the help of *Antigonus*, who did aide him in it: and almost there were spials in euery corner, that did nothing els but lie in waite to execute *Aristippus* minde. Now, there is no surer guard vnto a Prince, than the perfect loue and good will of his subiects. For, after that the nobilitie and common people haue beene vsed to feare, not him, but those that for him commaund them: he then seeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares, and knoweth what is done farre off. Here therefore I will a litle digresse from my history, to shew you the manner of *Aristippus* life the tyraunt, whereunto hee was brought by this so much desired tyrannicall gouernment, and smoke of signiory, so esteemed of all men. Now, though *Aristippus* had king *Antigonus* his friend, & that he kept a great gard of souldiers about him for the safety of his person, and that there was not an enemy of his left aliue in all the city: yet he made his souldiers watch and lie without his pallace, vnder the cloisters and galleries thereabous, and after supper turned all his men out of the dores, and then shut his Court gates to him, and locked himself alone with his Concubine, in a litle high chamber with a trappe dore, and set his bed vpon it, and so slept, as one that continuallie was afraied of him selfe. Then after he was come vp, his Concubines mother came to take vp the ladder, and locked it in an other chamber: and so did let it downe againe the next morning, and called this trimme tyraunt, that went downe out of his chamber, like a snake that should haue crept out of her hole. Where *Aratus* in contrary manner, not hauing obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall gouernment, being simply apparelled with a poore gowne of small price, & shewing himself a mortall enemy vnto al sorts of tyrants: hath left a race & noble offspring among the GRECIANS, which remaine yet vntill this present day. Contrarily also, there are few tyrants that doe vsurpe the castels of free cities, that keepe so

Aratus goeth about to set Argos at liberty.

Aratus prepared litle short daggers against the tirants decree and ordinance.

Aristippus tyrant of the citie of Argos.

Aristippus layd waite to kill Aratus.

No surer garde to a Prince, then the loue of his subiects.

The miserable life of Aristippus, the tyrant of Argos.

Aratus gouernment obtained by vertue.

many

many ſouldiers in pay, that make ſuch prouiſion for armor and weapon, & haue ſo many gates and draw-bridges for the ſafetie of their perſons, that in the ende can keepe themſelues from violent death, no more then hares: neither do leaue alſo any poſteritie, houſe, or graue, why their memorie ſhould be honored after their death. So *Aratus* hauing diuerſe waies made ſundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwiſe ſodainely, to take the citie of ARGOS, and to thruſt out the tirant *Ariſtippus*: he euer failed of his purpoſe, but ſpecially one night among the reſt, when he entred the citie verie dangerouſly, with a few ſouldiers with him, and ſlue the ſouldiers that came to giue ſupply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the tirant with all his forces came to ſet vpon him: the ARGIVES ſturred not at all, as if *Aratus* had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene Iudges appoynted to ſit to ſee the ſportes of the games Nemee, to iudge the game vnto the Conquerour without partiality, and with indifferency. *Aratus* in the meane time fighting like a valiant man, was thruſt at with a pike, and runne through the thigh. This notwithſtanding, at length he wanne that part of the citie where he fought, and was not thruſt out till night, what force ſoeuer the enemies made vpon him: and if he could poſſibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubtedly obtained his purpoſe. For the tirant looked for none other but to flie, and had alreadie ſent diuerſe of his goods to the ſea. Howbeit no man once came to tell *Aratus* any newes of it, beſides alſo lacking water, and for that he could not helpe himſelfe becauſe of his wound, he was driuen to leade his men away, and failed of his purpoſe. So, diſpairing that he could euer take it by ſtelth, he went thither with open warres, and ſpoiled and deſtroied all the country of ARGOS: and hauing fought a great battell againſt the tirant *Ariſtippus*, by the riuer of Chares, they blamed *Aratus* much, that he forſooke the victorie, and cowardly retired out of the battell. For the reſt of his armie doubtles had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in chaſe: when he fled being affraid, not compelled by his enemies, but miſtruſting his fortune, and reryred to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chaſe of their enemies were offended, for that they hauing put them to flight, and alſo ſlayne a greater number more of them then they had loſt of theirs, and yet for cowardlineſſe ſhould ſuffer their enemies (whom they had ouercome and put to flight) to ſette vppe markes of triumph in token of victorie: *Aratus* beeing aſhamed of it, determined to fight once againe, for the markes of triumphe. Whereuppon, reſting his men but one day, he ledde them againe into the fielde, and ſetting his armie in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithſtanding, when he ſawe a great ſupply comming to his enemie, and that the tirantes men came to fight more luſtely, and with better courage then before: *Aratus* durſt not abide them, but retired, and ſent to demaund leaue to take away his dead men to burie them, yet he could ſpeake ſo courteouſly, and behaue himſelfe ſo wiſely, by the experience he had in gouernment, and alſo for the good will they bare him: that they forgat the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of CLEONES vnto the ACHAIANS, where he cauſed the feaſts of the games Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the CLEONEIANS then vnto the ARGIVES. This notwithſtanding, the ARGIVES did keepe it alſo, & then was the firſt time that the ſanctuarie and priuiledge was broken, which was wont to be granted vnto all them that came to play for the games: becauſe the ACHAIANS did make them priſoners that fought in ARGOS, as they returned through their countrie, and ſold them as enemies. So maruellouſly did *Aratus* & the ACHAIANS hate all ſorts of tirants, without reſpect of pardon. Shortly after he was aduertiſed, that the tirant *Ariſtippus* did lye in waite to ſpye oportunitie, to take the citie of CLEONES from him: howbeit that he was affraid of it, becauſe he remained at that time in CORINTHE. So *Aratus* ſtraight ſent out commaundement into euery place, to aſſemble the armie of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, & that they ſhould bring victuals with them for many dayes: and ſo craftily came downe to the citie of CENCHREES, to intiſe *Ariſtippus*, by his going away ſo farre off, that in his abſence he ſhould attempt to ſet vpon the CLEONIANS, as indeede he did. For he fayled not preſently to goe thither with his armye. But *Aratus* returning from CENCHREES vnto CORINTHE, very late in the night, and hauing layed good watch euerie way: he ſodainely brought the armie of the ACHAIANS vnto CLEONES with ſuch ſpeede and quietnes, that they were not ſeene as they came, but entred into

Chares ſl.

Aratus gaue Ariſtippus the victorie.

Aratus ſtratageme to intrap the tirant Ariſtippus.

the citie of CLEONES by night, and were readie to fight with the tiraunt, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were set open by breake of daye, and the signall of battell giuen by sound of trumpettes: and so setting vppon the tirantes men with great cryes, they suspecting nothing, they were presently put to flight. And because the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, had many turnings: *Aratus* following the chase, tooke the way which he thought the tirant fled in. The chase continued to the citie of MYCENES. There the tirant was ouertaken by a CRETAN called *Tragiscus*, (as *Dinias* reporteth) who slue him: and there were slaine of his men also, aboue fifteene thousand. But now *Aratus* hauing wonne such a famous victorie, and lost neuer a man: he could not yet winne the citie of ARGOS, nor set it againe at libertie. For one *Aegias*, & another *Aristomachus*, got into the towne with the kings armie, and kept it. But notwithstanding, by this noble victory *Aratus* did race out a great part of the reproach that they gaue him, and of the scoffes and slentes the flatterers of the tirants deuised of him. Who to please them, reported that when they should come to fight indeede, the generall of the ACHAIANS had the winde collicke in his belly, and a dimnesse in his eyes with a guydines in his head, when he heard but the sound of the trumpettes. And furthermore also, when he had set his men in battell ray, and giuen them the word of battell: he asked the generalls if he should neede to be there in person, because he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre off as he could, to see the end of the battell. This talke was so common, that the Philosophers themselues disputing of it, to wit, whether to tremble and chaunge colour in present danger and perill, be signes of a faint heart or of an euill complexion and coldnes of bodie: they alway vouched *Aratus*, that had bene a good and valiant Captaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was euer in that taking. So when he had ouercome *Aristippus*, he sought meanes also to destroy *Lysiadas* MEGALOPOLITAN, who as absolute Lord & king of the country, kept the city of MEGALOPOLIS. Notwithstanding, he had no base mind in him, neither was he caried away with a cruell desire of tirannie to liue at his pleasure, nor through extreame couetousnes, as most princes be: but being a yong man, & pricked forward with desire of honor & fame, & hauing vnaduisedly conceiued in his mind, (which was great & highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men talke of principalitie, as of a state most blessed, & worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make himselfe Lord of his cõtry. But afterwards, he was soone wearie of the dangers & troubles such manner of gouernment bringeth with it, & desired to follow *Aratus*, whom he saw prosper, and of great honor. Furthermore, also fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke hold of a noble deuise: first to rid himselfe of the malice and feare of the prison and garde of his souldiers: and lastly, to be a benefactor to his cõtrie. So he sent for *Aratus*, gaue vp his gouernment, and deliuered vp his citie to the tribe of the ACHAIANS. They so extolled him for this acte, that they chose him their Lieutenant generall of all their tribe. Wherfore, *Lysiadas* striuing at the first to excell *Aratus* in honor, attempted diuerse things which were not verie needefull: as among others, to make warre with the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Aratus* was very much against him in that, though some think it was for enuie. Thereupon they chose *Lysiadas* generall of the ACHAIANS the second time: although *Aratus* openly both spake and made what meanes he could to the contrary, & would haue had another to haue bene chosen. For, he himselfe was euery other yeare generall. So, *Lysiadas* was chosen again generall of the ACHAIANS the third time, with euery bodies good will: and *Aratus* and he had absolute power and gouernment by turnes, one after the other. But when they saw that *Lysiadas* became open enemie vnto *Aratus*, and did still accuse him in all their councels and assemblies: they fell in such misliking with him, that they reiected him. For they thought his but a cõterfeat vertue, to contend with the perfectnes of *Aratus* vertue. Much like vnto one of *Isopes* fables, saying that litle birds did answer the cuckow on a time, asking them why they did flie from her: because we are affrayd (sayd they) thou wilt be a sparhawke one day. Euen so it seemeth, that there was a certen suspition in mens mindes of *Lysiadas* tirannie, which made them mistrust that he went not from his tirannie with good will. Now *Aratus* on the other side, wan as great praise and honor by his doings against the ÆTOLIANS. For when the ACHAIANS would needes haue fought vpon the confines of the territory of the MEGARIANS, & that *Agis*, king of LACEDÆMON, being come with his army to the campe

Aratus victory of the tyrant Aristippus.

Aristippus the tirant slaine.

A Philosophicall question whether trembling, & changing of colour in danger, be a signe of cowardlines.

Lysiadas tirãt of Megalipolis

Lysiadas, tirãt of Megalipolis leaueth the tirannie & yeelded himselfe and his dominion vnto the Achaians.

Dissention betwixt Aratus and Lysiadas.

One of Isopes tales of the Cuckowes question to litle byrdes.

Aratus noble counsaile against the Aetolians.

campe of the tribe of the Achaians, did perſwade them hardily to giue battell: *Aratus* was ſtoutly againſt it, and did abide many mocks and tauntes they gaue him, ſaying, that it was for cowardlines he would not go. This notwithſtanding, he would not leaue his wife and ſafe determination, for all that open ſhame: but ſuffered the enemies to paſſe ouer the Mountaine Gerania, and to inuade Peloponnesvs, and would neuer fight with them. But afterwards, when he ſaw that at their firſt comming they had taken the citie of Pallena: he then changed his mind, and would deferre time no longer to tary till al his power were come together, but marched forthwith againſt his enemies, with thoſe fewe he had, who maruelouſly weakned themſelues by their inſolency & diſorder after their victorie, keeping no watch nor ward. For after they had entred the citie of Pallena, the ſouldiers ran into euery houſe, one thruſting in anothers necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captaines alſo fell to raiſhing of maydes, and the Pallenians wiues, and put their burganets and mortions vpon their heades, that none other ſhould take them, becauſe that by the ſame the ſouldiers ſhould know whoſe they were, and to whom the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and iolitie: newes came ſodainly that *Aratus* was come. This made them quake for feare, when they ſaw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all vnderſtood of the danger by their ſodaine ſetting on thē, the Achaians were fighting alreadie within the ſuburbs and gates of the citie, againſt the firſt that reſiſted, whom they ſlue. They being broken & put to flight, made the reſt ſo affraied that were gathered together to aide them, that they wiſt not what to do. In this tumult and great hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a priſoner, that was the daughter of *Epigethes* one of the nobleſt men of the citie, and ſhe a maruellous goodly woman, and paſſing fayre: who being ſet in the temple of *Diana*, whither a Captaine had brought her that had choſen her for himſelfe, and had put his burganet on her head: ſhe ſodainely ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when ſhe heard the noyſe of them that fought, to ſee them fight. The Citizens ſeeing her in that aray, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maieſtie, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other ſide were ſo affraid to ſee her, thinking ſhe had bene ſome ſpirit: that not a man of them durſt once defend themſelues. So the Pallenians ſay, that the image of *Diana* all the reſt of the time is kept locked vp, and no bodie toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth it doth carie it elſe where, no man dare looke on it, but euerie man turneth his eyes away: becauſe the ſight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it alſo killeth the frute of the trees it paſſeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cauſe that then troubled the Ætolians mindes ſo much, becauſe the Nunne remouing the image of the goddeſſe *Diana*, ſhe turned it towards them. Howbeit *Aratus* in his commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth, that when he had defeated the Ætolians, following them in chaſe, he entred hand ouer head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he draue them, and ſlue ſeuen hundreth of them. This noble victorie hath bene eſteemed amongſt the chiefeſt afterwards: and the paynter *Timanthes* hath drawen and ſet it forth in table verie liuely. This notwithſtanding, becauſe diuerſe Princes and people did immediatly prepare force againſt the Achaians: *Aratus* preſently made peace with the Ætolians by the practiſe of *Pantaleon*, who bare great ſway and authoritie amongeſt them. Furthermore, *Aratus* being deſirous to ſet the Athenians at libertie, he ſodainly attempted to take the hauen of Pirea: for the which the Achaians reproued him, becauſe he had broken the peace they had made with the Macedonians. But *Aratus* in his commentaries doth ſtoutly denie that it was he, and layeth the faulte vpon *Erginus*, by whoſe meanes he wanne the calſte of the Acrocorinthe: ſaying that it was he, that of his owne minde did ſet a ſcaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking vnder him, he fledde vpon it, and perceiuing he was followed neare by the enemies, he ſtill cryed out, *Aratus* as if he had bene there, and by this pollicie mocked his enemies, and ſaued himſelfe. Howbeit, me thinketh this aunſwer is not true. For it is not credible, that *Erginus* a priuate ſouldier, and a Syrian borne, ſhoulde haue ſo great an enterpriſe in his head, vnleſſe it had bene by *Aratus* conſent and commandement, who had giuen him men, time and meanes to vndertake it. And this appeared plainely afterwardes, for, *Aratus* did not attempt it twiſe or thrice onely, but oftener

Gerania mons.

Aratus ſetteth vpon his laſcious enemies.

A womā with a burganet on her head, ſeemeth a monſtrous thing.

The ſigne of Diana with the Pallenians.

Aratus bringeth the Aetolians in league with the Achaians.

Aratus attempteth to ſet Athens at libertie.

then so (as those that extreamely desire a thing) to take the hauen of PIREA on the sodaine, not giuing ouer for once failing, but rather emboldening himselfe againe with good hope because he missed it but litle, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another time also amongest others, flying through the playne of THRIASIA, he brake his legge, and was driuen to make many incisions to heale it: so that he was a long time together caryed in his lytter vnto the warres. After that King *Antigonus* was dead, and that *Demetrius* his sonne succeeded him in the kingdome: he attempted then more earnestly then euer before, to set the citie of ATHENS at libertie, making small account of the MACEDONIANS. *Aratus* therefore beeing ouerthrowen in battell neare vnto PHYLACIA, by King *Demetrius* Lieutenant, called *Bithys*, and the rumor running straight abroade, that *Aratus* was deade, or at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named *Diogenes*, Captaine of the hauen of PIREA, wrote a letter vnto CORINTHE, and commanded the garrison of the ACHAIANS that kept it, to deliuer the towne for *Aratus* was dead. But he by chaunce was at the selfe same time in CORINTHE: so that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the companie merrie. Furthermore, King *Demetrius* him selfe sent a galley out of MACEDON, to bring *Aratus* bound vnto him. The ATHENIANS themselues also to please the MACEDONIANS, exceeding all lightnesse of flatterie, wore garlands on their heads a whole day together, in token of cõmon ioy, when newes was brought them of *Aratus* death. *Aratus* was so madde in his minde to heare this, that he brought his armie presently against them, euen to the verie suburbes of the Academy. Notwithstanding at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwards the ATHENIANS acknowledging his valiantnes, when king *Demetrius* dyed: it tooke them in the heads to recouer their libertie againe. So *Aratus*, though that yeare another man was generall of the ACHAIANS, and that he kept his bedde lying sicke of a long disease: yet to further this, he was caryed vnto ATHENS in a lytter, and so perswaded *Diogenes*, Captaine of the garrison there, that for the summe of an hundreth and fiftie talents (towards the which *Aratus* gaue of his owne, twenty talents) he made him deliuer to the ATHENIANS the hauen of PIREA, the castle of MVNYCHIA, the Ile of SALAMINA, and the castle of SVNIVM. After this the ÆGINETES, the HERMIONIANS, and the most parte of ARCADIA it selfe, did presently ioyne with the ACHAIANS: so that the MACEDONIANS beeing occupied with warres at that time in other places against their neighbours, the power of the ACHAIANS maruellously encreased, hauing also the ÆTOLIANS their confederates. Then *Aratus* to performe his oulde promise, and beeing angrie to see the citie of ARGOS (being so neere neighbour vnto them) yet kept in bondage: he sent vnto *Aristomachus*, to perswade him to be contented to set his citie againe at libertie, and to ioyne it to the tribe of the ACHAIANS, as *Lysiadas* had done his towne of MEGALOPOLIS, and rather to like to be made a Generall with honor and praise of so great and famous a state as the ACHAIANS: then tirant of one onely citie, hated, and euerie houre of the night and daye in daunger of his life. *Aristomachus* gaue eare to his perswasions, and sent vnto *Aratus*, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talents to discharge the souldiers he had about him. The money was straight prepared. And *Lysiadas* that was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and that maruellously desired this matter might be brought to passe by his meanes: he secretly sent vnto *Aristomachus* to accuse *Aratus*, and shewed how he had bene alwaye a mortall enemie vnto tirants, and therefore counselled him rather to put himselfe into his hands, as indeede he did. For *Lysiadas* brought *Aristomachus* vnto the councell of the ACHAIANS. There all the councell plainely shewed their good willes, and the confidence they had in *Aratus*: for when he spake against it, that they should not receiue *Aristomachus*, they reiected him with great anger. But afterwardes also when *Aratus* was won, and that he began to moue the contrary to the councell: they straight agreed to receiue the ARGIVES, & the PHLIASIANS in league with them, & also the next yere following they chose *Aristomachus* Lieutenant generall of all their tribe. *Aristomachus* seing himselfe in credit now with the ACHAIANS, would needes inuade the countrie of LACONIA with a maine armie, and sent for *Aratus* being then at ATHENS. *Aratus* wrote vnto him, & wished him in any wise not to meddle with that iorney, because he would not haue the ACHAIANS to deale with *Cleomenes*

Aratus ouerthrowen by the Macedonians.

Aratus by perswasion deliuered Argos frõ tirannie.

The loue and faith of the Achaians vnto Aratus.

king of LACEDÆMON, that was a couragious and stout young Prince, and marueilously growen in short time. Howbeit *Aristomachus* being selfewilled in that point, *Aratus* obeyed him, and was there in person all that iorney. So *Cleomenes* being come to them vppon the sodaine with his armie, neare vnto the citie of PALANTIVM: *Aristomachus* would needs fight with him. But *Aratus* disswaded him from it. Whereupon *Lysiadas* afterwards accused him to the ACHAIANS, and the next yere following he contended with him, suing to be Generall: howbeit he was reiected by most voyces, and *Aratus* chosen Generall the twelfth time. The selfe same yeare he was ouerthrowen in battell by *Cleomenes*, neare vnto the mountaine Lycæum, and being fledde, wandred vp and downe in the night, that euerie man thought he had bene slaine, and it ranne for good payment among all the GRECIANS. Howbeit he saued himselfe; and hauing gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had escaped with life, but wisely taking the oportunitie and occasion offered, no man knowing it, nor mistrusting his comming: he sodainely went to assayle the MANTINEANS, which were confederates of *Cleomenes*, and hauing taken the citie of MANTINEA, he left a great garrison in it, and made the straungers that were there, free of the citie. Thus *Aratus* was he alone, that being ouercome wanne the ACHAIANS that, which they themselues could scarcely haue wonne if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS inuading the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS with a great armie, *Aratus* sodainly went thither to aide them, but would hazard battell no more, nor giue *Cleomenes* vantage, who desired only to fight, and still constantly resisted the MEGALOPOLITANS, that prouoked him to come into the field. For besides that in nature he was not meete for a set battell, at that time also he was the weaker in men, and had to doe with a venturous young man, that was all fire: where his courage & ambition on the other side was coole, & quiet enough. Furthermore, he considered, that as king *Cleomenes* sought honour by valiant venturing, which he had not before: euen so it was his parte wisely to keepe that which he had long since gotten, and to stand vpon his guard and safetie. This notwithstanding, the light armed men being put out into the fielde, and hauing chased the LACEDÆMONIANS euen into their campe, & entring in with thē hand ouer head: *Aratus* would neuer bring out his citizens, but stayed them in a great valley that lay betwene them both, and would not let them come on any farther. Wherewithall *Lysiadas* being mad with himselfe, and falling out with *Aratus*: he called for the horsmen and sayd that he would yet helpe them that followed the chase, and prayed them not to lose the victorie so cowardly, of the which they were so sure: nor to forsake him at a pinch, fighting for the defence of their countrie. So hauing gotten a great number of choyse horsmen together, he went with great furie, and gaue charge on the right wing of his enemies battell, and hauing dispersed them, and put them to flight, he vnaduisedly followed them with great courage, into euill fauored crooked wayes, among trees, and great broade ditches. Whereupon *Cleomenes* came, and so lustely set on him, that he slue him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending him selfe. The other men of armes flying also, rushed in againe into the battell of the footemen, and so disordered their rankes, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cause they greatly blamed *Aratus*, because he had forsaken *Lysiadas*: and being enforced vnto it by the ACHAIANS that went without his leaue, he followed them at length, and fled him selfe also vnto the city of ÆGIVM. There the ACHAIANS sitting in coūcell, they decreed that they would furnish *Aratus* with no more money, neither would they pay his strangers any more: and bad him pay them at his owne charge, if he would entertaine them for the warre. *Aratus* perceiuing that they did him great wrong, stood euen indifferēt to deliuer vp his cōmission of Lieutenancy, and to discharge himselfe of his office: but after he had bethought himselfe better, he bare it patiently, and led the ACHAIANS directly to the citie of ORCHOMENE. There he valiantly fought with *Megistonus*, king *Cleomenes* father in lawe, and had the vppet hand of him: for he slue three hundreth of his men, and tooke *Megistonus* selfe prisoner. Furthermore, where before euerie second yeare they did vse to choose him their Lieutenant generall: when his turne came about againe, they called him to giue him the office, but he refused it, and *Timoxenus* was chosen in his roome. Now the cause alledged for his refusall, was sayed to be, for that he misliked of the common people. But that soundeth like a lye: for the truth of it, to

Aratus ouerthrowen in battell by king Cleomenes hard by the mountaine Lycæum.

Aratus tooke the citie of Mantinea.

The death of Lysiadas.

Aratus once againe ouerthrowen by Cleomenes.

my seeming was, for that he sawe the state of the Achaians to decline. For king *Cleomenes* proceeded no more fayer and softly as he did at the first, when he was controlled & bridled by the Ephori: but hauing slaine them, and equalitie deuided the landes through Lacedæmonia, and made the strangers free Citizens of Sparta, being then absolute Lord of Lacedæmon: he straight set vpon the Achaians with all the power he could, and sought to conquer them. And therefore *Aratus* deserueth iust reproofe, for that he forsooke his countrie in such extreame trouble and danger, that being as the maister of a shippe he gaue another the stearne to steare, when it had bene most honorable & meetest for him to haue taken it in hand (though they would not haue giuen it him) to haue saued his countrie. Or otherwise, if he had indeed vtterly dispaired of the good successe of the Achaians, he should then haue put it rather into *Cleomenes* hands, and not to haue poisoned Peloponnesus againe, with the maners of the barbarous people (bringing in as he did, the garriso of the Macedonians, filling the castle of the Acrocorinth with Gavles and Illyrian souldiers, and making them his Lordes and Maisters, whom he had so often ouercome in warres, and deceiued of their gouernment, and of whom he also spake so much euill in his Commentaries) nor to haue put them into townes, and calling them friends and confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and disguise his wicked practise. Admit *Cleomenes* had bene a tirant, and a cruell man (if I should so terme him) yet came he of the blood of *Hercules*, and was borne in Sparta: from whence they should rather haue chosen the meanest man Gouernor, then the greatest king of Macedon, and those specially that preferre the honour and glorie of Greece, before straungers. Yet king *Cleomenes* required no more of all the Achaians but the name onely to be their Lieutenant generall: and so they would graunt him that honour, he promised he would be verie good vnto the cities confederats to Achaia. Where *Antigonus* notwithstanding, whē they had chosen him their Lieutenant generall with absolute power and authoritie, both by sea and also by land, refused the charge, vnlesse they would let him haue the castle of the Acrocorinthe for his hyer. The which was euen like to *Esopes* hunter, that brideled his horse. For he would not get vp vpon the Achaians that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors and decrees of counsell did referre all vnto himselfe: before he had first saddled and brideled them, by the garrison he made them receiue, and the pledges he caused them to giue him, and yet he spake as much as might be to cleere himselfe of the accusation against him, bearing them in hand that he was forced to it. Howbeit *Polybius* writeth: that long time before he was compelled, being affrayed of *Cleomenes* valiantnes, he had secretly practised that with *Antigonus*, which he was openly seene in afterwards: and that he had intised the Megalopolitans (who were the first that moued it to the councell of the Achaians) to call king *Antigonus* to their aide, because they were nearest neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with *Cleomenes* warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and spoyle them. Thus much is affirmed by *Philarchus* in his historie, who were hardly to be credited notwithstanding, had not *Polybius* confirmed it. For he loued *Cleomenes* so well, that it seemed he was rauished with some spirite as often as he spake of him: and frameth his historie, as a common counseller that should pleade a case in lawe before the Iudges, still accusing the one, and defending the other. The Achaians lost the citie of Megalopolis againe, the which king *Cleomenes* tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell, by Hecatombæon. Wherewithall they were so amazed, that they sent Ambassadors presently vnto him, and praied him to come to the citie of Argos, & there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But when *Aratus* heard he came indeede, and that he was not farre from the citie of Lerna with his armie: being affrayed, he sent other Ambassadors to tell him that he should safelie come with three hundreth men only, as vnto his frends and confederats, & yet if he mistrusted craft and euill dealing, that then they woulde giue him pledges for the safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* aunswered him, that was a plaine mockerie, and an iniurie they offered him. Wherefore he presently departed thence, aud sent a letter before to the councell of the Achaians, full of foule words and reproaches he gaue vnto *Aratus*: who likewise replyed to him againe, bitterly taunting eache other, that they came to talke of their mariage and wiues. After this letter, *Cleomenes* sent defyance by an Herauld vnto the Achaians, and proclaimed open warres

Aratus reproach.

A gouernor of a common weale ought no more to forsake his countrie in time of danger: then the maister of a ship his ship, in storme and tempest.

The meanest man of Sparta, was to be preferred before the greatest Prince of Macedon.

Esopes hunter.

Polybius Historiographer.

Philarchus the Historiographer not greatly to be credited.

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Megalopolis from the Achaians.

The spitefull letters that passed betwixt Cleomenes and Aratus.

warre against them: in somuch as he had almost gotten the citie of SICYONE by practise of traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpose, he returned sodainly, and went vnto the city of PALLENA, which he tooke, and draue out the Generall of the ACHAIANS thence, and immediatly after he wanne the cities also of PHENEA, and PENTELION. After that, the ARGIVES and PHLIASIANS willingly yeelded vnto him, so that of all that which the ACHAIANS had conquered, and ioyned vnto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing else of certainty vnto them. Then *Aratus* was maruellously troubled in his mind, to see all PELOPONNESVS in tumult & vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by those that practised chaunge and alteration. For no man was contented with the state and gouernement at that time, but diuers of the SICYONIANS and CORINTHIANS both were bewrayed which had secretly practised with *Cleomenes*, & that of long time maliced the gouernement of the ACHAIANS, desiring thē selues to be Lords and Gouernours of their cities. *Aratus* hauing full commission and authorite from the councell of the ACHAIANS, to make inquirie of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faultie in the city of SICYONE. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at CORINTHE, he made inquiry of them, & put them to death: whereby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwise of themselues were weary of the gouernement & subiectiō of the ACHAIANS. The CORINTHIANS therfore gathering together in the tēple of *Apollo*, they sent for *Aratus*, intending to make him prisoner before they would openly enter into actuall rebellion. *Aratus* went thither, to shew that he neither feared nor mistrusted them, but yet he held his horse in his hand following of him. Then many rose vp against him, and did both reproue and iniuriously intreate him. But *Aratus* with stayed countenaunce and gentle words, prayed them to keepe their places, and not to crie out in such rage vpon their feete, and withall, caused them also to come in that were at the temple doore. But as he spake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew backe out of the presse, as though he meant to haue giuen his horse to some body to hold. So being gotten out of the presse, he gently spake without any feare vnto the CORINTHIANS he met, and bad them go to the temple of *Apollo*. When he was come to the castle, he then sodainly tooke his horse backe, and commaunded *Cleopater*, Captaine of the garrison of the ACHAIANS there, to looke well to the safe keeping of the castle. Then he set spurres to his horse, and gallopped towardes the citie of SICYONE for life, being followed onely by thirtie of his souldiers, all the rest hauing forsaken him, and dispersed themselues here and there. Shortly after, the CORINTHIANS vnderstanding that *Aratus* was gone, they followed after, but could neuer ouertake him: whereupon they straight sent for king *Cleomenes*, and deliuered the citie of CORINTHE into his hands, the gaine whereof pleased him not so much, as he was sory for the losse of *Aratus*, whom they had let go. So king *Cleomenes* ioyning vnto him all the people dwelling alongest the sea coast, commonly called the riuer of CORINTHE, who yeelded vp themselues, holdes and townes into his handes: he then intrenched in the castle of the Acrocorinthe with a great trench. Furthermore, when *Aratus* came to the citie of SICYONE, many of the ACHAIANS gathered about him, and holding a councell and assembly, he was chosen their Lieutenant generall, hauing absolute power and authoritie to do what he would, and gaue him of their owne citizens to gard his person. So, he hauing managed the affaires of the state and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, the space of three and thirtie yeares together, and hauing all that time bene counted of all men, the chiefest man of power and authoritie in GREECE: he then found himselfe in poore estate, forsaken, and in great miserie, as in the shipwracke of his country beaten with storme, and in great daunger of himselfe. For when he sent vnto the ÆTOLIANS for aide, they flatly denied him, and would send him none. Furthermore, the ATHENIANS being very desirous to send aide for *Aratus* sake, were disswaded frō it through the practise of *Euclidas*, & *Micion*. *Aratus* also had a house in CORINTHE, where all his money was: the which king *Cleomenes* at the first meddled not withall, neither would suffer any other to touch it, but sent for his friendes and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to giue *Aratus* a good account of it afterwardes. Furthermore, he priuately sent *Tripylus* vnto him, and his father in law *Megistonus*, and offered him great gifts, and specially an annuall pension of twelue talents, which was double as much as king *Ptolomie* gaue

Aratus puteth the rebels of Sicyone to death.

Aratus constancie in danger.

Aratus subtilitie when he fled out of Corinthe.

The citie of Corinth yeelded vp vnto Cleomenes.

Aratus, in great daunger for his country.

King Cleomenes curteisie vnto Aratus.

him, who sent him yearely six talents. Besides, he only prayed the ACHAIANS that they would make him their Lieutenāt generall, & also that the garrison in the castle of the Acrocorinthe, might be deuided in common betweene them. *Aratus* made aunswere, that he had no absolute power in his hands, & that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. *Cleomenes* thinking this but a deuise and excuse of *Aratus*, he presently inuaded the country of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three moneths. *Aratus* in the meane time stood doubtfull how to determine, whether he should receiue king *Antigonus* or not: because *Antigonus* would not aide him, before he deliuered him the castle of the Acrocorinthe into his handes. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the citie of ÆGIVM to consult vpon it, they sent for *Aratus* thither. Howbeit it was daungerous comming thither, because *Cleomenes* campe lay hard by the citie of SICYONE, besides also that the citizens kept *Aratus*, and held him by force, saying that they would not let him venture himselfe in such apparaunt daunger, their enemies being so neare vnto them. Moreouer, the women and litle children hung about him, weeping, and compassing him about, as their common father and sauiour. But *Aratus* comforting them, bad them not be affrayed, and so tooke his horse, with ten of his friends (and his sonne that was a young stripling growen) and went towards the sea, and imbarked in certaine ships that roade at ancker. Thence he sailed vnto ÆGIVM, where the diet or parlament was kept: and there it was resolued, that they should send for *Antigonus*, and deliuer the castle of the Acrocorinthe into his handes. And so it was performed: for *Aratus* sent thither his owne sonne amōg the other hostages. The CORINTHIANS were so sore offended withall, that they made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his house he had in CORINTHE, vnto king *Cleomenes*. So king *Antigonus* being onwardes on his way come into PELOPONNESVS with his army, bringing with him twenty thousand footemen, all MACEDONIANS, & foure hundred horsemen: *Aratus*, with the greatest states and officers of the ACHAIANS, vnwitting to their enemies, went to meete him, as farre as the citie of PEGES, hauing no great trust nor confidence in *Antigonus*, nor the MACEDONIANS. For he remembred very well, that he came first to his greatnesse, by the iniuries he had offered them: and how that the chiefest cause of his rising, was the malice he bare vnto old *Antigonus*. Howbeit, making vertue of necessitie, and weighing the instant occasion of their present extremitie: (of Gouernours, to be driuen to be subiectes) he put himselfe in aduenture. So, when *Antigonus* was told that *Aratus* was come in person to him: hauing with good countenaunce after a common sort saluted those that came in his company: to *Aratus* selfe at his first comming he gaue him an honourable welcome and enterteinement. Afterwardes also, finding him a good and discreete man: he fell into inward friendship and familiaritie with him. For *Aratus* was not onely skilfull to giue direction in matters of state touching good order and gouernement: but moreouer, his companie and conuersation was very pleasaunt, to entertaine a Princes leasure with. Wherefore though *Antigonus* was but young at that time, yet seeing throughly into *Aratus* nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and esteemed about a Prince: he vsed his counsell and aduise more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS also. And so all things came to passe, which the goddes had promised in their sacrifices. For in a beast that was sacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one selfe cawle: the which the Soothsayers interpreted did prognosticate, that two which before were mortall enemies, should now become assured friendes. But *Aratus* made no account of their prediction, neither did also giue any credit to the sacrifices, but trusted more to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwardes hauing good successe, and *Antigonus* making a feast in the citie of CORINTHE, where he had bidden many guests: he would needs haue *Aratus* lye vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a cold. *Aratus* aunswered him, it freezed. Then *Antigonus* bad him come neare him, and when the seruaunts brought a couerlet for the king, they cast it ouer them both. Then *Aratus* remembring the sacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had seene in the sacrifice, and what interpretation the Soothsayers made of it. This was long after. So, *Antigonus* and *Aratus* being at that time in the citie of PEGES, they were sworne brethren together: and then went both with all speede against

The Achaians do send for king Antigonus.

Gouernours obey necessitie. Antigonus honorable enterteinement to Aratus.

A wonder shewed to Aratus.

Antigonus and Aratus sworne brethren.

against the enemies. Thus there fell out hot skirmishes betweene them, hard by the citie of CORINTHE. For *Cleomenes* was very well fortified, and the CORINTHIANS valiantly defended themselues. In the meane time, *Aristotele* of ARGOS, (a *Aratus* friend) secretly sent him word, that he would make the citie rebell, if he came himselfe with any number of souldiers, *Aratus* told it vnto king *Antigonus*, who gaue him fifteen hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and passed ouer with great speede from the *Isthmus* (or barre in the straight) vnto the citie of EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit the ARGIVES taried not *Aratus* cõming, but were all vp before he came and did set vpon king *Cleomenes* men, and had driuen them into the castle. *Cleomenes* being aduertised of it, and fearing least his enemies (keeping the citie of ARGOS) should cut off his way from returning into his country againe with safetie if he were driuen to a straight: he forsooke the castle of the Acrocorinthe, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of ARGOS. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrew certaine of his enemies. But shortly after, *Aratus*, and king *Antigonus* both being come thither with all their aide, *Cleomenes* was driuen to flie to the citie of MANTINEA. After the recouerie againe of the citie of ARGOS, all the residue of the cities of PELOPONNESVS did againe returne to the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* tooke the castle of the Acrocorinthe. So *Aratus* being chosen generall by the ARGIVES, he counselled them to present *Antigonus* with all the tyrants goods, and those that had bene traitours to the common weakh. And after they had cruelly tormented the tyrant *Aristomachus* in the citie of CENCHREES, in the end they cast him into the sea, and drowned him. *Aratus* was marueilously reproued for his death, that would suffer the poore man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleasure: who through his perswasion willingly resigned vp his tyrannie, and deliuered the city of ARGOS vnto the ACHAIANS. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else. For that the ACHAIANS through his meanes had put the citie of CORINTHE into *Antigonus* handes, as though it had bene some meane village: for that when they had sacked the citie of ORCHOMENE, they suffered him to place a garrison of the MACEDONIANS there: for that they had enacted by Parliament, that they should neither write, nor send Ambassadours any whither, without *Antigonus* priuitie and consent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to giue pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made sacrifices, feastes, and games vnto *Antigonus*, as if he had bene a god, following the example of *Aratus* citizens, who were the first that began, and had receiued *Antigonus* into the citie by the perswasion of *Aratus*, that lodged and feasted him in his owne house. With all these faults they burdened *Aratus*, and considered not that after they had put the reynes of the gouernement into *Antigonus* hand, *Aratus* himselfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swing of the vnbridled Prince, hauing no other meanes to stay it, but onely the libertie of speach to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparant and great daunger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against *Aratus* minde, as amongest others, that *Antigonus* caused the tyrants images of ARGOS to be set vp, which he had before pulled downe: and also that he made them to be ouerthrowen, which *Aratus* had set vp for those that had taken the castle of CORINTHE, and onely left *Aratus* owne statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreatie *Aratus* made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the ACHAIANS delt not so friendly with the MANTINIANS, as became GRECIANS one to an other. For they hauing the citie in their handes by *Antigonus* meanes, did put all the noblest and chiefest men of MANTINEA to death, others they sold as slaues, and sent the rest into MACEDON with irons on their legges, & brought the poore women and children into bondage, and sold them for slaues: and of the money they got by spoyle, they deuided the third part among themselues, and left the other two partes vnto the MACEDONIANS. Now surely it can not be sayd, but this was done for some cruell reuenge. For though it was an ouergreat crueltie, in rage & passion of minde, to handle people of one selfe bloud and language in this lamentable sort: yet, *Simonides* sayth, when men are driuen and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomackes inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards vnto the citie, no man can excuse *Aratus*, nor say that he was either driuen to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occa-

The citie of Argos reuolted from Cleomenes.

Aristomachus downed in the sea.

Aratus infamie for Aristomachus.

sion to do it. For king *Antigonus* hauing giuen the citie of MANTINEA vnto the Arcadians, they determined to make it a Colonie, and chose *Aratus* their generall: who made a decree, that thenceforth the citie should no more be called MANTINEA, but ANTIGONIA, as it beareth name vnto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle MENTINEA (for so the Poetes dalled it) was viterly destroyed, and bare the name of an other citie through *Aratus* meanes, preferring the name of him that destroyed the city, & did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, king *Cleomenes* being ouerthrowen in a great battell by the citie of SELASIA, he left the citie of SPARTA, and fled into ÆGYPT. So *Antigonus* hauing vsed *Aratus* with all kind of honourable curtesie, he returned againe into MACEDON. There falling sicke, he sent *Philip* that should succeede him in the kingdom (being a young strippling growen) into PELOPONNESVS, and straightly charged him specially to follow *Aratus* councell, and to imploy him when he would speake vnto the cities, and become acquainted with the ACHAIANS. So *Aratus* hauing receiued him in that sort, made him so well affected and louing towardes him, that he sent him againe into MACEDON, being throughly determined to make warres with GREECE. So after the death of *Antigonus*, the ÆTOLIANS began to despise the carelesnesse and cowardlinesse of the ACHAIANS (because that they being acquainted to be defended by straungers, and hauing bene altogether gouerned by the armies of the MACEDONIANS, they liued very idlely & dissolutely) whereupon they tooke vpon them to make themselues Lords of PELOPONNESVS. So they assembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they onely tooke some prey and spoyle vpon the lands of the PATRÆIANS, and the DYMÆIANS: but inuading the territorie of MESSINA with all their army, they destroyed the whole country before them. *Aratus* being angry withall, and perceiuing that *Timoxenus* (who at that time was Generall of the ACHAIANS) did still tract and delay time in vaine, because he was vpon his going out of his yeare: he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fiue dayes before, to go and aide the MESSENIANS. Wherefore, leauing an armie of the ACHAIANS, whose persons were now neither exercised in armes, nor yet had any desire to go to the warres: he was ouerthrowen by the citie of CAPHYES. Now, because it was thought that he went somewhat too hotly and couragiously to the warres, he so extremely cooled againe, and left things in such case, that all hope being cast aside, he suffred the ÆTOLIANS in maner to tread PELOPENNESVS vnder their feete, before his eyes, with all the insolencie and cruelty that might be possible, notwithstanding that they sundrie times gaue him great aduauntages of them. Thus were the ACHAIANS once againe forced to pray ayde out of MACEDON, and to send for young king *Philip* to make warres in GREECE: hoping for the loue he bare vnto *Aratus*, and the great trust he had in him, that he would vse them gently, and do as they would haue him. But then first of all began *Apelles*, *Megareus*, and a few other Courtiers to accuse *Aratus*: vnto whom king *Philip* giuing easie eare, he procured that one *Eparatus*, of contrarie faction vnto *Aratus*, was chosen Generall by the ACHAIANS. Howbeit this new Generall *Eparatus* being extremely hated by the ACHAIANS, and *Aratus* also leauing to deale any more with matters of state: no acte was done to any purpose. Whereupon king *Philippe* finding his fault, returned againe vnto *Aratus*, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires prospered in all things he went about, he then let him alone withall, as from whom came all his honour and greatnesse. Thereupon euery man esteemed *Aratus* a wise Gouernour, not onely to rule a common wealth, but also a whole realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefest purpose appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a riche colour that did set forth and beautifie them. For the clemencie this young Prince *Philippe* vsed to the LACEDÆMONIANS, that had offended him, the great curtesie he shewed to the CRETANS, whereby in few dayes he wanne all the Isle of CRETA: and the iourney he made against the ÆTOLIANS, which was a wonderfull great exploit: wanne the Prince great fame, for following good councell, and *Aratus* accounted to be a wise Gouernour, and of deepe vnderstanding. Now the kings flatterers enuying *Aratus* more then before, and perceiuing that they got no good by secret backebyting of him: they then began with open mouth very insolently to reuile him at the table, and with great derision: in somuch as one night going home

Mantinea, called Antigonia, by Aratus decree.

Aratus ouerthrowen in battell, by the citie of Caphyes.

The Achaians sent for king Philip Antigonus sonne.

Aratus, a wise counseller. Enuy, the companion of vertue.

to

to his tent after ſupper, they pelted him with ſtones all the way as he went. King *Philippe* when he knew it, was ſo offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the ſumme of twentie talentes: and afterwardes alſo, becauſe they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king *Philip* in the end being puffed vp with the good fortune and ſucceſſe of this warre, which proſpered as he would haue it: he then grew to be couetous, and began to ſhewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his diſsimulation wherewith he diſguiſed himſelfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainly to appeare. For firſt of all, he abuſed young *Aratus* wife, which was kept ſecret a long time, becauſe he lay in their houſe, and began dayly to growe more ſeuere and cruell to the common weales: and then the world ſawe plainlie, that he cared no more for *Aratus*. For the firſt ſuſpition and beginning of the miſtruſt he had of *Aratus*, came for that which was done at MESSINA. For the MESSENIANS being fallen together by the eares, and in great ciuill warres one with an other: *Aratus* went thither to make peace betweene them. Howbeit king *Philip* came thither the next day following, and in ſteade of pacifying the quarrell, he ſet them further out together then they were before. Firſt he asked the Gouernours of the citie, and if they had no lawes to bridle the inſolencie and ſtomacke of the common people, and priuately alſo talked with the heades of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not handes to defende themſelues from tyrantes. So both the one and the other faction truſting to king *Philip*, the Gouernours would haue layed hold of the Oratours of the citie: but they riſing with the common people, ſlue of their Nobilitie and Magiſtrates, well neare two hundred of them. *Aratus* that came ſoone after this fact, ſhewed that he was greatly offended with king *Philippe*, and cauſed his ſonne with open mouth ſhamefully to reproue him. Now it ſeemed that this young *Aratus* was in loue with king *Philippe* before: but then he told him before all the people, that for this ſhamefull acte he had done, he thought him now no more fayre of face, but the fowleſt creature that could be. *Philippe* made no aunſwere to it, although euery man looked he would haue aunſwered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproued him, he byt it in with his teeth: but as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge wordes his ſonne had ſpoken againſt him, for that he was a ciuill man, and mylde of nature, he tooke *Aratus* the father by the hand, and caried him out of the Theater where the aſſembly was kept, to the caſtle of Ithome, to do ſacrifice there to *Iupiter*, and to ſee the forte. This forte was of no leſſe ſtrength then the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe: and when any garriſon is in it, it keepeth all the country about it in obedience, and beſides, it is very hard to driue them out of it. Now *Philip* being gotten vp into that caſtle, he did ſacrifice there: and when the Soothſayer had brought him the intrals of the oxe which they had ſacrificed, he tooke it himſelfe with both his handes and ſhewed them vnto *Aratus*, and to *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, now turning to the one, then vnto the other, and asked them what they iudged of theſe ſignes of the ſacrifice: whether he ſhould keepe the caſtle to himſelfe, or elſe deliuer it to the MESSENIANS. *Demetrius* ſmiling aunſwered him: if thou beeſt of the Soothſayers minde, then thou ſhalt deliuer it vp: but if thou haſt a kings minde in thee, thou ſhalt then hold the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he meant the country of PELOPONNESVS, and moreouer, that if he kept both theſe caſtles of Ithome, & the Acrocorinthe, all PELOPENNESVS were wholly at his commaundement. (*Aratus* ſtill held his peace, and ſayd not a word. In the end, *Philip* praying him to ſpeake, he ſayd. In CRETA, and in the country of the BOEOTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many ſtrong caſtles ſituated on high hils from the vallies. Moreouer, there are alſo many places of great ſtrength in the marches of the ACARNANIANS, both within maine land, as alſo vpon the ſea coaſt: of all the which thou haſt not taken one of them by force, and yet they all do willingly obey thee notwithſtanding. It is for theeues to hide their heades in high rockes and mountaines, but a king can haue no ſtronger caſtle, then the loue, faith, and good will of men. That is it that opened the ſea of CRETA. That is it that hath brought thee into PELOPONNESVS. Thoſe are the meanes which haue made thee being ſo young a man, ſome of them to chooſe thee their Captaine, and others alſo to make thee their abſolute Lord and Maiſter. *Aratus* going on with his tale, *Philip* gaue the intrals againe to the Soothſayer that brought

The beginning of diſpleaſures betwixt Aratus & Philip.

The deepe diſſimulation and double dealing of king Philip.

Aratus the ſonnes wordes vnto Philip.

The wiſe aunſwere of Aratus vnto king Philip, touching the ſafetie of a Prince.

them, and taking *Aratus* by the hand, (as if by force he had caſt him out of the caſtle, and had alſo taken the citie of MESSINA from him) ſayd vnto him: come on then, let vs euen take that courſe. But after that time, *Aratus* came as litle to the Court as might be, and ſo by litle and litle left *Philips* companie. For when he went to make warre in the realme of EPIRVS, he was earneſtly in hand with *Aratus* to go that iourney vnto him. But *Aratus* prayed him to hold him excuſed, and ſo remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an euill name with *Philips* doings. For *Philip* afterwards hauing ſhamefully loſt his army by ſea, againſt the ROMAINES, and beſides, hauing had alſo very euill ſucceſſe in all other his affaires: he returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, & thought once more to haue deceiued the MESSENIANS. But when they founde his practiſe, then he began with open force to ſpoyle their country. *Aratus* then flatly fell out with *Philip*, and vtterly refuſed his friendſhip, for that he perceiued then the iniurie he had done his ſonnes wife, the which grieued him to the hart, but yet he made not his ſonne priuie to it: becauſe he could get no other amendes, then to know what iniurie had bene done to him, conſidering that he had no way nor meanes to be reuenged. For, king *Philip* was maruellouſly changed, and from a curteous and chaſt young Prince, become a vitious and cruell tyrant: the which to ſpeake truely, was not a chaunge or alteration in nature, but a manifeſt declaration (when he was no more affrayed of any man) of his wicked and deuiliſh minde, the which through feare had of long time bene kept ſecret. Now, to proue that *Philips* firſt loue and good will he bare vnto *Aratus*, was alſo mingled with feare and reuerence: that which he did afterwardes vnto him did plainly ſhew it. For he being deſirous to put *Aratus* to death, not thinking himſelfe free ſo long as he liued, neither king, nor tyrant: he durſt not go about to kill him himſelfe, but procured one of his Captaines called *Taurion*, and commaunded him to make him away as ſecretly as he could poſsible, & ſpecially with poyſon, in his abſence. This *Taurion* fell in friendſhip with *Aratus*, and poyſoned him with no violent poyſon, but ſo tempered and qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the body, and procure a pretie coffe which brought him into a conſumption. *Aratus* knew he was poyſoned, but becauſe he ſaw it booted not to bewray it, he bare it patiently, and made no wordes of it, as if he had had ſome naturall diſeaſe about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefeſt friends being in his chamber with him, who wondred to ſee him ſpit bloud as he did: he told him, friend *Cephalon* mine, this is the reward of a kings loue. So he died of this poiſon in the citty of ÆGIVM, being the ſeuēteenth time choſen generall of the ACHAIANS: who would haue had him buried in the ſelfe ſame place, and haue made ſome honourable monument for him, worthy of his noble life. But the SICYONIANS thinking themſelues diſhonored, if his body were buried any where elſe but in their owne citie: they ſo perſwaded the counſell of the ACHAIANS, that they ſuffered them to take *Aratus* body with them. Yet was there an auncient law that forbad buriall within the wals of the citie, of any maner of perſon whatſoeuer: and beſides that law, they had a certaine ſuperſtitious feare in them that made them they durſt not. Whereupon they ſent to *Apolloes* temple at DELPHES, to aske councell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this aunſwere.

Aratus the father forſooke Philip.

Philip of a curteous Prince, became a cruell tyrant.

Aratus poyſoned by king Philippes meanes.

A kings friendſhip daungerous. The death of Aratus.

A law for buriall among the Sicyonians.

The Oracle for Aratus buriall.

Thou happy ſoyle of Sicyon, Aratus natiue place,
VVhereas thou askeſt councell in that noble Captaines caſe,
For keeping of a yeare minde and for making feaſtfull dayes
In honour of that worthy wight, to laſt henceforth alwayes:
If any hinder your intent through fondneſſe or through ſpight,
Both ſea and land and heauen it ſelfe will punish that ſame wight.

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIANS were maruellous glad of it, but the SICYONIANS ſpecially: who preſently chaunging their mourning into publike ioy, they caried the body from the citie of ÆGIVM, & brought it home as in maner of proceſsion, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heades, ſinging hymnes and ſonges of ioy, and daunſing, till they came to the citie of SICYONE. And there they choſe out the chiefeſt place, and buried him as their founder, father, and ſauiour of their citie: and the place is called at this preſent time, ARATIVM. There they yearely make two ſolemne ſacrifices, the one the fift of Nouember, at which time he deliuered the citie of SICYONE from tyrannie, & they call this ſacrifice

Aratium. Yearely ſacrifices appointed to honor Aratus memorie.

Soteria

Soteria, as much to say, as the feast of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the first sacrifice, that was done by the Priest of *Iupiter* the sauiour. The second sacrifice also was done by *Aratus* sonne, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the sacrifice, they song hymnes vpon the harpe in prayse of him, and the maister of the Musitians made a procession round about, being accompanied with boyes and young men of the citie, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were disposed to go a procession. Howbeit the most part of the honours that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left off by processe of time, and chaunge of things that followed afterwardes. Thus you see what the life of *Aratus* the father hath bene, as we finde in histories. Now *Philip* being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, caused his sonne *Aratus* also to be poysoned, not with a deadly poyson, but with such poyson as troubleth a mans wits so, that through their deuilish receit, he becometh a starke foole without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt straunge and abhominable things, and to haue certaine shamefull and detestable desires: in so much as his death (though he dyed in the pryme of his youth) could be not thought miserable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him of all his miseries and mishappes. But *Philip* afterwardes, so long as he liued, payed vnto *Iupiter* (protectour of all iustice and friendship) the punishment his wicked life deserued. For, after he was ouercome in battell by the ROMAINES, he was compelled to yeeld himselfe to their mercy, by whom he was depriued from all the rest of his landes and dominions he had, and of all his ships, but fiue onely, and condemned besides to pay a thousand talents for a fine, & to giue his sonne in hostage: and they onely left him for pities sake, the kingdome of MACEDON, with all the appertenaunces. And there he dayly putting to death the chiefest of his Nobilitie, and neareſt of bloud vnto him: he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate against him. Furthermore, amongest such a heape of euils, hauing but one onely ioye, to haue a vertuous sonne: he put him to death, for spight and malice that he saw the ROMAINES honour him, and left his other sonne *Perseus* successour of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten sonne, but taken for his sonne, and borne of a taylours wife called *Gnathenium*. It is that *Perseus* whom *Paulus AEmylius* ouercame and lead in triumphe in ROME: and at him, the race of the kings discended from *Antigonus*, fayled. Where the issue and offspring of *Aratus*, continueth yet vntill our time, in the cities of SICYONE, and PALLENA.

The miserable death of Aratus the sonne.

Straunge kinds of poysoning.

King Philip punished for his wickednes.

Perseus king Philips sonne: whom Paulus AEmylius triumphed for in Rome.

THE LIFE OF *Galba.*

Iphicrates saying what manner of man a Mercenarie ſouldier ſhould be.

AEmylius saying of ſouldiers.

Plato: saying of an armie.

Demades saying of Alexanders army, after his death.

The Empire of Rome, whereto likened.

Phicrates the ATHENIAN Captaine ſaid, that a mercenarie ſouldier ſhould be couetous, a louer, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleaſure, he ſhould be the valianter, and readier to put himſelfe into any daunger. But moſt men thinke, that ſouldiers ſhould be as one entire ſtrong body, that ſturreth not of it ſelfe without the mouing of the generall. And to approue this opiniõ, it is ſayd that *Paulus AEmylius* arriuing in MACEDON, & finding the ſouldiers full of wordes & curioſitie (euery man meddling with the affaires of the generall) he made opẽ proclamatiõ, no man ſo hardy to medle with his office and affaires, but euery man onely to keepe his ſword ſharpe, and to be quicke of hand againſt the enemy: and for the reſt, to referre all to him, who would take ſufficient order for things of his charge and gouernement. Therefore *Plato*, that ſaith it litle preuaileth to haue a good and wiſe Captaine, if the ſouldiers alſo be not wiſe and obedient, thinking it as requiſite for the vertue of obedience, to haue men of a noble minde and good education, as otherwiſe it is meete for a Captaine to know how to direct and commaunde well, conſidering it is that which with lenity & mildnes doth mitigate all furie and choller: he hath diuers other examples and ſufficient proofes to proue his wordes true, and namely, the great miſeries and calamities which came to the ROMAINES after the death of *Nero*, do plainly ſhew, that nothing is more daungerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great armie liuing licentiouſly and diſorderly. For *Demades* after the death of *Alexander* the great, compared *Alexanders* armie, vnto *Cyclops Polyphemus* after his eye was put out: conſidering how blindly and looſely they were gouerned. Howbeit the Empire of ROME being deuided into ſundry factions at one ſelfe time, and riſing againſt it ſelfe in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes and calamities fayned of the Poetes by the TITANS: not ſo much through the ambitiouſneſſe of the Emperours, as by meanes of the couetouſneſſe & inſolency of the ſouldiers, who draue the Emperours out of their Imperiall ſeates one after an other, as one nayle driueth out an other. And *Dionyſius* alſo the tyrant of SICILIA, was wont to call *Phereus*, who had bene onely tyrant of THESSALIE ten monethes ſpace a tyrant in a play, deriding his ſo ſodaine chaunge of ſtate. But the Imperiall houſe of the *Cæſars* at ROME receiued foure Emperours, in leſſe then ten monethes ſpace, the ſouldiers now putting in one, and then taking out an other, as if they had

bene

bene in a play on a scaffold. So that, the Romanes being thus grieuously oppressed, had yet this comfort, that they needed not to seeke to be reuenged of them that did oppresse them. For they saw one of them murther an other, and him instand most iustly of all other murthered, that had first of all corrupted the souldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the chaunge of Emperours: and so depraued a worthy deed of it selfe, which was their forsaking of *Nero*: and mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treason. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, being a Captaine of the Emperours garde, which are called the Prætorian souldiers, together with *Tigellinus*, when he saw *Nero* in dispaire of himself & of his estate, and that he was ready to flie into Ægypt: he perswaded the garde they should call *Galba* Emperour, as if *Nero* had not bene at Rome, but fled and gone, and promised euery one seuen thousand fiue hundred Drachmas a peece. And to the rest of the souldiers that were dispersed vp and downe in garison vpon the prouinces, twelue hundred & fifty Drachmas a man. For the leuying of which summe, they could not possibly do it, but they must needes commit ten thousand times more extortion in euery body, then *Nero* had done. This large promise made them presently put *Nero* to death, and shortly after him, *Galba* himselfe also. For the souldiers forsooke *Nero*, for the hope they had to receiue this promised gift: and shortly after they slue the second, which was *Galba*, because they receiued not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwardes also, in seeking who should still feede them with like gifts, before they could obtaine their wished hope, one of them destroyed an other by treason and rebellion. But now to set downe all things particularly which happened at that time, it were to write one whole entire historie: and therefore, I will content my selfe, not to passe ouer with silence the notablest deedes and lamentable calamities which happened at that time vnto the *Cæsars*.

Nymphidius Sabinus, and Tigellinus, betrayed Nero.

The hope of gifts destroyed the Empire of Rome.

It is manifestly knowen to all men, that *Sulpitius Galba* of a priuate man, was the richest and wealthiest that came to be in the number of the *Cæsars*: who, though he came of a very noble house, deriuing himselfe from the race and family of the *Seruij*: yet he was honored the more, because he was a kinne vnto *Quintus Catulus*, who for vertue and estimation, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise, he willingly resigned his authoritie and power vnto others. So *Galba* thereby was somewhat a kinne vnto *Liuia*, the wife of *Augustus Cæsar*, & therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperours pallace, when he went to take possession of his Consulship. Moreouer, it is reported, that when he had charge of the army in Germanie, he did valiantly behaue himselfe. And in the gouernement of Libya also, where he was Vicetonsull, he did as honourably behaue himselfe, as any man whatsoeuer. Howbeit his meane and simple ordinary of dyet, voyde of all excesse, was imputed misery & niggardlines in him, when he was proclaimed Emperour, because the praise of sober & temperate diet which he would haue brought in vse, was then so raw a thing, that it was taken for a new & strange deuise. He was sent gouernour also into Spayne by *Nero*, before he had learned to be affrayed of the citizens of great authoritie: howbeit, besides that he was of a curteous & gentle nature, his age moreouer increased the opinion they had of him, that he was timerous and fearefull. For when the wretched officers of *Nero* did cruelly vexe & torment the prouinces, and that it lay not in *Galba* any way to helpe them: yet was it some cõfort to them, which were iudged & sold as slaues by the officers, to see that *Galba* did lament the miseries and calamities they endured, as if they had bene done vnto himselfe. So when any slaunderous rymes were made against *Nero*, which were song vp and downe in euery place, he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended, as *Neroes* officers were. Therefore he was maruellously beloued in the countrey, with them that were acquainted with him: because he was then in the eight yeare of his gouernement as Proconsull amongst them, at which time *Iunius Vindex* being Propretor of Gavle, rebelled against *Nero*, who as it is reported, had written vnto *Galba*, before he entred into open action of rebellion. But *Galba*, did neither beleeue him, nor also accuse & bewray him, as diuers others which were gouernors of armies & prouinces did: who sent *Vindex* letters vnto *Nero* which he himselfe had written vnto them, and so did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterprise, who afterwards being of the conspiracie did confesse they were traitors to them selues, as much as vnto him. Howbeit, when *Vindex* afterwardes had proclaimed open warre against *Nero*, he wrote againe vnto *Galba*, & prayed him to take the Imperiall crown vpõ him,

The wealth & nobilitie of Galba.

Galbaes manners.

Galbaes curtesie.

Iunius Vindex rebelled against Nero.

and to become the head of a ſtrong and mightie body (which were the GAVLES) that lacked nothing but a head and gouernour, being a hundred thouſand fighting men ready armed, and might alſo leaue a great number more of them. Then *Galba* conſulted thereupon with his friends, & among them, ſome were of opinion that he ſhould ſtay a while, to ſee what change and alteration would grow at ROME vpon this ſturre. Howbeit *Titus Iunius*, Captaine of the Pretorian band, ſayd vnto him: O *Galba*, what meaneth this ſo doubtfull a deliberation? Be not we wiſe men to call in queſtion, whether we ſhall allow of *Vindex* friendſhip, or accuſe him? Yea, and with armes perſecute him, that deſired rather to haue thee Emperour, then *Nero* tyrant ouer the eſtate of ROME? Afterwardes *Galba* by bils ſet vp euery where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchiſe ſuch as would make ſute for it. This rumour flying ſtraight abroad, he gathered a great number of ſouldiers together, that were very willing to rebell: & he was no ſooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of ſtate, but all the ſouldiers did ſalute him, by the name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the firſt, but accuſing *Nero*, and lamenting the deathes of the nobleſt men whom he had cruelly put to death: he promiſed that he would imploy his beſt wit and diſcretion to the ſeruice and benefit of his country, neither naming himſelfe *Ceſar*, nor Emperour, but onely Lieutenant to the Senate, and ſtate of ROME. Now, that *Vindex* did wiſely to call *Galba* to be Emperour, *Nero* himſelfe in his doings doth witneſſe it. Who hauing alwayes made a countenance as though he paſſed not for *Vindex*, & that he waighed not the rebellio of the GAVLES: whē it was told him that *Galba* was called Emperour, he being thē at ſupper, for ſpight he ouerthrew the table. Moreouer, though the Senate had iudged *Galba* an enemy, yet *Nero* to be pleaſaunt with his friendes, made as though he was nothing affrayed of it, and ſayd, this newes made all for him, becauſe he ſtood in neede of money, and alſo that it was a happy occaſion offred him to helpe him withall. For ſayd he, we ſhall ſoone haue all the GAVLES goodes, as the ſpoyle of a iuſt warre, after we haue once againe ouercome and conquered them: and moreouer, *Galbaes* goods alſo would quickly be in his hands, that he might ſell them, conſidering that he was become his open enemy. So he preſently commaunded *Galbaes* goods ſhould be openly ſold, to them that would giue moſt. *Galba* vnderſtanding that, did alſo by ſound of trumpet ſell all *Neroes* goods he had in all the prouince of SPAYNE, and did alſo finde more men readier to buy, then there were goods to ſell. Daily men roſe againſt *Nero* in euery coūtry, who tooke *Galbaes* part, *Clodius Macer* only excepted in AFRICK, and *Verginius Ruſus* in GAVLE, both of them hauing charge of legions appointed for the ſafe keeping of GERMANIE: and both of them did follow ſeuerall directiōs by themſelues, varying in mind & intent. For *Clodius Macer* hauing robbed much, & put diuers men alſo to death through his cruelty & couetouſneſſe: he ſhewed plainly, that he ſwamme betweene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet kept it. *Verginius* alſo on the other ſide, being generall ouer great & mighty legions, who had ſundry times called him Emperour, & did in maner force him to take vpon him the name and Empire: he notwithſtanding did euer aunſwere them, that he neither minded to take the Empire vpon him, nor yet to ſuffer any other to do it, then ſuch as the Senate ſhould chooſe and call vnto the ſame. This at the firſt ſomewhat amazed *Galba*. But when both the armies of *Vindex* and *Verginius*, in ſpight of their Captaines (who could not ſtay nor keepe them backe, no more then couchmen can keepe backe the horſe with their bridles) were ioyned in a great battell together, where were ſlaine twenty thouſand GAVLES in the field, & *Vindex* alſo ſlue himſelfe ſhortly after: it was giuen out, that the conquerours after ſo great a victory obtained, would cōpell *Verginius* to take vpon him to be Emperour, or elſe that they would take *Neroes* part againe. Then *Galba* being not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto *Verginius*, & perſwaded him to ioyne with him, to hold vp the Empire & liberty of the ROMAINES, & therupon fled ſtraight into a city of SPAYNE called *COLONIA, rather repēting him of that he had done, & wiſhing for his wonted peaceable & quiet life wherwith he was brought vp: thē otherwiſe occupying himſelfe about any neceſſary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterpriſe. Now it was about the beginning of ſommer, and one day towards euening, there came to *Galba* one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, a SICILIAN borne, that was come from ROME in ſeuē dayes: who vnderſtāding that *Galba* was alone, went preſently to his chamber doore & opened it, & cōming in

In this place the Greeke is corruptly read μαθόντων for μισθόντων.

Sulpitius Galba, ſaluted by the ſouldiers, as Emperour.

Galba iudged an enemie by the Senate of Rome, and his goodes ſold by the crier.

Clodius Macer, gouernour of Affricke.

Verginius gouernour of Gaule.

a citie

read

in against the wils of the groomes of the chāber that stood at the doore, he told him that *Nero* being yet aliue, but seen no more, first the people of ROME, & then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperor, & that immediatly after, newes came that *Nero* was dead, the which he hardly beleeuing notwithstanding, went thither himselfe, saw his body layed out vpon the ground, & then made towardes him with all speede to bring him these newes. The newes maruellously reuiued *Galba*, and a multitude of men thronged straight about his doore, which began to be couragious, seeing him liuely againe, although the speede of the Messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two dayes after, *Titus* also arriued, with certaine other of the campe, who told *Galba* particularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this *Titus* was called to great honour, and the slaue infranchised had priuiledge giuen him to weare rings of gold, and he was called *Martianus Vicellus*, who afterwards of all the infranchised bond men, became the chiefest man about his maister *Galba*. In the meane time, *Nymphidius* SABINE began at ROME, not couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the absolute gouerment of the Empire, perswading himself that *Galba* was so old, that he could hardly be brought in a litter vnto ROME, being at the least three score and thirteen yeare old: besides also, that the army of the PRETORIANS which were in ROME, did beare him good will of long time, and then acknowledged none other Lord but him onely, for the large promise he had made them, for the which he receiued the thankes, and *Galba* remained the debter. So he presently commaunded *Tigellinus*, his companion & Captaine with him of the army of the PRETORIANS, to leaue off his sword: and disposing himselfe to bancketing and feasting, he sent for all those that had bene Consuls, Prætors, or Proconsuls of prouinces, and made them all to be inuited in the name of *Galba*. So there were certaine souldiers gaue out this rumour in the campe, that they should do well to send Ambassadours vnto *Galba*, to pray him that *Nymphidius* might be their onely Captaine still, without any companion ioyned with him. Furthermore, the honor and good will the Senate bare him, calling *Nymphidius* their benefactour, and going dayly to visite him in his house, procuring him to be Authour of all their decrees passed in Senate, and that he should authorise them: this made him high minded, and the bolder by much, in so much that shortly after, they that came to honour him in this sort, did not onely hate and mislike his doings, but moreouer he made them affrayd of him. Furthermore, when the Consuls had giuen to common pursuants any commissions vnder seale, or letters pattents signifying the decrees of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperour, by vertue of which letters partents, when the officers of the citie do see the seale, they straight prouide the pursuants of couches and fresh horses to further their speede and hasty iourney: *Nymphidius* was very angry with them: because they did not also come to him for his letters, sealed by him and his souldiers, to send likewise vnto the Emperour. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to haue deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing themselues vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appease his anger. And to please the Commons also, he suffred them to put any of *Neroes* friends to death they could meete withall. Among other, they slue a Fenser called *Spicillus*, whom they put vnder *Neroes* statues, which they dragged vp and downe the citie. An other also called *Aponius*, one of *Neroes* accusers, they threw him to the ground, and draue charts ouer him loden with stones. And diuers others also, whom they slue in that manner: of the which some had done no manner of offence. Hereupon one *Mauriscus*, one of the noblest men of the citie & so esteemed, sayd openly in the Senate. I feare me we shall wish for *Nero* againe, before it be long. So *Nymphidius* being come in manner to the fulnesse of his hope: he was very glad to heare that some repyned at him, because he was the sonne of *Caius Cæsar*, that was the next Emperour after *Tiberius*. For this *Caius Cæsar*, whē he was a young man, had kept *Nymphidius* mother, which had bene a fayre young woman, and the daughter of one *Callistus*, one of *Cæsars* infranchised bond men, whom he had gotten of a laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this *Nymphidius* was borne before *Caius Cæsar* could know his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a Fenser called *Martianus*, with whom his mother *Nymphidia* fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in ROME, and indeede *Nymphidius* was liker to him in fauour, then vnto any other. So, he confessed that he was the sonne of this *Nymphidia*, howbeit he did ascribe the glory of the death of *Nero* vnto himselfe, and

Nymphidius Sabine taketh vpon him to be Emperour.

Honours done to Nymphidius by the Senate, made him grow too bold and insolent.

Neroes friends slaine at Rome, by Nympidius commandemēt.

The parentage of Nymphidius.

thought himselfe not sufficiently recompensed with the honours they gaue him, neither also with the goods he enioyed, neither for that he lay with *Sporus* whom *Nero* loued so dearely, whom he sent for to *Neroes* funerals whilest his body was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had bene his wife, and called him *Poppæus*. Furthermore, all this did not content him, but yet secretly he aspired to be Emperour, partly practising the matter in ROME it selfe, by the meanes of certaine women and Senatours which were secretly his friendes: and partly also through one *Gellianus*, whom he sent into SPAYNE, to see how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of *Nero*, all things prospered with *Galba*, sauing *Verginius Rufus* onely, who stood doubtfull yet, & made him sorely mistrust him, for that he was affrayed (besides that he was generall ouer a great and puissant army, hauing also newly ouerthrowen *Vindex*, and secretly ruling the best part of the Empire of ROME, which was all GAVLE, and then in tumult and vprore, ready to rebell) lest he would harken vnto them that perswaded him to take the Empire to himselfe. For there was no Captaine of ROME at that time so famous, and of so great estimation as *Verginius*, and that deseruedly, for that he had done great seruice to the Empire of ROME in time of extremitie, hauing deliuered ROME at one selfe time from a cruell tyranny, and also from the daunger of the warres of the GAVLES. This notwithstanding, *Verginius* persisting still in his first determination, referred the election of the Emperour vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of *Nero* was openly knowen, the common sort of souldiers were earnestly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the souldiers (otherwise called a Colonel of a thousand men) went into his tent with a sword drawen in his hand, and bad *Verginius* either determine to be Emperour, or else to looke to haue the sword thrust into him. Yet after that *Fabius Valens*, Captaine of a legiõ, was sworne vnto *Galba*, and that he had receiued letters from ROME, aduertising him of the ordinaunce & decree of the Senate: in the end, with much a do, he perswaded the souldiers to proclaime *Galba* Emperour, who sent *Flaccus Ordeonius* to succeede him, vnto whom he willingly gaue place. So, when *Verginius* had deliuered vp his army vnto him, he went to meete with *Galba*, on whom he waited, comming on still towardes ROME. And *Galba* all that time neither shewed him euill countenance, nor yet greatly esteemed of him, *Galba* himselfe being cause of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but specially *Titus Iunius*: who for the malice he bare vnto *Verginius*, thinking to hinder his rising, did vnwittingly in deede further his good hap, and deliuered him occasion to draw him out of the ciuill warres and mischieues, (the which lighted afterwardes vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambassadours were sent from the Senate, and met with *Galba* at NARBONA, a citie of GAVLE: where after they had presented their humble duetie, they perswaded him to make all the hast he could possible to shew himselfe to the people of ROME, who were maruellous desirous to see him. *Galba* receiued them very gratiously and curteously, & made them great cheare, howbeit very modestly notwithstanding. For notwithstanding that *Nymphidius* had sent him diuers Officers, and store of *Neroes* moueables: yet he would neuer be serued with any of them, at any feastes or bankets he made, with other then his owne stuffe, wherein he shewed his noble minde, and how he could maister all vanitie. But *Titus Iunius* shortly after told *Galba*, that this noble mind and ciuill moderatiõ, without pride or pompe, was too lowly a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine respect of honestie that knew not it selfe, and became not his greatnes and maiestie. So, he perswadid him to vse *Neroes* money and stuffe, and to be sumptuous & Princely in his feastes, without niggardlinesse. To conclude, the old man *Galba* began plainly to shew that he would be ruled by *Titus Iunius*: who aboue all other was extreme couetous, and besides too much giuen to women. For when he was a young man, the first time he went to the warres vnder *Caluisius* SABINE, he brought his Captaines wife (which liked good felowship) disguised like a souldier into the campe, into his generals tent (which the ROMAINES called Principia) and there was somwhat bold with her: Wherefore *Caius Cæsar* committed him to prison, but he escaped at his death. An other time, when he supped with *Clodius Cæsar*, he stale a siluer pot. *Clodius* hearing of it, bad him againe to supper the next night: but he commaunded his men they should giue him drinke in an earthen cruse. Thus this theft (through *Cæsars* pleasauntnesse) seemed rather a matter of sport, then

Verginius, a famous Captaine.

The conditions of Titus Iunius.

of

of anger: howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extreme couetousnes of money, (at what time he ruled *Galba*, and bare all the sway about him) gaue vnto some iust cause, and vnto others apparant colour of tragicall mischiefes, and grieuous calamities. For *Nymphidius*, so soone as *Gellianus* was returned out of SPAINE, who he had sent thither to see what *Galba* did: he enforming him that *Cornelius Lacon* was Captaine of the guard and house of the Emperor, and that *Titus Iunius* did all in all about him, and that he could neuer be suffered to come neere *Galba*, nor to speake with him a part, because those which were about *Galba* did mistrust him, & euer had an eie to him to see what he did, he was maruellously perplexed withall. Thereuppon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and petie Captaines of the campe of the PRÆTORIAN army, and perswaded them that *Galba* touching his owne person, was a good old and discreete man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne aduise & counsell, but was ruled altogether by *Iunius* and *Lacon*, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good before they came to be of greater power, and to haue such great authority in maneging the affaires of the Empire, as *Tigellinus* had before, to sende Ambassadours to the Emperor in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcome vnto ROME, and to all men else besides. The Captaines vtterly misliked this deuise. For they thought it too strange, and beyong all reason, to seeme to teach an olde Emperor, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: and to appoint him what seruants and friendes he should keepe, and whom he should trust or mistrust. *Nymphidius* perceiuing this, tooke another course, and wrote letters vnto *Galba* to terrifie him, one time sending him word that he was maruellous euill beloued of many in ROME, & that they were ready to rebell against him: an other time also, that the legions of GERMANY were reuolted, and that he vnderstoode the like from the legions in IVRY and SYRIA. And another time also, that *Clodius Macer* in AFRICKE staied all the ships fraughted with corne that were bound for ROME. But in the end, finding that *Galba* made no account of him, and that he gaue no credite to his words nor writings: he determined first of all to set vpon him. Howbeit *Clodius Celsus*, borne in the citie of ANTIOCH, a wise man, and his faithfull friend, disswaded him maruellously not to doe it: declaring vnto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in ROME that would call *Nymphidius*, *Cæsar*. Howbeit in contrary manner, diuers others mocked *Galba* and specially one *Mithridates* of the Realme of PONT, that said he was a bauld writhen man. For the ROMAINES (said he) haue him in deede now in some estimation, but when they haue once seene him, they will thinke it a perpetuall shame and reproch to our time, that he was called *Cæsar*. So they thought it good to bring *Nymphidius* about midnight into the campe, and there openly to proclaime him Emperor. Howbeit the chiefe Tribune of the souldiers called *Antonius Honoratus*, gathered his souldiers together in the night, and before them all did first openly reproue himselfe, and then them, for that they had so often turned and chaunged in so short time, without any wit or discretion, hauing no iudgement to chuse the best way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong in that sort by some wicked spirit, which brought them out of one treason into an other. And yet (said he) our first chaunge had some countenance of reason, to wit, the horrible vices and faults of *Nero*: but now, wherein can we accuse *Galba*, to haue any countenãce to falsifie our faith vnto him? hath he slaine his mother? hath he put her to death? hath he shamefully played the tumbler or cõmon plaier vpon a scaffold in the Theater? And yet for all these vile parts, we neuer durst once begin to forsake *Nero*, but gaue credit to *Nymphidius* words, who told vs that *Nero* had first forsaken vs, and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What shall we doe? Shall we kill *Galba* after *Nero*? what, shal we kill him that is a kinne to *Liuia*, to make the sonne of *Nymphidia* Emperor: as we haue alreadie slaine the sonne of *Agrippina*? or shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entred into this enterprise, and thereby to reuenge the death of *Nero*, and to shew our selues faithfull souldiers vnto *Galba*? All the souldiers yeelded straight to the Colonels words, & therewith went to their other companions to perswade them to keep their faith & promise they auowed vnto the Emperor: so that they made many of them reuolt againe from *Nymphidius*. Thereuppon the noyse and cryes being great, *Nymphidius* supposing (as some thought) that the souldiers did call for him, or else hoping betimes to quench this tumult, to stay such as were yet wauering:

Nymphidius practises.

The oration of Antonius Honoratus, Tribune of the souldiers, vnto his mutinous souldiers.

Nymphidius aspireth to be Emperor.

he went thither himselfe with great store of torch light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which *Ciconius Varro* had made for him, & the which he had learned without booke to speak vnto the souldiers. But when he found the gates of the campe shut, and saw diuers men armed vpon the walles, he began to be affraid: and comming nearer, asked them what they ment by it, and by whose commandement they had armed themselues as they did. Answere was made him by them all, that they did acknowledge no other Emperor but *Galba*: the which he seemed to like of, and also commaunded them that followed him to do the like, and therewithall drew neerer. Whereupon certaine of the souldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and suffred him to com in with a few men with him. Howbeit assoone as he was come in, first there was a dart throwen at him, the which one *Septimius* that went before him receiued vpon his shield, and then others also came with their swords drawen in their handes to set on him, and followed him as he fled into a souldiers cabbin, where they slew him. Then they layed his body in an open place, and railed it about, that euery man that would, might the next day see it. So *Nymphidius* being slaine in this sort, *Galba* vnderstanding of his death, commanded that all *Nymphidius* friends and confederators that had not bene slaine at that time, should for his sake be put to death, as in deede they were. Amongst them they slew *Ciconius* that had made the oration for *Nymphidius*, and *Mithridates* also of PONT. Howbeit, though in deede they had deserued it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to command these men to be put to death in that sort, which were men of such quality and calling as they were, without due forme and order of law. For euery man stoode in good hope vpon the comming in of this new Emperor, to haue seene another manner of gouernment, then they had yet seene: howbeit they were deceiued of their hope at the first choppe. But yet they misliked this most of all, when he commaunded them to kill *Petronius Tertullianus*, that had bene Consull, because he was *Neroes* faithfull friend. But now for the death of *Clodius Macer*, whom *Trebonianus* slew in AFRICKE by his commandement, and for *Fonteius* that was also slaine in GERMANY by *Valens*: he had some reason to feare them, because they were in armes, and commanded great armies. But for *Tertullianus* that was an old man, naked, and vnarmed: truely he should haue put him to his triall by law, if he would haue ministred iustice, the which he promised to keepe at his first comming to the Imperiall crowne. Herein they greatly reproued *Galba*. Now, when he drew neare to ROME within fiue and twentie furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of Mariners and sea faring men, that kept the high way on euery side, wandring vp and downe in euery place. These were the men whom *Nero* had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the ower and made them souldiers. So they were come thither to be suters to him, that he would allowe them still to be souldiers, and they so pressed arrogantly vpon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the new Emperor, to see him nor speake with him: but they fell to tumult and vprore, crying out to haue ensignes for their legion, and to be appointed a place to lye in, in garrison. *Galba* referred them ouer to an other time, and bad them they should then let him vnderstand their demand. They told him againe, that this delay was a kinde of deniall, and thereupon fell to plaine mutinie, and followed him with great cryes: insomuch that some of them stuck not to draw out their swords. Then *Galba* commaunded the horsemen he had about him, to set vpon them. So there was not a man of them that resisted, but some of them were ouerthrowen, and troden vnder their horse feete: and others also slaine as they fled. This was a very euil signe and presage for him, to enter into ROME with such boudshed, vpon so many poore mens dead bodies as lay slain on the ground. Howbeit, where some before did despise and mocke him for an old and feeble man, euery man then was affraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, because he would shewe a great change and alteration from the vnreasonable vaine giftes and expenses of *Nero*: it seemeth he did many vncomely things. As when one *Canus*, an excellent plaier on the recorder, had plaid all supper time, because it was a maruellous sweete Musicke to heare: he praised and commended it maruellously, and commaunded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he tooke a few crownes, and put them into his hande, saying, that it was not money of the common treasure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue straight commaundement that they should require and call backe againe the gifts *Nero* had giuen, and bestowed vpon common players, minstrels,

Nymphidius Sabine slaine

The crueltie of Galba.

Cornelius Tacitus calleth him Turpilianus.

Galba entred Rome with murder.

The vilenesse of Galba.

minſtrels, wreſtlers, and people of ſuch kind of facultie and profeſſion, and to leaue them only the tenth part. But he got litle by this deuiſe. For the moſt part of thoſe that had giftes giuen them, had ſpent and conſumed it all, as men that liue without any rule or order, and ſpent at night that which they get in the day: and beſides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them to reſtore it againe. But this was an endleſſe worke, for things had bene ſo conueyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the ſhame and diſhonor returned to *Galba* himſelfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on *Titus Iunius*: who onely made the Emperour ſtraight laced to all others, whileſt he himſelfe tooke vnreaſonably of all men, making portſale of euery thing that came to hand. For *Heſiodus* the Poet ſaith:

As well when the veſſell is full that it ſpill,
As when it is emptie, thirſt craueth drinke ſtill.

Heſiodus ſaying.

But *Iunius* perceiuing *Galba* to be old and feeble, would wiſely take his fortune and time, while time ſerued, ſuppoſing it almoſt to be at an end, ſo ſoone as he beganne to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much diſhonor the poore old man, outergreatly abuſing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefeſt and waightieſt matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindering thoſe, the which the Prince himſelfe had a good deſire to deale vprightly in, as to puniſh the officers of *Nero*. For he put ſome of them to death, among the which *Elius* was one, and certaine other, as *Polyclitus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobius*: whereat the people marueilouſly reioyced, and cryed out as they went to execution through the market place, that it was a goodly and bleſſed proceſſion, and required *Tigellinus* of the gods & men, that had bene chiefe maſter and guide of all *Neroes* tyrannie. Howbeit the trimme man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed *Iunius* before: for afterwardes he put poore *Tertullianus* to death, who had neither betraied nor hated *Nero*, being as he was, and had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he plaied when he was aliue. Whereas he that made *Nero* worthy of death, and that afterwards had alſo betrayed him: he was left alone, and nothing ſaide vnto him, being a manifeſt proofe to all others, that they ſhould not doubt to hope to obtaine any thing at *Titus Iunius* hands, ſo they fed him with gifts. For the common people of ROME neuer deſired thing ſo much, as to ſee *Tigellinus* to be caried to execution: and they neuer left crying out to demaund him in all aſſemblies of the Theater or ſhew place, vntill ſuch time as the Emperour *Galba* did forbid the by proclamation, the which declared that *Tigellinus* would not liue long, becauſe he was ſicke of a conſumption of the lungs, which by litle and litle did weare him to nothing: and *Galba* prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloudie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they ſeemed to laugh at it: and *Tigellinus* did ſacrifice to the goddes for his health and ſafetie, and prepared a ſumptuous feaſt. Where *Iunius* riſing from ſupper, being ſet by the Emperor, went vnto *Tigellinus* to be merry with him, and tooke his daughter being a widdow with him, vnto whom *Tigellinus* dranke, and offred her a gift of fiue and twentie Myriades of ſiluer: and commaunded one of his chiefeſt concubines to take a carcanet from her necke ſhe wore, & to giue it the other, being worth fifteene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, thoſe things that were done vprightly and with iuſtice, were reproued and taken in euill part: as the thing that was graunted to the GAVLES, becauſe they did rebell with *Vindex*. For men thought that they were not diſcharged of the ſubſidies & taxes they were wont to pay, & that they were made free of ROME, ſo much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by *Iunius* meanes, of whom they had bought it. For theſe cauſes the people hated the Emperor *Galba*. Howbeit the ſouldiers ſtill liued in good hope, for the gift that was promiſed them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promiſed them, they ſhould yet enioy as much as *Nero* had giuen them. But *Galba* vnderſtanding that they complained of him, he ſpake a word meete for ſo noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he vſed to chooſe ſouldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the ſouldiers, it bred a maruellous mortal hatred in them againſt him: becauſe they thought it was not only to take the gift away frō them which they hoped preſently to haue receiued, but that it was alſo a preſident to teach the Emperours that ſhould come after him, what they ſhould doe. Howbeit the rebelling mindes of the Præ-

Galba killeth Neroes ſeruants and officers.

The noble ſaying of the Emperor Galba.

Galba offended the ſouldiers.

torian guard at ROME appeared not yet, but was ſecretly kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maieſty and perſon of *Galba*, who kept them that were deſirous to rebel, becauſe they ſaw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did ſomwhat ſmother and keepe in the ſhew of their wicked intent. But they which had before ſerued vnder *Verginius*, & were at that time vnder *Flaccus* in GERMANY, thinking themſelues worthy of great rewarde for the battell they had wonne againſt *Vindex*, and hauing nothing giuen them in recompence: they would not be pleaſed with any thing their Captaine ſaid vnto them, neither did they make any account of *Flaccus*, becauſe he could not ſturre himſelfe, he was ſo plagued with the gout, and beſides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine ſports were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonels and Captaines (according to the maner of the ROMAINES) made praiers vnto the gods for the health and proſperitie of the Emperour *Galba*: there were diuers of them that made a noyſe at the firſt, and afterwards when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in the end the ſouldiers aunſwered, if he be worthy. The legions in like maner vnder *Tigellinus* charge, did oftentimes vſe ſuch inſolent partes: whereof *Galbaes* officers did aduertiſe him by letters. Wherefore *Galba* being affraide, and miſtruſting that they did not only deſpiſe him for his age, but alſo becauſe he had no children: he determined to adopt ſome young gentleman for his ſonne, of the nobleſt houſe of the citie of ROME, and to proclaime him his ſucceſſor in the Empire. At that time there was one *Marcus Otho*, of a noble houſe, but euer giuen to ſenſuality and pleaſure from his cradle, as much as any ROMAINE could be. And as *Homer* oftentimes doth call *Paris*, the husband of the faire *Helen*, naming him by the name of his wife, becauſe he had no other commendable vertue in him: euen ſo *Otho* came to be knowen in ROME, by marying *Poppæa*, whom *Nero* loued when ſhe was *Criſpinus* wife, howbeit bearing ſome reſpect to his wife, and being affraid alſo of his mother, he had intiſed *Otho* to be his bawd vnto her. *Nero* loued *Otho* dearely, and much delighted in his company, becauſe he was ſo good a fellow and free of his fleſh: and was verie glad ſometime to heare how he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as *Nero* on a time was nointing himſelfe with precious oyles and perfumes, he caſt a litle vppon *Otho* as he went by: who the next day made him a feaſt in his houſe, where ſodainely were thruſt into the hall, diuers veſſels of gold and ſiluer full of this perfumed oyle, that ranne out of them like conduit water, and did wette all the hall. So *Otho* hauing firſt poſſeſſed *Poppæa*, and abuſed her vnder hope of *Neroes* loue: he perſwaded her to be diuorſed from her husband. The which ſhe did, and he receiued her home to his owne houſe, as his lawfull wife: not being ſo well pleaſed to haue part, as he was ſorie and angry alſo to let an other enioy her. Now *Poppæa* her ſelfe (as it is reported) did not miſlike this his gealouzie, for ſometimes ſhe would ſhut her dore againſt *Nero*, though *Otho* were not within: either becauſe ſhe would keepe *Nero* in breath, and in loue liking ſtill, or elſe as ſome thought, becauſe ſhe would not haue *Cæſar* to her husband, and likewiſe that ſhe would not refuſe him for her friend, becauſe ſhe was wantonly giuen. But ſo it is, *Otho* was in danger of his life by marrying of *Poppæa*: and ſo was it alſo a ſtrange thing, that *Nero* hauing put his wife and ſiſter to death, only to mary *Poppæa*, he did yet pardon *Otho*, & ſaued his life. Howbeit it was for *Senecaes* ſake that was his friend, through whoſe perſwaſion he was ſent to the fartheſt part of SPAINE alongſt the Ocean ſea, to be Gouernor of LVSITANIA. And there he gouerned ſo wiſely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troubleſome vnto the countrie: knowing that this honorable charge was giuen him, only to mittigate and hide his baniſhment. Afterwards when *Galba* had rebelled, he was the firſt of all the Gouernors of the prouinces that ioyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both golde and ſiluer, vnto the mynt maiſter, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and ſo to be conuerted into currant coine. Moreouer he gaue of his officers vnto *Galba*, thoſe which he thought the meeteſt men to ſerue a Prince: and otherwiſe, when he was tryed, he ſhewed himſelfe as faithfull & skilfull in matters of ſtate, as any one that followed the Emperors traine. Inſomuch as all the way he went many dayes iorney in coch with *Galba* himſelfe, & did maruellouſly curry fauour with *Titus Iunius*, beſtowing great gifts vpon him, & alſo entertaining him with pleaſant ſpeches: but ſpecially, becauſe he willingly gaue him the vpper hād wherby he was aſſured to be the ſecond perſon in credit about *Galba*. So in all that he did, he far excelled *Iunius*, for that he

Tumult amongſt the ſouldiers and legions of the Romaines in Germanie.

Othoes maner.

Poppæa, Othoes wife.

Otho ſent Propretor into Luſitania.

Othoes credit about Galba.

he graunted mens sutes frankely and freely without one penny taking, and was besides easie to bespoken with of euery man that had any sute to him: but specially of the souldiers, whom he did greatly helpe & further, and caused diuers also to be called to honorable office, he himselfe partly mouing the Emperor for them, without any labour or sute made vnto him, and partly also obteining them at *Iunius* hands, and of the two infranchised bondmen of *Galba*, *Icellus*, and *Asiaticus*. For, these three men did beare all the sway & credit about the Emperor in the court. Moreouer, alwaies when he inuited the Emperor to his house, he bribed the Prætorian guard that waited vpon him, and gaue euery souldier a crowne. Now this in sight, seemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with: though in deede it was a fine deuise to ouerthrow him, to bribe the souldiers in that sort as he did. So *Galba* consulting whom he should make his successor: *T. Iunius* preferred *Otho* vnto him: the which he did not simply of himselfe, nor without reward, but only with promise that *Otho* should marry his daughter if *Galba* did adopt him his sonne, and proclaime him successor in the Empire. Howbeit *Galba* did alway specially regard the common wealth before his priuate liking, and sought to adopt such a one, as should not so much please himselfe, as otherwise he should be profitable & meete for the Empire. But surely in my opinion, *Galba* would not make *Otho* his heire of his goods, considering what an vnreasonable spender he was, & how sumptuous in all his things, & besides, farre gone in debt: for he ought aboue fiue thousand Myriades. So when he had heard *Iunius* counsell about this adoption, he gently without other answere, did put ouer his determination vntil another time, and made *Otho* onely Consull at that time, and *T. Iunius* Consull with him: whereby it was straight supposed, that at the beginning of the new yere, he would proclaime him his successor in the Empire. Which was the thing the souldiers most desired of all other. But now, delaying still his determination, the legions of the ROMAINES in GERMANY, did rise & rebell against him all at an instant. For he was generally hated of all his souldiers, because he paid them not the gift he had promised them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleaged for their cause of rising, that he had dishonourably reiected *Verginius Rufus*: and that the GAVLES which had fought against them, were rewarded with great & rich priuiledges, and they that tooke not part with *Vindex*, had bene grieuously punished & put to death. Moreouer, that *Galba* did only honor *Vindex* death after he was dead, as acknowledging his goodwil vnto him, offring publique oblations and funerall sacrifices for him, as if by him onely he had bene proclaimed Emperor. Now such speeches & rumors ran through the campe amongst them, when the first day of the yeare came, which the ROMAINES call the calendes of Ianuary, on which day when *Flaccus* had called the souldiers together, to sweare them to the Emperor according to the custome: they plucked downe *Galbaes* images, & sware only in the name of the people, and the Senate of ROME. The Captaines seeing what course they tooke, were as much affraid of the danger to be without a head, as they stood doubtfull of the mischiefe of their rebellion. So there stept vp one amongst them & said. My fellowes in armes, what do we mean? We neither choose any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this present: wherby we shew plainly, that we do not only refuse *Galba*, but also al other to be our head & Emperor that may command vs. Now for *Flaccus Ordeonius*, that is but *Galbaes* shadow & image: I would wish we should let him alone there as he is. And for *Vitellius*, gouernor of the lower GERMANY, he is not farre from vs, but one daies iorney onely, whose father was Censor at ROME, and thrice also Consull, and that was in a maner a Peere & companion of *Clodius Cæsar* in the gouernment of the Empire: whose pouertie if any man mislike in him, is a manifest proofe of his goodnes & magnanimity. Him therfore let vs choose & let the world know that we can tell how to choose an Emperor, better then the SPANIARDS or LVSITANIANS. Some of the souldiers that stood by, confirmed these words, but others also misliked of them: insomuch that among the rest there was an ensigne bearer that stale secretly out of the campe, to carrie *Vitellius* newes hereof, who that night made a great supper, and had great store of good company with him. These newes running straight through his campe, *Fabius Valens*, Colonell of a legion, came the next morning with a great number of horsemen, and was the first man that named *Vitellius* Emperour, who before seemed to refuse that name, as one that was affraid to take the charge of so great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full of

Others practise aspiring to the Empire.

The legions in Germanie doe rebell against Galba.

The souldiers doe rebell against Galba.

Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus, but not of Cæsar.

Vitellius named Emperor by the souldiers

wine and meate, he came out among them, and accepted the name of *Germanicus* which they gaue him, and refused the name of *Cæsar*. But therewithall incontinently after, *Flaccus* souldiers leauing their goodly popular oth which they had sworne in the name of the people & Senate, they all then tooke their othes faithfully to doe what it should please the Emperor *Vitellius* to command them. Thus *Vitellius* was chosen Emperor in GERMANY. So *Galba* hearing of this new chaunge, thought it not good to deferre time any longer for the adoption he had intended, wherefore certainely vnderstanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with *Dolabella*, and the most part of them with *Otho*, he neither liking the one nor the other, sodainely without any word spoken to any man, he sent for *Piso* (that was the younger sonne of *Crassus* and *Piso*, whom *Nero* had put to death) a young man fairer conditioned, and shewed by his graue and modest countenance he had by nature, that he was indued with many noble vertues. *Galba* came downe presently from his pallace, and went straight to the campe to proclaime *Piso Cæsar*, and his successor in the Empire. Howbeit at his setting out of his pallace, there appeared many great signs in the firmamẽt which followed him. And moreouer, when he was also come into his campe, and that he began to say without booke part of his oration, and partly also to read it: it lightned al the while he spake, & there fell such a great shower of raine vpon it, and a maruellous thicke mist in the campe, & ouer all the city, that men might easily see the gods did not like this adoption, & that it would not prosper. The souldiers themselues shewed their discontentment by their heauie lookes, & the rather, because at that time there was no speech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also, maruelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of *Piso*) that *Piso* nothing reioyced at this great fauour, although he lacked not wit & vnderstanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found easily by *Othoes* looks, many signes & proofes that he was maruellously offended in his mind, to see that he was thus deceiued of his hope. For he being the man that was first spoken of, and thought most worthiest of all other, and being come also so nere vnto it: now to see himselfe thus wiped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine proofe that *Galba* had no good opinion of him, & that he maliced him in his hart, so that after that time he stil stood in fear of his life. For be being affraid of *Piso*, hating also *Galba*, and being grieuously offended with *T. Iunius*: he went his way full of diuers thoughts in his mind. For the Soothsaiers, Astronomers, & Chaldeans which he euer kept about him, they did perswade him not to be discoraged for this, & to cast all hope aside: but specially one *Ptolomy*, in whom he had great confidence, because he had oftentimes before foretold & assured him, that *Nero* should not put him to death, but contrarily, that *Nero* should die first, and he himselfe suruiue him, and should become Emperor of ROME. Whereby *Ptolomy* hauing proued his first prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, and feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly complained vnto him, did prick him forward the more, sighing to see him so euill dealt with by *Galba*, & diuers of them chiefly, which bare great authoritie & credit about *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius*: who being then cast off, and discountenanced, came all vnto him, & stirred him vp the more. Amongst others, *Veturius* & *Barbius* chiefly, of the which the one had bene *Optio*, and the other *Tesserarius*: (for so the ROMAINES call those that be their messengers, spials, and officers to the Captaines) who with an infranchised bondman of his called *Onomastus*, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted some souldiers with readie money, and other some with faire wordes, being of themselues euill inclined, and expected but occasion to vtter their malice. For otherwise, had the souldiers bin all of one mind, it had not bin an enterprise to haue bene brought to passe in foure daies space (being no more betwixt the adoption and murther) to make a whole campe rebell in that sort. For they were slaine the fifteenth day of Ianuary, on which day *Galba* did sacrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his friends. But at that time the Soothsaier called *Ombricius*, when he had the intrals of the beastes sacrificed in his handes, and had looked vpon them: he spake not doubtfully, but plainely, that he saw signes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in present daunger of great treason. Whereby it plainely appeared, that the goddes had put *Galba* into *Othoes* handes: for he stoode at that time behinde *Galba*, and both heard and sawe all that the Soothsayers did.

Galba adopteth Piso his successor.

Euill signes appeared vnto Galba.

Ptolomyes prediction of Othoes Empire.

Optio, and Tesserarius, why so called by the Romaines.

Otho bribed the Pretorian souldiers.

The presage of Ombricius the Soothsaier touching the treason practised against Galba.

So

So he ſeeming to be grieued withall in his minde, and his colour chaunging oft for the feare he was in: his infranchiſed bondman *Onomaſtus* came and tolde him that the maſons and chief carpenters were come to ſpeake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch word agreed vppon betweene them, at which time *Otho* ſhould then goe vnto the ſouldiers. Then *Otho* ſayed, that he went to looke to an old houſe he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would ſhew it vnto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call *Tiberius* houſe, into the market place, where the golden piller ſtandeth, where alſo the greateſt high wayes of all ITALIE doe meete together. There certaine met him that firſt called him Emperour, which were not in all aboue three and twenty perſons. Thereupon, though *Otho* was not vnconſtant as it appeared, notwithſtanding he was ſo fine and effeminate a man, but rather reſolute and ſtout in inſtant daunger: yet feare ſo oppreſſed him at that time, that he would faine haue left his enterpriſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers would not ſuffer him, but compaſſing his litter round about with their armes, and their ſwords drawen in their hands, they commaunded the litter men to go forward. So *Otho* as he went haſtening on his driuers, he often muttered to him ſelfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they paſſed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwiſe troubled, to ſee ſuch a ſmal number of men about him, that they durſt venter vpon ſo hard an enterpriſe. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three and by four in a company: al the which came and ioyned with him, & cried *Cæſar, Cæſar*, hauing their ſwords drawen in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to guard the field of *Mars*, knew nothing of this conſpiracy, but being amazed and affraied with their ſodaine comming, he ſuffred them to come in. So when *Otho* was come in, he found no man that reſiſted him. For they that knew nothing of the practiſe, being cõpaſſed in with thoſe that were made priuy to it, & had knowen it of long time: being found ſtragling here and there, by one and by two, they followed the reſt for feare at the firſt, & afterwards for good wil. This was brought ſtraight to *Galba* to the pallace, the Soothſayer being yet buſie about his ſacrifice: inſomuch that they which before gaue no credite to thoſe diuinations, began then to maruell much at this heauenly ſigne. Then there ran immediatly a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Thereupon *Iunius* and *Lacon*, and certaine other of *Galbaes* infranchiſed bondmen, ſtood to gard *Galbaes* perſon with their ſwords drawen in their hands. *Piſo* alſo went out to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers that guarded the Emperors perſon. Moreouer, becauſe the ILLYRIAN legion lay out of the campe in a place called Vipſanus: they diſpatched away *Marius Celſus* with all ſpeede, a very honeſt man, to get that place. *Galba* in the meane time ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould come out of the pallace or not: for *Iunius* would not let him go, but *Celſus* and *Lacon* perſwaded him to go out. Inſomuch as they fell at great words with *Iunius*, that went about to diſſwade him from it. In this ſturre there ran a rumor that *Otho* was ſlaine in the fleld. Immediatly after came *Iubius Atticus*, one of the nobleſt ſouldiers of all the Emperours guard, and ſhewed his ſword drawen, crying that he had ſlaine *Cæſars* enemy: and thruſt through the preaſe, and got to *Galba*, & ſhewed him his ſword bloudied. *Galba* looking him in the face, asked him who commanded him to doe it. The ſouldier anſwered him: the faith and oath he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that ſtood by cried out, it was nobly done of him, and clapped their hands for ioy. Then *Galba* taking his litter, went out of his pallace to do ſacrifice to *Iupiter*, and alſo to ſhew him ſelfe openly. Howbeit he was no ſooner come into the market place, but he heard contrary news, that *Otho* was Lord and Maiſter of the whole campe and army. Then, as it happeneth in ſo great a preaſe of people, ſome cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would haue him to go forward: others bad him be affrayed of nothing, and others willed him to looke to him ſelfe. So his litter being thus turmoyled to and fro, as toſt vpon the ſea, ſomtime borne back, otherwhile caried forward: firſt of all they ſaw certaine horſmen, and then footmen alſo armed, comming frõ *Pauls* pallace, al of thẽ together crying out with loud voice, hence, hence, priuat man. Thẽ al the people ſet vpõ a running, not flying diſperſedly, but in heaps vpõ proches & ſtals in the market place, as it had bin to haue ſeen ſome ſight or ſport. Thẽ one called *Attilius* Sarcello*, ouerthrew one of the images of *Galba*, which was as it were a beginning of opẽ wars. Others round about

Otho called Emperour.

Otho receiued of the Pretorian ſouldiers.

A ſhamefull lie of a ſouldier.

Tumult for Galba.

** Tacitus doth call him Virgilius.*

threw dartes on euery ſide of him againſt his litter. But when they ſaw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his litter with their ſwords drawen in their handes, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, ſauing one man onely, whom the Sunne ſawe that day, amongeſt ſo many thouſands of men, worthy of the Empire of ROME: and he was called * *Sempronius*. He hauing receiued priuately no manner of pleaſure at *Galbaes* hands, but only to diſcharge his oath and duety: ſtepped before the litter, and lifting vp a vine braunch he had in his hand (with the which the ROMAINE Captains doe vſe to beate their ſouldiers that haue offended) hee fell out with them that did ſet vpon him, and prayed them to hold their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the end when he ſaw they would not leaue, but that they fell to it in good earneſt: he then drew his ſword, and bare off the blowes as well as he could, vntill they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then *Galbaes* litter being ouerthrowen right in the place called *Curtius* lake: *Galba* lay on the ground armed in his curaces. The traiterous ſouldiers flew vpon him, and gaue him many a wound: and *Galba* holding out his necke vnto them, bad them ſtrike hardily, if it were to do their countrey good. So he had many wounds on his armes and his thighes, as it is reported: howbeit the ſouldier that ſlue him, was called *Camurius*, of the fifteenth legion. Others do report that it was one *Terentius*, other alſo ſay *Arcadius*: And ſome other do call him *Fabius Fabulus*: who hauing ſtriken off his head, wrapped it in the lappe of his gowne, becauſe he could not otherwiſe take hold of it, for that he was al bald. Howbeit his fellowes and conſorts would not ſuffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done ſhould be ſeene. Therefore he ſet it vppon the point of his launce, and ſo ſhaking the face of this poore olde man, (a wiſe and temperate Prince, and chiefe Biſhoppe, and Conſull) he ranne vp and downe (like madde women poſſeſſed with the ſpirite and fury of *Bacchus* at the feaſtes of *Bacchus*) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare bloud. When his head was brought to *Otho*, it is ſayed he cried out aloud: tuſh my fellowes, this is nothing: vnleſſe you bring me alſo *Piſoes* head. So not long after, they brought him his head alſo. For the yong man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * *Marcus*, who ſlue him hard by the temple of *Veſta*. So did they alſo kill *Titus Iunius*: who openly confeſſed that he was one of the conſpiracy againſt *Galba*, and cried out to them that ſlue him, that *Otho* did not know they did kill him. This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers ſtrake off his head and *Lacons* alſo, and brought them both to *Otho* to receiue the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet *Archilochus* ſayth:

Of ſeuen per aduenture ſlaine dead on the ground,
A thouſand will ſay, that they all gaue the wound.

So there were diuerſe men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, hadde bloudied all their handes and ſwordes, and ſo ſhewed them bloudied to haue reward alſo: but *Vitellius* notwithſtanding made inquirie of them afterwardes, and cauſed them to be put to death. There came into the field alſo, one *Marius Celſus*, whom diuerſe men accuſed to haue perſwaded the ſouldiers to aide *Galba*, and the common people cried out, and bad he ſhould be put to death. Howbeit *Otho* would not ſuffer them to kill him: and yet being afrayed to contrary the ſouldiers mindes, he told them they ſhould not kill him ſo raſhly, becauſe he was firſt to learne ſome things more of him. So he commanded them to binde him, and deliuered him to be kept of thoſe he truſted moſt. Afterwards, the Senate were preſently aſſembled: who, as if men had bene ſodainely changed from them they were, or as if there had bene new goddes, they all ſware by the name of *Otho*, (the which oath he him ſelfe had before ſworne vnto *Galba*, and did not keepe it) and called him beſides, *Auguſtus*, and *Cæſar*, the bodies of them that were ſlaine lying yet headleſſe on the ground in the market place, all in their Conſuls robes. And as for their heads, the ſouldiers after they could tell no more what to doe with them, they ſold the head of *Titus Iunius* vnto his daughter, for the ſumme of two thouſand fiue hundred Drachmas. And for *Piſoes* head, his wife through intreaty, begged it of one called *Veranius*. On the other ſide, for *Galbaes* head, they gaue it vnto *Patrobius* and *Vitellius* ſeruaunts: who, after they had vſed it as vilely as they could deuiſe, they threw it at length in a place, wher their bodies are caſt, whom the *Cæſars* put to death, the which they cal Seſtertium. Now for his body, *Heluidius Priſcus*, through *Othoes* ſufferance, caried it away, and *Argius*, one of his infranchiſed

* *Cornelius Tacitus doth call him Denſus.*

The valiantnes and fidelity of Sempronius in diſcharge of his oath to the Emperour.

Galba.

The death of Sempronius.

The death of Galba. and his wordes at his death.

* *Others doe read Murcus.*

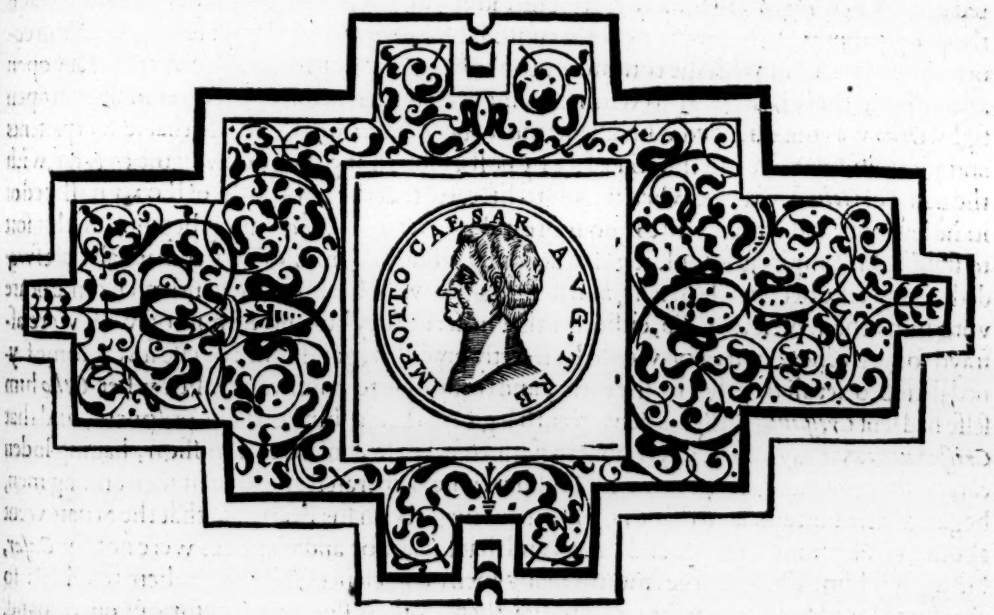
The murther of Piſo, and T. Iunius.

The Senate ſware by the name of Otho.

Citizens heades ſold at Rome.

infranchiſed bondmen, buried it by night. Thus haue you heard the hiſtory of *Galba*, a man that in nobility and wealth, was inferior to few ROMAINES, and in them both was the chiefeſt man of all his time, and had alway liued in honorable fame and eſtimation, in the raigne of fiue Emperours. So that he ouercame *Nero* by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his owne force and power. For of them that ſtroue to make themſelues Emperours at that time, ſome found no man that thought them worthy of it: others did put forth them ſelues, as thinking them ſelues worthy of it. Howbeit *Galba* was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vſing his name againſt *Vindex* boldnes: whereby he procured, that his riſing (which before was called innouation and rebellion) was then called ciuill warre, after that his faction came to haue a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperor. And therefore he did not ſo much deſire to be Emperor for him ſelfe, as to do good to his countrey and common wealth. But yet he erred, in ſeeking to command the ſouldiers whom *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius* had ſpoiled by their flatteries: euen as in old time *Scipio*, *Fabricius*, and *Camillus* did command the ſouldiers of the Empire of ROME at that time. So he being now a very old man, ſhewed him ſelfe a good Emperour and after the old ſort, in his behauiour towards the ſouldiers only: but in all other things elſe, being caried away with the couetouſnes of *T. Iunius* and *Laco*, and of other his infranchiſed bondmen, he left none deſirous to be gouerned by him, but many that were ſory for his death.

THE LIFE OF *Otho.*



THe next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the Capitoll, and ſacrificed, and there ſent for *Marius Celſus* to come vnto him, whom he curteouſlie ſaluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cauſe of his impriſonment, then to remember his deliuery. *Marius Celſus* made him a wiſe and noble aunſwere againe, and ſayed that the matter for the which they would haue accuſed him vnto him, did witnes his behauiour, ſhewing him ſelf faithfull vnto *Galba*, who neuer did him any pleaſure. Theſe words of them both did maruellouſly pleaſe the people: & ſo did they like the ſouldiers alſo wõderfully wel. Moreouer, after he had very fauorably and graciouſly taken order for matters in the Senate,

Othoes moderation at the beginning of his raigne.

the reſt of the time he had to be Conſull, he imployed partly about *Verginius Rufus*, and did alſo eſtabliſh them Conſuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignity by *Nero*, or otherwiſe by *Galba*: and he alſo honored the oldeſt Senators and of greateſt eſtimation with certaine Prieſthoodes. Beſides all this, he reſtored vnto all thoſe Senators that were baniſhed by *Nero*, and called home againe, all their goods yet vnſold. Whereupon the chiefeſt Magiſtrates and noble men of the city that quaked before for feare, ſuppoſing that he was not a man, but rather a deuill or fury of hell that was come to be Emperour: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this ſmiling and gracious raigne they were ſo lately entred into. Moreouer, nothing pleaſed all the ROMAINES together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men ſo much, as that he did vnto *Tegellinus*. For it was puniſhment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the puniſhment euery man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and alſo by reaſon of the incurable diſeaſes his body was infected withall. Now, though the noble men thought his vnreaſonable inſolency and luſt of the fleſh, (following naughty packes, and common ſtrumpets, burning ſtill in filthy concupiſcence) an extreame puniſhment, comparable to many deaths, and being alſo no better then a dead man in maner, ſtill following pleaſure and ſenſuality as long as he could: this notwithſtanding, all men were offended with him, that they ſhould ſee ſuch a wicked creature as he liue, that had put ſo many noble men to death. So *Otho* ſent for him, who liued very pleaſantly at his houſes in the countrey, by the city of SINVESSA, and had ſhippes euer ready vppon the ſea coaſt, to flie if neceſſity draue him to it. Thereuppon he firſt ſought to bribe him with money, which was ſent with commiſſion to apprehend him, and perſwaded him to let him ſcape: but when he ſaw he could not frame him to his minde, yet he refrayned not to giue him gifts, and prayed him to giue him leaue to ſhaue his beard. The other graunted him. Then *Tigellinus* tooke a razer, and did cut his owne throate. So, *Otho* hauing pleaſed the people thus well, he ſought not otherwiſe to be reuenged of his priuate iniuries. Moreouer, to curry fauour with the common people, he refuſed not to be called *Nero*, in any open aſſemblies at the Theaters. Alſo when certaine priuate men had ſet vp *Neroes* images in open ſight, *Otho* was not offended withall: but moreouer *Clodius Rufus* writeth, that letters pattents and commiſſions were ſent into SPAINE by poſts, ſubſcribing the goodly name of *Nero*, with the name of *Otho*. Howbeit when it came to his eares that the noble men of ROME miſliked of it: he left it off, and would write it no more in his letters. So *Otho* hauing begunne in this ſort to ſtabliſh his Empire, the ſouldiers maruellouſly troubled him. For they continually perſwaded him to take heede to him ſelfe, and to beware how noble men and gentlemen came neare vnto him: the which they did, either for that in deede they bearing him good will, were affrayd ſome trechery or treaſon would be ſecretly practiſed againſt him: or elſe it was ſome fayned deuiſe to ſet all together by the eares, and to bring it to ciuill warre. For when *Otho* him ſelfe had ſent *Criſpinus* with his ſeuenteenth legion to bring him certaine priſoners, and that *Criſpinus* was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commiſſion, hauing loden carts with armor and weapon for his ſouldiers: the deſpereateſt and boldeſt men among men, began to crie out, and ſayd that *Criſpinus* ment no good in his heart, and that the Senate went about to make ſome chaunge and ſturre, and that his armor and weapons were not for *Cæſar*, but againſt him. Theſe wordes moued many mens conſciences, and made them to rebell: ſo that ſome layed hold vppon the carres to ſtay them, others ſlue two Centurions out of hand, and *Criſpinus* him ſelfe alſo that would haue ſtayed them. Thereuppon all of them together, one incoraging an other, went directly to ROME, as meaning to aide the Emperor. But when they came thither, vnderſtanding that there were foure ſcore Senatours at ſupper with the Emperour, they ranne ſtraight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occaſion offered them to kill all *Cæſars* enemies at a clappe. Hereupon all ROME was ſtraight in armes, looking immediatly after to be ſacked and ſpoyled of all that euer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, *Otho* him ſelfe alſo being in great feare and diſtreſſe. For men might eaſily ſee he was affrayed, becauſe of his gueſtes he had bidden, not for him ſelfe, ſeeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not ſpeaking a word vnto him, but ſtaring on him ſtill, and ſpecially thoſe that came and brought their wiues with them to ſupper.

Tigellinus killeth himſelfe.

Otho at the beginning of his raigne, tooke vpon him the name of Nero.

Tumult amongeſt the Prætorian ſouldiers.

The death of Criſpinus.

So

So *Otho* ſodainly ſent the Captaines vnto the ſouldiers and commanded them to ſpeake with them, and to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the borde, and conueyed his gueſtes out of his pallace by ſecret poſternes. So they ſaued themſelues, paſſing through the ſouldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feaſt was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of *Cæſars* enemies. So the Emperour riſing from his bedde, he pacified them with gentle wordes, the teares ſtanding in his eyes, and thereby at length he ſent them all away. The next morning he liberally beſtowed vpon euery ſouldier, a thouſand two hundred and fifty Drachmas: and then hee went into the market place, and there gaue great commendation to the common people for their ready good wils they had ſhewed vnto him: howbeit, he ſaid there were ſome among them, that vnder colour and pretext of honeſty, did commit many leud parties, and made his goodneſſe and grace towardes them to be euill ſpoken of, and their conſtancy and faith alſo to be miſliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offendors might be puniſhed. They all confirmed his wordes, and bad him aloud he ſhould do it. So *Otho* thereuppon cauſed two of them only to be apprehended, ſuppoſing no man would be greatly offended with the puniſhment of them, and then went his way. Thoſe that loued and truſted him, maruelled much to ſee this chaunge. Other were of opinion, that it ſtoode him vppon to doe ſo, to winne the ſouldiers hearts, becauſe of the warre at hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all parts, that *Vitellius* had taken vpon him the authority to be Emperour, and poſtes came to him one in an others necke, to tell him that numbers of people came in dayly to ſubmit them ſelues vnto *Vitellius*. Others told him alſo, how the legions remaining in PANONIA, DALMATIA, and MYSIA, had choſen *Otho*. Immediatly after, friendly letters were brought him alſo from *Mutianus* and *Veſpaſianus*, the one of them being in SYRIA, and the other in IVDEA, with great and mighty armies. Whereupon *Otho* giuing credit vnto them, wrote vnto *Vitellius* and bad him beware how he meddled with any deeper enterpriſe, then became a priuate ſouldier: and that he would giue him golde and ſiluer enough, and a great city, where he might liue quietly, and take his pleaſure. *Vitellius* gently anſwered him at the firſt, and ſported with him: but afterwards they falling out one with an other, ſpitefull letters were ſent betwixt either parties, one of them reproaching an other, not falſely but fondly, and fooliſhly detecting each others vices. For in deede it was hard to iudge, which of them two was moſt licentiouſly giuen, moſt effeminate, leaſt skilfull, poorer, or moſt indebted before. Now at that time they talked of wonderfull ſignes that had bene ſeene: howbeit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to iuſtifie them. But in the Capitol there was the image of Victory ſet vpon a triumphing chariot: the which euery body ſaw did let ſlacke the raines of the bridles of the horſes which ſhe had in her hands, as though ſhe could not ſtay them any more. The ſtatue of *Caius Cæſar* alſo within the Iland, which ſtandeth in the middeſt of the riuer of Tiber at ROME, without any earthquake or ſtorme of winde, turned of it ſelfe from the Weſt to the Eaſt: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that *Veſpaſian* began to take vpon him to be Emperour. Many alſo tooke the ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber for an euill ſigne. For in deede it was at that time of the yeare when riuers do ſwell moſt, yet was it neuer ſo great before, neither had it euer done ſo much hurt as it did at that time. For it had ouerflowen her bankes, and drowned the moſt part of the city, and ſpecially the corne market: inſomuch that they ſuffered famine many dayes after in ROME. In all this ſturre, newes came that *Cecinna* and *Valens*, (two of *Vitellius* Captaines) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreouer in ROME, *Dolabella* a noble man, was ſuſpected by the Prætorian ſouldiers, that he practiſed ſome treaſon. Now *Otho*, eyther becauſe he was affrayed of him, or of ſome other: he ſent him to the citie of AQVINVM, promiſing him he ſhould haue no other hurt. Then chooſing the choyſeſt gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, and did not depriue him of any iot of his honor and dignity. Moreouer, hee was verie carefull to ſee his wife and mother ſafe, that they ſhould not be affrayed of them ſelues. Beſides all this, he appointed *Flauius Sabinus*, *Veſpaſians* brother, Gouernour of ROME in his abſence: and did it for *Neroes* ſake, who had before giuen him the ſame honour and authority the which *Galba* had taken from him: or els to make *Veſpaſian* ſee, that he loued & truſted him.

Othoes liberality to the ſouldiers.

Vitellius rebellion.

Small difference betwixt Otho and Vitellius manners of life.

Wonders ſeene at Rome.

The wonderfull ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber.

So he taried behinde at Bressellæ, a city ſtanding vpon the riuer of Po: and ſent his army before vnder the conduct of *Marius Celſus*, of *Swetonius Paulinus*, and of *Gallus* and *Spurina*, all noble and great perſonages, howbeit they could not haue their wils to rule the army as they would, becauſe of the inſolency and ſtubborneſſe of the ſouldiers, who would haue no other Captaines but the Emperour onely, ſaying that he, and none other, ſhould commaund them. In deede, the enemies ſouldiers alſo were not much wiſer, nor more obedient to their Captaines, but were braue and luſty vppon the ſelfe ſame occaſion: howbeit they had this aduantage ouer the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres, and could away with paines and hardnes, and neuer ſhrunke from it. Whereas the Prætorian ſouldiers that came from Rome, were fine meale-mouthed men, becauſe they had beene long from the warres, and had liued at eaſe in Rome, and taken their pleaſure in banquetting and playes: and therefore in a brauery and iolity, they would needs haue men thinke that they diſdained to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that when *Spurina* would haue compelled them, he was in danger of death, and ſcaped very narrowly that they ſlue him not. For they ſtucke not to reuile him, and giue him as fowle wordes as they could: calling him traitor, and curſing him, ſaying that he marred all *Cæſars* affaires. Yea and there were ſome of them that hauing their full cuppes went in the night to his tent, to aske him leaue to depart, ſaying that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flout they had giuen them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of Placentia, did ſtand *Spurina* and his affaires to great purpoſe. For *Vitellius* ſouldiers comming hard to the wals of the city, did mocke *Othoes* men that were at the cranewes of the ſame, and called them fine dancers, and goodly ſtage players, that had ſeene nothing but playes and feaſtes: and that for feats of armes, and battels, they knew not what it meant: and that the greateſt act they euer did, was for that they ſtrake off the head of a poore naked olde man, meaning by *Galba*: and that to come to fight a battell in the fielde before men, their hearts were in their heeles. Theſe vile words galled them to the heart, and made them ſo mad withall, that they came of them ſelues to pray *Spurina* to commaund them what he thought good, promiſing that from thence forth they would neuer refuſe any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon, there was a hotte aſſault giuen to the city of Placentia, with great ſtore of ſundry engines. Howbeit *Spurinaes* men had the better, and hauing with great ſlaughter repulſed the aſſailants, they ſaued one of the goodlieſt, the greateſt, and moſt floriſhing cities of all Italie. So *Othoes* Captaines were farre more familiar, curteous, and ciuill to deale with cities and priuate men, then *Vitellius* ſouldiers were. For, of *Vitellius* Captaines, *Cecinna*, was neither for perſon not maners accompanyable for the people, but ſtraunge, monſtruous, and troubleſome to ſee him onely, a mighty made man wearing gallie gaskons, and coates with ſleeues, after the faſhion of the Gavles, and ſpake in this attire vnto the enſigne bearers, and Captaines of the Romaines. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted a horſebacke, gallantly apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choyſeſt men of armes of all the companies. The other, *Fabius Valens*, he was ſo couetous, that no ſpoile of enemies, no polling of ſubiects, nor bribes taken of their friends and confederates, could quench or ſatisfie his vnſatiable couetouſnes: whereby it ſeemeth that was the let, that comming on ſo ſlowly, hee was not at the firſt battell. Howbeit others do blame *Cecinna* for it, that made too much haſt, for the deſire he had to haue the onely honor of the victory to himſelfe: and this was the cauſe, that beſides his other light faultes, he alſo made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and ſeaſon, and when it came to the pointe in deede, yet he fought it out not valiantly, ſo that he had almoſt caſt all alway. For when he had the repulſe frõ Placentia, he went vnto Cremona an other great city. And *Annius Gallus* going to aide *Spurina*, who was beſieged in the city of Placentia: when he heard by the way that the Placentines had the better, and that the Cremonenses, were in great danger and diſtreſſe: he marched thither with his army, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that alſo, the other Captaines of either ſide came to aide their men. Howbeit *Cecinna* hauing layed a great number of his beſt ſouldiers well armed in ambuſhe, in certaine thicke groues and woddes: he commaunded his horſemen

The frowardnes of Otho and Vitellius ſouldiers.

Placentia the fertileſt towne of all Italie.

The praiſe of Othoes Captaines, and diſpraiſe of Vitellius Captaines.

Fabius Valens

Cremona a goodly city.

horſemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they ſhould retyre litle and litle, making as though they fled, vntill they had drawen them within his ambuſh. So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambuſh vnto *Marius Celſus*, who came againſt them with his choyce men of armes, and did not follow them ouer raſhly, but compaſſed in the place where the ambuſh lay, the which he raiſed, and in the meane time ſent to his campe with all poſſible ſpeede to his footemen to make haſte thitherward: and it ſeemeth, that if they had come in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched vppon the bellies of all *Cecinnaes* armie, if they had followed the horſemen in time, as they ſhould haue done. But *Paulinus* being come too late to aide them, for that he came ſo ſlowly: he was burdened that he did not the duetie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenance he caried. Furthermore, the common ſouldiers accuſed him of treaſon vnto *Otho*, and ſtirred vp their Emperour againſt him, and ſpake verie bigge words of themſelues, ſaying, that they had ouercome for their owne parties, had not the cowardlines of their Captaines bene, who put them by the victory. So *Otho* did not truſt him ſo much, that he would not make him beleeue but that he miſtruſted ſomewhat. Therefore he ſent his brother *Titianus* to the campe, and *Proclus* with him, Captaine of the Prætorian guard, who indeede commanded all, but in ſight *Titianus* had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenant. *Marius Celſus*, and *Paulinus* followed after, bearing name of counſellers and friends only: howbeit otherwiſe they meddled with nothing, neither had any authoritie giuen them. On the other ſide, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and thoſe ſpecially, whom *Valens* led. For when newes was brought of the conflict that was betweene them in this ambuſh, they were angrie with him, becauſe they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were ſlaine: inſomuch that he had much a doe to pacifie and quiet them, they were ſo readie to haue flowen vpon him. So *Valens* at length remoued his campe, & went & ioyned with *Cecinna*. Howbeit *Otho* being come to his campe at the towne of BEBRIACVM, which is a litle towne hard by CREMONA: he conſulted with his Captaines whether he ſhould giue battell or not. So *Proclus* and *Titianus* gaue him counſell to fight, conſidering that the ſouldiers were very willing to it, by reaſon of the late victorie they had wonne, and wiſhed him not to deferre it: for thereby he ſhould but diſcourage his armie, which was nowe willing to fight, and alſo giue their enemies leaſure to tarie for their Chiefetaine *Vitellius*, who came himſelfe out of GAVLE. But *Paulinus* in contrarie manner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power preſent, with the which they thought to fight with them, and alſo to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas *Otho* looked for an other armie out of MYSIA and PANNONIA, as great an army as his enemies had alreadie, ſo that he could tary his time, and not ſerue his enemies turne: and alſo, that if the ſouldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they ſhould then be much more incouraged, when they ſhould haue greater company, and ſhould alſo fight with better ſafetie. Furthermore he perſwaded them, that to delay time was for their auaile, conſidering that they had plentie and ſtore of all maner of prouiſion: where the enemies on the other ſide being alſo in their enemies country, their victuals would quickely faile them. *Marius Celſus* liked verie well of theſe perſwaſions. And ſo did *Annius Gallus*, who was not preſent at this counſell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fall he had from his horſe) but he was written to by *Otho* to haue his opinion alſo. So *Annius Gallus* returned an anſwere, that he thought it not beſt to make haſte, but to ſtay for the armie that came out of MYSIA, conſidering they were onwardes on their way. Howbeit *Otho* would not hearken to this counſell, but followed their mindes that concluded of battell: for the which were alleaged diuers occaſions. But the chiefeſt and likelieſt cauſe of all was, that the ſouldiers which are called the Prætorian guard (being the daily guard about the Emperours perſon) finding then in effect what it was to profeſſe to be a ſouldier, and to liue like a ſouldier: they lamented their continuing in ROME, where they liued at eaſe & pleaſure, feaſting and banquetting, neuer feeling the diſcommodities and bitter paines of warre, and did therefore ſo earneſtly cry out to fight, that there was no ſtaying of them, as if they ſhould at their firſt cric and ſetting forward, haue ouerthrowen their enemies. Moreouer, it ſeemed alſo that *Otho* himſelfe could no more away with the feare and doubt of the vncertaine ſucceſſe

Paulinus, Othoes Captaine, accuſed for a coward.

Bebriacum a towne by Cremona.

Othoes conſultation of giuing battell.

Freſhwater ſouldiers lament their pleaſant life at Rome, feeling the paines and ſmart of a ſouldier.

to com, neither could any longer abide the grieuous thoughtes of the daunger of his estate, he was so effeminate, and vnacquainted with sorrow and paines. This was the cause that caried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put all at aduenture. The matter is thus reported by *Secundus* the Orator, and *Othoes* secretarie. Others also doe report, that both armies had diuers determinations and mindes: as to ioyne all together in one campe, and ioyntly to choose among them, if they could agree, the worthiest man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a place together, & there to suffer the Senators to choose such a one Emperour, as they liked best of. And sure it is very likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called Emperours, was thought meete for the place they had: and therefore that these counsels and considerations might easily fall into the ROMAINE souldiers heades (who were wise men and expert souldiers) that in deede it was a thing for them iustly to mislike, to bring themselues into the like miserable time and calamitie, which their predecessors before them had caused one an other to suffer, first for *Sylla* and *Marius* sakes, and afterwards for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and now to bestow the Empire of ROME either vpon *Vitellius*, to make him the abler to follow his drunkennesse and gluttony: or else vpon *Otho*, to maintaine his wanton & licentious life. This was the cause that moued *Celsus* to delay time, hoping to end the warres without trouble and daunger: and that caused *Otho* also to make the more haste, being affraide of the same. Howbeit *Otho* returning backe againe to BRESSELLES, he committed an other fault, not only because he tooke his mens good wils from thē to fight, the which his presence, and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but because also he caried away with him for the gard of his person, the valiantest souldiers & most resolute men of all his host. About that time there chaunced a skirmish to fall out by the riuer of Po, because *Cecinna* built a bridge ouer it, and *Othoes* men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they saw they preuailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and drie wood, all rubbed ouer with brimstone and pitch, and setting them a fire, then sent them downe the streame. When the barges were in the middest of the streame, there sodainely rose a winde out of the riuer, which blew vppon this woodstake they had prepared to cast among the enemies workes of this bridge, that first made it smoke, and immediatly after fell all on a great flame, which did so trouble the men in the barges, that they were driuen to leape into the riuer to saue themselues: and so they lost their barges, and became themselues also prisoners to their enemies, to their great shame and mockerie. Furthermore, the GERMAINES vnder *Vitellius*, fighting with *Othoes* fensers, which of them should winne a litle Iland in the middest of the riuer: they had the vpper hand, and slew many of the fensers. Thereuppon *Othoes* souldiers which were in BEBRIACVM, being in a rage withall, & would needs fight: *Proclus* brought them into the fielde, and went and camped about fiftie furlong out of the citie, so fondly, and to so litle purpose, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the countrie thereabout full of brookes and riuers, yet they notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their campe to meete with their enemies the same day, and were driuen to march aboue a hundred furlong. Now *Paulinus* perswaded them to goe faire and softly, & not to make more haste then needed, and would not so soone as they should come, (being wearied with their iorney and trauell) set vpon their enemies that were well armed, and besides had leasure & time enough to set their men in battell ray, whilest they were cōming so long a iorney with all their cariage. Now the Captaines being of diuers opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from *Otho*, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which *Otho* commaunded them to make all the haste they could, and to loose no time, but to march with all speede towardes the enemie. So when these letters were read, the Captaines presently marched forward with their armie. *Cecinna* vnderstanding of their comming, was astonied at the first, and sodainely forsooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he found the most part of his souldiers alreadie armed, and *Valens* had giuen them their signall and worde of battell. And in the meane time, whilest the legions were taking their places to set themselues in battell ray: they sent out before the choycest horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cause) that *Vitellius* Captaines would turne on

Othoes

Secundus the Orator, secretarie vnto Otho the Emperour.

Vitellius: a drunkard and glutton.

Otho: a wanton and licentious liuer.

The towne of Bresselles is hard by the riuer of Po.

Othoes side in battell. Insomuch that when these men of armes came neere to meete with the voward of *Othoes* armie: *Othoes* men did speake very gently to them, and called them companions. *Vitellius* men on the other side tooke this salutation in euill part, and aunswered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight. Insomuch that those that had spoken to thē, were quite discoraged: and the residue also beganne to suspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traitors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being readie to ioyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies side also, all was out of order: for the beasts of cariage ranne in amongest them that fought, and so did put them maruellously out of order. Besides that also, the disaduantage of the place where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from an other, because of sundry ditches and trenches that were betwene them, whereby they were compelled to fight in diuers companies together. So there were but two legions onely, the one of *Vitellius*, called the deuourer: and the other of *Otho*, called the helper: which getting out of these holes and ditches a part by themselues, in a good plaine euen ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of battell. *Othoes* souldiers were men of goodly personages, strong, and valiant of their handes, howbeit they had neuer serued in the warres, nor had euer foughten battell but that. And *Vitellius* men on the other side, were olde beaten souldiers, and had serued all their youth, and knew what wars and battels ment. So when they came to ioyne, *Othoes* men gaue such a lustie charge vpon the first onset, that they ouerthrew, & slew all the first rancke, and also wanne the ensigne of the Eagle. *Vitellius* men were so ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke hart againe vnto them, and ranne in so desperately vpon their enemies, that at the first they slew the Colonell of all their legion, and wanne diuers ensignes. And furthermore, against *Othoes* fensers, (which were accounted the valianteſt men, and readiest of hande) *Varus Alphenus* brought his mē of armes called the BATTAVII, which are GERMAINES in the lower part of GERMANY, dwelling in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Rhein. There were few of his Fensers that stucke by it, but the most of them ranne away towards the riuer, where they founde certaine ensignes of their enemies set in battell ray, who put them all to the sworde, and not a man of them scaped with life. But aboue all other, none proued more beasts & cowards, then the Prætorian gard. For they would not tarie till the enemies came to giue them charge, but cowardly turned their backes, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowen: and so did both disorder them, and also make them affraid. This notwithstanding, there were a great number of *Othoes* men who hauing ouerthrowen the voward of them that made head against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were Conquerours, and so valiantly returned back into their camp. But of their Captaines, neither *Proclus* nor *Paulinus*, durst returne backe with them, but fled another way, being affraid of the furie of the souldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Captaines. Howbeit *Annius Gallus* receiued them into the citie of BEBRIACVM, that came together after this ouerthrow, & told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But *Marius Celsus* gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to consultation what they should do in so great a calamitie, and extreame slaughter of the ROMAINE Citizens. For if *Otho* himselfe were an honest man, he should no more attempt fortune: considering that *Cato* and *Scipio* were both greatly blamed, for that they were the cause of casting away many men in AFRICKE to no purpose, (though they fought for the libertie of the ROMAINES) and only of selfe will, for that they would not yeeld to *Iulius Cæsar* after he had wonne the battell of PHARSALIA. For though fortune in all other things haue power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, she can not preuent them to determine the best for their safetie. These perswasions straight caried away the Captaines, who went presently to feele the mindes of the priuate souldiers, whom they found all of them desirous of peace. So *Titianus* perswaded them to send Ambassadors vnto the enemies to treate of peace: and *Celsus* and *Gallus* tooke vppon them the charge to goe thither, to breake the matter vnto *Cecinna*, and *Valens*. But by the way they met with certain Centurions, who told them how all the army of the enemies were cōming onwards on their way, to come directly to the city of BEBRIACVM, and that their chieftaines had sent before to offer

Battell betwixt the Othonians and Vitellians.

Legions called by pretty names: Deuourer, Helper.

The valiantnes of the Battauij in warres.

Note the trim seruice of Fensers, and what souldiers they be.

The Othonians ouercome in battell by the Vitellians.

The cowardlines of the fresh-water souldiers

Marius Celsus oration to Othoes souldiers perswading them to goe to Vitellius.

Othoes Captaines do yeeld themselues vnto Vitellius.

treatie of peace. *Celſus* and his companion *Gallus* being glad of this, prayed the Centurions that they would returne with them vnto *Cecinna*. But when they were come neare vnto him, *Celſus* was in great daunger of his life: becauſe the men of armes which he had ouerthrowen certaine daies before in an ambuſh, comming before, when they ſpyed him, they flew vpon him with great ſhoutes. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his companie, ſtepped before him, and cloſed him in: and ſo did the other Captaines that cryed vnto them they ſhould doe him no hurt. *Cecinna* vnderſtanding what the matter was, rode thither, and pacified the tumult of theſe men of armes: and then ſaluting *Celſus* very courteouſly, he went with him towardes BEBRIACVM. But nowe *Titianus* in the meane time, repenting him ſelfe that hee had ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the enemies, he placed the deſperateſt ſouldiers he had vpon the walles of the citie, and incouraged the reſt alſo to doe the like, and to ſtand to the defence. But *Cecinna* came to the wall, & being a horſebacke, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more reſiſtance, but thoſe that were vpon the walles, ſaluted the ſouldiers: and they that were within the citie opened the gates, and thruſt in amongeſt *Vitellius* men, who receiued them, and did no man any hurt, but courteouſly imbraced them, and ſaluted each other. Then they all ſware & tooke their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, and ſo yeelded themſelues vnto him. So doe the moſt part of thoſe that were at this battell, report the ſucceſſe thereof: graunting notwithſtanding, that they knew not euery thing that was done, becauſe of the great diſorder among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was ſtriken, with *Metrius Florus* that had beene Conſull: he ſhewed me an olde man that when the fielde was fought in that place, was young, and againſt his will was at the ſame battell on *Othoes* part. Who told vs, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to ſuruey the number of thoſe that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of thoſe that came to view them. And ſaide moreouer, that he made inquirie of the matter, but he neither could imagine it himſelfe, nor be ſatisfied by others. Now in deede it is likely, that in ciuill warres betwene countrimen of one ſelf city, where one of the two armies is ouerthrowen, that there ſhould be greater ſlaughter among them, then againſt the other enemies, becauſe they take no priſoners of either ſide: for thoſe they ſhould take, would ſerue them to no good purpoſe. But after they were ſlaine, one to be laide on heapes ſo by an other, that is a hard thing to iudge. But now to the matter. The newes of this ouerthrow came firſt but obſcurely vnto *Otho*, a common thing in a matter of ſo great importaunce: but afterwardes, when ſome that were hurt came and brought him certain newes of it, it was no maruell then to ſee *Othoes* friendes and familiars to comfort him, who praied him to be of good cheere, and not to be diſcoraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the priuate ſouldiers ſhewed vnto him at that time, did paſſe and exceede all ſpeech and education. For they forſooke him not, neither went they to ſubmit themſelues to their enemies the conquerors, neither tooke they any regard of themſelues, to ſee their Emperour in that diſpaire: but all of them ioyntly together went vnto his lodging, and called him their Emperor. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men repreſented in a triumphe lying on the ground, & kiſſed his hands, with the teares running downe their cheekes, and beſought him not to forſake and leaue them to their enemies, but to commaund their perſons whileſt they had one droppe of bloud left in their bodies to doe him ſeruice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongſt others, there was a poore ſouldier drawing out his ſword, ſaid vnto him: know, O *Cæſar*, that all my companions are determined to die in this ſort for thee, and ſo ſlew himſelfe. But all theſe lamentable things did neuer melt *Othoes* hart: who looking with a ſtout countenance round about him, and caſting his eyes euery where, ſpake vnto them in this manner. I thinke this a more happie day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you firſt choſe me Emperour: to ſee you loue me ſo well, and doe me ſuch honour, with ſo great ſhew of loyalty. But yet I beſeech you not to denie me of a greater fauour, which is: to die valiantly and honorably, for the ſafetie of ſo many honeſt men as you be, and ſo good Citizens of ROME. If by your election you made me worthy to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne: I muſt now needes ſhew my ſelfe an Emperour, not ſparing to ſpende my life for your and my countries ſafetie. I am certaine that the victorie is not altogether mine enemies. For newes are come

Men that fight a battell, know not all things that are done at the battell.

The great fidelitie of the ſouldiers, vnto the Emperor Otho.

The wonderful courage of a ſouldier of Othoes.

The noble courage of Otho before his death and his oration to the ſouldiers.

come vnto me, that our armies of MYSIA and PANNONIA are in their way comming to vs, » and that they are not farre off from the Adriaticke sea. ASIA, SYRIA, and ÆGYPT, and the » legions that made warre in IVRIE, are all ours. The Senate taketh our part, and our enemies » wiues and children be in our handes. But this warre is not against *Annibal*, nor *Pyrrhus*, nor » against the CIMBRES, to fight who should be owners of ITALIE: but it is against the RO- » MAINES themselues. For in this ciuill warre, both the Conquerour and vanquished doe of- » fend their country: for where the Conquerors haue benefite, the country & common wealth » alwaies receiueth losse. Assure your selues I had rather die, than raigne Emperour: consi- » dering also that my life with victorie can not so much benefite the ROMAINES, as the sacrifice » of the same may doe my country good, for the peace and quietnesse of my country men, kee- » ping ITALY thereby from seeing such an other battell, as this hath bene. So when he had made » this oration vnto them, and put those by, that would haue disswaded him the contrarie: he commaunded all the Senators and his friendes that were present, to auoyde. Then he wrote letters to them that were absent, and also vnto the cities wherethrough they passed, to vse them verie courteously, and to see them safely conueyed. Then came his Nephewe *Cocceius* to him, who was yet but a young boy, and he did comfort him, and bad him not to be afraide of *Vitellius*, for he had safely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as carefull of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his sonne, though he was desirous to doe it, vntill such time as he sawe the end of this warre: to the end that if he ouercame, he should quietly raigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouercome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cause of his death. But this one thing onely, I commaund and charge thee, my sonne, euen as the last commandement that I can giue thee: that thou doe not forget altogether, neither ouermuch remember, that thine Vncle hath bene Emperor. When he had told him this tale, he heard a noyse at his dore: they were the souldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and would kill them, if they did not remaine with him, but would forsake their Emperour. Vpon this occasion he came out once againe among them, being affraid least the souldiers would doe the Senators some hurt, and made the souldiers giue backe, not by intreating of them, nor speaking courteously to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage: insomuch that they all shrunke backe, & went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirst, and dranke a litle water: and hauing two swordes, he was prouing a great while which had the best edge. In the end, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his seruants, and liberally to giue out his money among them, to some more, to some lesse, not prodigally throwing it away without discretion, as being an other mans money: but discreetely gaue to euery man according to his desert. Then after he had dispatched them away, he laide him downe to sleepe all the rest of the night, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort, he slept so soundly. In the morning he called one of his infranchised bondmen, whom he had commanded to helpe to saue the Senators, and sent him to see if they were all safe, and gone. So when he vnderstood that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: come on, saide he then vnto him, looke to thy selfe I read thee, and take heede the souldiers see thee not, if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to kill my selfe. So assoone as his infranchised bondman was gone out of his chamber, he tooke his sword with both his hands and setting the point of it to his breast, he fell downe vppon it, seeming to feele no other paine, sauing that he fetched a sigh: whereby they that were without, knewe that he had done himselfe hurt. Thereupon his friends made straight an outcry, and all the campe and citie was incontinently full of teares and lamentation. The souldiers sodainly ranne with a great noyse to his gates, where they bitterly bewayled, and lamented his death, falling out with themselues that they were such Villaines so slenderly to haue guarded their Emperor, that they kept him not from killing himselfe for their sakes. So there was not a man of them that left his bodie, though the enemies were hard at hand: but hauing honourably buried him, and prepared a great stacke of wood, they conueyed him armed to the fire of his funerals, euery man thinking himselfe happie, that could first set his shoulders to the coffin to helpe to carie him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kissed his wound. Others tooke and kissed

The Emperour Othoes wordes to his Nephew Cocceius.

Otho in his death, seemed to follow Cato Vtican.

Otho slew himselfe.

The funerals of Otho the Emperour.

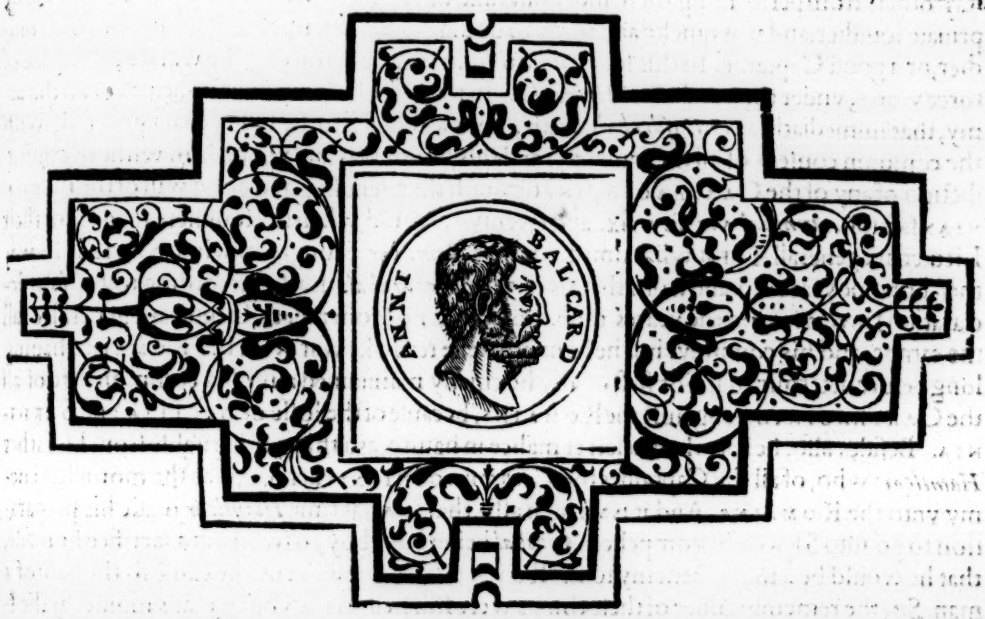
his handes. Others that could not come neare him, honoured him, and did reuerence him a farre off, and some there were also that after the stacke of wood was set a fire, slew themselues hard by the fire: who had neuer receiued benefite by him that was dead, (at the least to any mans knowledge) neither had they any occasion to be affraid of him that was Conquerour. And truely me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was so ambitiously giuen to raigne, as they vehemently desired to be commaunded by *Otho*, and to obey him: considering that their desire left them not euen after his death, but was so liuely rooted in their mindes, that in the ende, it turned to a deadly hate vnto *Vitellius*. But of this we will speake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried *Othoes* ashes, they did set vp a tombe for him, neither for magnificence of building, nor for glorious epitaphe, subiect vnto enuie. For I haue seene his tombe in the citie of BRESSELLES, a meane thing, and the epitaph vpon it translated out of Latine, saieth no more but this: This is the tombe of *Marcus Otho*. He died being but seuen and thirtie yeare old, and was Emperor but three monethes: and there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he liued not much more honester then *Nero*, yet he dyed farre more honorably. Furthermore, when *Pollio* one of the Captaines would haue compelled his souldiers presently to haue taken their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, they fell out with him: and vnderstanding that there were yet remaining some Senators, they would not meddle with them, but onely troubled *Verginius Rufus*. For they came to his dores armed, and called him by his name, and commaunded him to take charge of them, and to goe as Ambassador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were alreadie ouercome, considering he refused it when they had ouercome: and also he was affraide to goe Ambassador to the GERMAINES, becausse he had compelled them to doe things against their willes. Therefore he went out at his backe dore, and saued himselfe. So when the souldiers heard of it they were at length contented to be brought to be sworne vnto *Vitellius*, and so ioyned themselues with *Cecinnaes* souldiers, so they might be pardoned for all that was past.

The Emperor Othoes tombe in the citie of Bresselles.

Othoes age and raigne.

THE LIVES OF ANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN.

Tranſlated into French by *Charles de la Sluce*, and englished by *Thomas North*.



Anniball.

IF we doe call to minde the firſt PVNICKE warre the CARTHAGINIANS had with the ROMAINES: we ſhall find many Captaines, who by the glory of their noble deeds, haue left great fame and renowme vnto their poſterity. Howbeit amongeſt all the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and ſo commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then *Hamilcar*, *Annibals* father, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Barcha*, a valiant man doubtles, and in his time a skilfull ſouldier as any was. The ſame *Hamilcar* firſt of all made warre with the ROMAINS, a longer time in SICILIA then was looked for, who had done great hurt to his countrey and common wealth. After that alſo in the warres of AFRICKE (at what time the mercenarie ſouldiers through their rebellion did put the countrey of CARTHAGE in great daunger) he did ſo valiauntly appeaſe the inſurrection: that to euery mans iudgement, hee was reputed the onely preſeruer of his countrey. Then he was ſent Gouernour and Captaine into SPAINE, and caried with him at that time, (as it is reported) his ſonne *Anniball*, being but a young boy, where hee did noble ſeruice. In fine, in the ninth yeare of his aboad there in that prouince, he died fighting valiauntly againſt the VETHEONS. After his death, *Haſdrubal* his Sonne in lawe,

The parentage of Annibal.

whom the CARTHAGINIANS through the aide and friendſhip of the BARCINIAN faction had made generall of all their army) remained gouernor there the ſpace of eight yeares. This *Haſdrubal* ſent for *Anniball* into SPAINE, after his father *Hamilcars* death, againſt the minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction, to the end that as he had bene trayned from his youth in the diſcipline of warres, in his father *Hamilcars* life: euen ſo in like manner, that now being come to mans ſtate, he ſhould the better harden his body, to away with the paines and daungers of the warres. Now although at the firſt, the remembrance of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and good will of the ſouldiers: Yet he him ſelfe afterwardes, through his diligence and induſtry ſo handled the matter, that the olde ſouldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely deſired to chooſe him (and none other) for their gouernour. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wiſhed for, in a noble Captaine or generall. He had a preſent and ready wit to giue counſell what was to be done, in moſt greateſt attempts: & beſides, he lacked neither manhood nor induſtry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and inuincible minde, euen in greateſt daungers and aduerſities of bodie: the which are wont to ſtay others from performing their indeuours and duetie. He would watch and ward as any priuate ſouldier, and was quicke and ready to doe any kind of ſeruice, either like a valiant ſouldier, or a good Captaine. In this ſort *Annibal* continued in ſeruice in the warres, the ſpace of three yeares, vnder the conduct of *Haſdrubal*. In that time he ſo wanne the hearts of all the army, that immediatly after *Haſdrubals* death, he was choſen to be Lieuetenant generall, with the common conſent of all the ſouldiers: and this honor was laid vppon him without contradiction of any of the CARTHAGINIANS through the friendſhip and good will of the BARCINIAN faction. *Annibal* was now ſixe and twenty yeare old, when the ſouldiers made him their Lieutenant generall. For at what time his father *Hamilcar* brought him into SPAINE, he was then but nine yeare old: and from that time vnto *Haſdrubals* death (according to *Polybius* declaration) it was ſeuenteene yeares moe. So he was no ſooner made Lieutenant generall of all the campe, and his countrey: but he bent him ſelfe to make war with the ROMAINS, hauing long before determined it. For firſt of all, he chiefly maintained almoſt a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS againſt the ROMAINS, becauſe of the loſſe of SICILIA and SARDINIA. Beſides alſo, he bare them a ſecret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father *Hamilcar*: who, of all the Captaines the CARTHAGINIANS euer had, was the mortalleſt enemy vnto the ROMAINS. And it is written alſo, that at what time *Hamilcar* made his preparation to go into SPAIN, he compelled *Annibal* being but a boy, to ſweare in a ſacrifice he made, that he would be a mortall enemy to the ROMAINS, as ſoone as euer he came to the ſtate of a man. So, the remembraunce of theſe things were ſtill freſh in the young mans minde, as the Idea (or image) of his fathers hate, and ſtill prouoked him to ſpie out all the meanes he could, how to deſtroy the Empire of ROME. Beſides alſo, the BARCINIAN faction neuer left to prick him forward vnto it, becauſe by wars he might raiſe him ſelfe to greatnes, and ſo increaſe his eſtate. Theſe cauſes, as well common as particular, inticed *Annibal* to attempt warre againſt the ROMAINS, and gaue the ſtout young man occaſion by theſe meanes tō practiſe innouation. There was a people at that time called the SAGVNTINES, who confined indifferently betwixt the ROMAINES and CARTHAGINIANS: and were left free by the former peace concluded. Theſe SAGVNTINES euer after tooke part with the ROMAINES, and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the ROMAINS alwaies found them very true and faithfull to the Empire of ROME. *Annibal* therefore thought with him ſelfe, hee could not deuiſe to make a better match to anger the ROMAINES withall, and to kindle the fire of his malice alſo againſt them: then to make warre with the SAGVNTINES, their confederates. Howbeit, before hee would be openly ſeene to ſet vpon them, he firſt determined to lead his army againſt the OLCADES, and other people on the other ſide of the riuer of Iberus: and after he had ouercome them, then to finde occaſion to moleſt the SAGVNTINES, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begunne by them, then purpoſely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the OLCADES, he did ſet vpon the VACCEIANS, ſpoyled their countrey, beſieged manie cities, and tooke HERMANDICE, and ARBOCOLE, great and rich cities. Now hee had in manner ouercome all the whole countrey, when diuerſe fugitiues from the citie of HERMANDICE,

The ſharpe wit and diſpoſition of Annibal.

Annibal choſen Lieutenant generall after the death of Haſdrubal, being but 26. yeare old.

Diuers cauſes of Annibals mortall hate to the Romaines.

The Barcinian faction.

Iberus fl.

DICE, encoraging one another, conſpired againſt him, leauied men, & intiſed the OLCADES that were fled, to take their part. Then they perſwaded the CARPENTANIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree ſodainly to ſet vpon *Annibal* at his returne. They being a people that deſired nothing more then to fight, & conſidering alſo that they had receiued iniuries by *Annibal*, did eaſily hearken vnto that counſell: and thereuppon leauying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thouſand, they went to aſſaile *Annibal* at his returne from the VACCEIANS, by the riuer of Tagus. When the CARTHAGINIANS diſcouered their army, they ſtaid vpon it, and were maruellouſly afraid. And doubtles, they had had a great ouerthrow, if they had fought with thoſe ſo fierce people, being afraid of their ſodain comming, & alſo loden as they were with ſo great ſpoiles: the which *Annibal* deepely conſidering, like a wiſe Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he paſſed his army ouer the riuer with as litle noiſe as hee could, leauing the paſſage where the enemies might eaſilieſt come ouer, vngarded: becauſe vnder pretence of diſſembled feare, he might intiſe the barbarous people to paſſe ouer the riuer, to take the oportunity and occaſion offred them. Now in deede as he was the ſubtilleſt captaine, and had the fineſt ſtratagems of any other captaine of his time: ſo his policy was not in vaine, and his purpoſe to good effect, in abuſing of the enemy. For the wilde barbarous people repoſing too great truſt in the multitude of their men, ſuppoſing the CARTHAGINIANS had been afraid: with great fury entred the riuer to paſſe it ouer. So they being greatly troubled, and out of order by this meanes, and ſpecially before they could paſſe al ouer the riuer, they were ſet vpon by the CARTHAGINIANS: firſt by certaine horſemen, and afterwards with the whole army, ſo that there was a great number of them ſlaine, & the reſidue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the riuer of Iberus, yeelded them ſelues vnto him, ſauing the SAGVNTINES: who, though they ſaw *Annibal* at hand comming towardes thē, truſting to the friendſhip of the ROMAINES, they prepared to defend them ſelues againſt him: and therewithall ſent Ambaſſadors preſently to ROME, to ſhew the Senate in what great daunger they were, and alſo to pray aide againſt their ſo great enemy, that made warres hottely with them. The Ambaſſadors that were ſent to ROME, were ſcant gone out of SPAINE, when *Annibal* made open warre on them, with all his army, & pitched his campe before the city of SAGVNTVS. When this matter was reported at ROME, and conſulted of for the wrongs that had beene done to their confederates: the Senators dealt but ſlackly in it, and by decree only ſent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Bebius Pamphilus* vnto *Annibal*, to wil him to raiſe his ſiege from SAGVNTVS: & if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they ſhould thence repaire to CARTHAGE, and to pray them to deliuer their general *Annibal* vnto them, becauſe he had broken the peace. *Polybius* writeth, that *Annibal* did heare theſe Ambaſſadours, howbeit that he made them a ſlender anſwer. *Liuius* writeth in contrary manner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his campe. Howbeit they both agree thus farre, that they came into SPAIN, and afterwards went into AFRICK, & from thence came to CARTHAGE, where after they had deliuered their meſſage vnto the councell, the BARCINIAN faction were ſo much againſt them, that they diſhonourably returned to ROME, and obtained not their deſire. Now, in the Senate of CARTHAGE, there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the firſt tooke his beginning from the gouernment of *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcha*, & ſo diſcended as it were by ſucceſſion to his ſonne *Annibal*, and grew afterwards vnto ſuch greatnes, that that faction (as well abroad, as at home) ruled all matters iudiciall. The ſecond faction came of *Hanno*, a graue man, and of great authority in the ſame common wealth: howbeit a man more giuen to embrace peace and quietnes, then otherwiſe diſpoſed to war and trouble. It is he only (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambaſſadours of the ROMAINES came to CARTHAGE, to complaine of the iniuries done to their confederates: that did then in maner againſt the will of all the whole Senate, counſell them to keepe peace with the ROMAINS, and to beware of warres, the which one day might peraduenture vtterly deſtroy their country. Doubtleſſe, if the CARTHAGINIANS would haue followed the graue counſell of *Hanno*, rather then to haue giuen place to their deſires, and had followed the Author of peace, and not to haue beene ruled by them that gaue counſell to make warres: they hadde not taſted of

The conſpiracy of the Spaniards againſt Annibal.

Tagus fl.

Annibals ſtratagemes.

The Ib rians yeelde them ſelues vnto Annibal.

Annibal layeth ſiege to the citie of Saguntus.

Two contrary factions in the Senate of Carthage; the Barcimians, and Hannians. Hamilcar Barcha.

Hanno a graue counſeller and gouernor in peace.

A happy thing to follow good counſell.

thoſe miſeries which their country afterwards came vnto. But giuing place to the fury & ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped ſuch miſchiefes on their heades, as afterwardes fell out vpon them. Therefore it is very meete for wiſe Magiſtrats & gouernors of cõmon weales, alwaies rather to haue an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the end: and euer to decide all matters by aduiſe & councell, before they ſhould take any wars in hand. Now the SAGVNTINES ſeeing themſelues beſieged by *Annibal*, & that againſt al reaſon & equity he made wars vpon them: they notwithſtanding valiantly defended the ſiege, many moneths together. Yet in fine, though *Annibal* had many moe men then they (hauing a hundred and fifty thouſand men in his camp) and that the moſt part of their rampars were battered & ouerthrowen: they liked rather to abide the ſacke of their city, then to yeeld themſelues to the mercy of their mortall enemy. So ſome doe report, that SAGVNTVS was taken the eight moneth after ſiege was layed vnto it: But *Liuie* ſeemeth not to agree to that, neither to ſet downe any certain time of the continuance of the ſiege. Now, the taking of this ſo wealthy a city, was a great furtherance diuerſe wayes to *Annibals* enterpriſes. For many cities taking example of the ſacke of SAGVNTVS, who before miſliking to be ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, were ready to rebell: they kept themſelues quiet, and the ſouldiers alſo waxed liuely and couragious: ſeeing the rich ſpoiles that were deuided in the campe. So *Annibal* ſent great preſents of the ſpoiles of the SAGVNTINES vnto CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefeſt men of the city, and made them like the better of warres: whom he determined to lead with him againſt the ROMAINES, not in SPAINE, as many ſuppoſed, but into ITALIE it ſelfe. Whileſt theſe matters were in hand, the Ambaſſadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the ſlender anſwer they had receiued, in manner at the ſelfe ſame time when they had intelligence of the ſacke of SAGVNTVS. Hereuppon the ROMAINES greatly repented themſelues, (though ſomewhat too late) for that they ayded not their friendes and confederates in ſo great a daunger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very ſorie for it, and therewith alſo maruellouſly offended, they deuided the prouinces vnto the Conſuls, to weet: SPAIN vnto *Publius Cornelius*, and AFRICK and SICILIA alſo vnto *Titus Sempronius*. Afterwards, certain of the nobleſt men of the city were ſent ambaſſadors vnto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senate for breach of the peace, and alſo to denounce vnto them the cauſe of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open war againſt them, after they had declared the occaſion thereof to come of themſelues. This was as brauely receyued of the CARTHAGINIANS, as luſtely offered vnto them: but therein they were not ſo well aduiſed, as the ſucceſſe of that warre in the end ſufficiently proued it to them. Now *Annibal* being aduertiſed how things were concluded in the Senat at CARTHAGE, and thinking with him ſelfe that it was time to goe into ITALIE, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to prepare his ſhippes and things ready, and ſo required aide of the cities that were his beſt friendes and confederates, and commaunded that all the bandes ſhould meete him at new CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, hee appointed good garriſons in places moſt conuenient, in AFRICK and SPAINE, which he thought aboue all things els to be moſt neceſſary: becauſe that when he ſhould go into ITALY, the ROMAINS ſhould not winne it from him. Therefore he ſent into AFRICKE, twelue hundred horſmen, and thirteene thouſand footemen, all SPANIARDS: and beſides, he brought out of diuers parts of AFRICK foure thouſand ſouldiers, and placed them in garriſon in CARTHAGE, obtayning both hoſtages and ſouldiers by this meanes. So he left the gouernment of SPAINE to his brother *Haſdrubal*, and gaue him an army of fifty ſhippes of warre, two thouſand horſemen, and twelue thouſand footemen. Theſe were the garriſons he left in both thoſe prouinces. Nowe he thought them not ſufficient to withſtand the power of the ROMAINES, if they bent their warres into SPAYNE, or AFRICK: but becauſe he thought them ſtrong inough to ſtay the enemy from ouerrunning of the country, vntill that hauing brought his army by land, he had ſet foote in ITALY. Moreouer, he knew that the CARTHAGINIANS were ſtrong inough to leauy a new army if they liſted, and if neede ſo required, to ſend him ayde alſo into ITALY. For, after that they had driuen away this ſo daungerous a warre, procured againſt them through the ſpight of the mercenary ſouldiers, hauing euer after obteined victorie: firſt vnder the

Wiſe counſell for gouernors to preuent things at the beginning.

Annibal wan the citie of Saguntus.

P. Cornelius, and T. Sempronius Conſuls.

Warres proclaimed by the Romaines, with the Carthaginians.

the conduct of *Hamilcar*: secondly, vnder *Hasdruball*: and lastly, vnder *Annibal*: they were growen to such greatnes and strength, that at what time *Annibal* came into ITALY, their Empire & dominions were maruellously enlarged. For they had all the coast of AFRICK, which lieth ouer against the sea Mediterraneum, from the aulters of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrte, vnto *Hercules* pillers: and containeth in length * two thousand paces. So, after they had passed the straight which deuideth AFRICKE from EVROPE, they possessed almost all SPAINE, to the mountaines Pyrenei, which doe deuide SPAINE from GAVLE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICKE, and SPAINE: *Annibal* returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his army was ready for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer he called his men together, and incouraging them with great and large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALIE: and made great accompt vnto them of the friendshippe of the GAVLES, and in the end he bad them be of good corage, and set lustely forward. Thereuppon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and brought his army all alongest the coast, vnto the riuer of Iberus. It is reported, that the next day following, *Annibal* dreamed he saw a young man, of a maruellous terrible looke and stature, who bad him follow him into ITALIE: but afterwards, that he saw a snake of a wonderfull greatnes, making a maruellous noise: and being desirous to vnderstand what the same might signifie, it was told him that it betokened the destruction of ITALY. It is not to be maruelled at, though the great care and thought he tooke in the day time for the war of ITALIE, made his mind to run of such fancies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destructiō, or such other calamities of war. For they are things that happen often, as *Cicero* the Orator saith: that our thoughts & words do beget such things in our dreame, as *Ennius* the Poet writeth of *Homer*: to wit, like to those his minde most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now, after *Annibal* had passed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had also wonne the GAVLES hearts with bountifull gifts: in few daies he came to the riuer of Rhone. The head of the riuer of Rhone, is not far from the heads of the riuers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at GENVA. Then it runneth from thence towardes the West, and deuideth the GAVLES a prety way: and then being increased by the riuer of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other riuers, in the end it falleth into the sea with duers heades, betwixt the VOLCES, and the CAVARIANS. The VOLCES, at that time inhabited both the sides of the riuer of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richest of all the other GAVLES. They hauing vnderstanding of *Annibals* comming, passed ouer the riuer, and armed them selues, and prepared on the other side to stoppe the CARTHAGINIANS, that they should not passe ouer. Now, though *Annibal* had wonne all the other GAVLES, yet those he could neuer winne neither by giftes, nor threates, to cause them rather to proue the friendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force, Therefore *Annibal* perceiuing he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commaunded *Hanno* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, secretly to passe ouer the riuer of Rhone, with part of the army, and so to set vppon the GAVLES on the sodaine. Thereupon *Hanno* as he was commaunded, made a long iourney, and hauing passed ouer the riuer at passable fords: he shewed him selfe hard by the enemies campe, before they saw him, or that they knew what it was. The GAVLES hearing their shoutes and cries behinde them, and hauing their handes full of *Annibal* before them: who had many botes ready to passe ouer his men: they hauing no leysure to consult of the matter, neither to arme them selues to stand to defence, left their campe, and fledde for life. So they being driuen from the other side of the riuer, the rest of the army of the CARTHAGINIANS passed ouer it with safety. In the meane time, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, that but a litle before was come vnto MASSILIA, still heard newes of *Annibals* armie. Wherefore, to be more assured of the matter, hee sent a band of choyce horsemen to discouer what the enemies intent was: who making great speede as they were commaunded, met by chaunce with fiue hundred horsmen of the NVMIDIANS, whom *Annibal* had also sent to bring him word of the ROMAINES army. So, they first sodainly gaue charge vpon the NVMIDIANS, and after a hotte and valiant conflict betweene both the parties, in the end the ROMAINES ouercomming them, they made them flie, but with great losse of their men: howbeit the greatest losse and slaughter fell vppon the enemies. So *Annibal* by

The greatnes of the dominion of Africke.
* *This place is false.*

Annibal determineth to inuade Italy.

Annibals dreame at the riuer of Iberus

The head and course of the riuer of Rhone.
Arar.

The Volces: people that inhabited about the riuer of Rhone.

P. Cornelius Scipio Consul: sent against Annibal, and, arriued at Massilia.

this meanes found where the Romaines lay, and ſtood in a great doubt with himſelfe, whether he ſhould keepe on his way into Italie, or elſe lead his army againſt the Conſull that then was, and ſo to proue his hap and ſucceſſe. At length, debating many wayes in his minde, and vncertaine which way he would determine: the Ambaſſadors of the Boians perſwaded him to leaue all other deuiſes, and to goe on into Italie. For before that *Annibal* had paſſed ouer the mountains Pirenei, the Boians hauing by craft taken the Romains Ambaſſadors, and done great miſchiefe vnto *Manlius* the Prætor, and intiſed the Insvbrians alſo: they were reuolted from the Romaines, and tooke part with *Annibal*, and onely becauſe the Romains had repleniſhed the cities of Placentia, and Cremona with people, and had made them Colonies to Rome. So *Annibal* being ruled by their counſell, raiſed his campe, and keeping the riuers ſide, ſtill going againſt the riuer: in few dayes he came to the place which the Gavles do call the Iland, the which the riuer of Arar and Rhodanus comming from diuers mountaines doe make there. So at this preſent, there is the famous city of Lion in Gavle, which they ſay was built long time after, by *Plancus Munatius*. From thence he came to the countrey of the Allobroges, and hauing pacified the variance betwixt two brethren, for the realme, he came through the countrey of the Castinians and Vocontians, to the riuer of Durance. The head of this riuer commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a ſwift ſtreame, falleth into the riuer of Rhone: and as it oftentimes caungeth her courſe, ſo hath it in manner no paſſable forde. Yet *Annibal* hauing paſt it ouer, he led his army vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine countries, as farre as hee could: howbeit as he paſſed through them, he had great loſſes, as it is reported. Inſomuch that ſome that were liuing at that time, did affirme, that they heard *Annibal* him ſelfe ſay, that hee had loſt aboue thirtie thouſand men, and the moſt part of his horſemen. For he was forced not onely to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaines, but alſo compelled to make wayes through the ſtraights: ſo that in certaine places of the higheſt rockes, hee was driuen to make paſſages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had paſſed the Alpes in fifteene dayes ſpace, hee came downe into the valley, not farre from the city of Tvrine. Whereby it ſeemeth to me, that he paſſed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one ſide of it hath the riuer of Druentia, and on the other ſide it goeth downe to the city of Tvrine. Now it is hard to ſay truly, what number of men he had when he was come into Italie: becauſe of mens diuerſities of opinions. For ſome write, that he had a hundred thouſand footemen, and twenty thouſand horſemen: others alſo write, that he had twentie thouſand footemen, and ſixe thouſand horſemen, all Africans and Spaniardes. But others, rekonning the Gavles and Ligvrians, doe count foure ſcore thouſand footemen, and tenne thouſand horſemen. Yet it is not credible, that his army was ſo great, as the firſt men report, and ſpecially hauing paſſed through ſo many countries, and alſo receiued ſuch loſſe as he had: neither alſo could his number be ſo ſmall, as the ſecond reporters do make it, if a man will conſider the famous exploites and great enterpriſes he did afterwardes. So that I like their opinions beſt, which keepe the meane betweene them both: conſidering that he brought into Italy, the better part of foure ſcore thouſand footemen, and tenne thouſand horſemen, the which he had leauied in Spaine: as it is manifeſtly knowen alſo, that a great number of the Ligvrians and Gavles came to ioyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the Romaines, that gaue no place nor ground vnto the Carthaginians. So *Annibal* being come from Tvrine, into the country of the Insvbrians: he was met withall by *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who marching with wonderfull ſpeede from Massilia, and hauing paſſed the riuers of Po and Teſin, he camped not farre from the enemy. So ſhortly after, both the Generals being come into the fielde to view each others campe, the horſemen of either ſide grew to skirmiſh, which continued long, and was not to be diſcerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the Romaines ſeeing the Conſull hurt, and alſo that the horſmen of the Nvmidians, by litle and litle came to compaſſe them in: they were driuen to giue ground, and ſo pretily retired, defending the Conſull the beſt they could to ſaue him, and ſo at length recouered their campe. It is reported that *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, was ſaued at that time through his ſonnes helpe, who afterwards was called African, and at that time was but

The Boians and Insubrians, reuolt from the Romaines, and take part with Annibal.

Lugdunum, built by Plancus Munatius. Druentia.

Annibal made waies through the rockes of the mountaines, by force of fire and vineger. The valley of Taurinus. Annibals comming into Italy by Piedmont, not farre from Turine.

Annibals army in Italy.

Annibals firſt conflict with the Romains, and victorie. P. C. Scipio Conſull hurt, and ſaued

but a young ſtripling: whoſe praiſe though it was wonderfull in ſo greene a youth, yet it is likely to be true, becauſe of the famous and valiant actes that he did afterwardes. Nowe *Scipio* hauing proued how much his enemie was ſtronger than himſelfe in horſemen: he determined to place his campe ſo, as his footemen might be in beſt ſafetie, & alſo fight with greateſt aduantage. And therefore the next night following he paſſed the riuer of Po, and made as litle noyſe as he coulde, and went vnto PLACENTIA. The like ſhortly after did *T. Sempronius Longus*, who had bene reſtored from baniſhment by the Senate, and ſent for out of SICILIA: becauſe both the Conſuls ſhould gouerne the common wealth by one ſelfe authoritie. *Annibal* alſo followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his campe neere vnto the riuer of Trebia: hoping that becauſe both campes lay ſo neere together, ſome occaſion would be offred to fight, the which he chiefly deſired, both becauſe he could not long maintaine warre for lacke of victuals, as alſo that he miſtruſted the ficklenes of the GAVLES. Who like as they ſoone fell in league and friendſhip with him, drawen vnto it with hope of chaunge, and with the fame alſo of his victorie obtained: ſo he miſtruſted that vpon any light occaſion (as if the warre ſhould continue any long time in their countrie) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the ROMAINES, againſt him, as the onely author of this waare. For theſe reſpects therefore, he deuiſed all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time, *Sempronius* the other Conſul, met with a troupe of the enemies, laden with ſpoile, ſtragling vp and downe the fieldes, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like ſucceſſe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall: he had good hope of victorie, if once both the armies might come to fight. Therefore being maruellous deſirous to doe ſome noble enterpriſe before *Scipio* were recouered of his hurt, and that the new Conſul ſhould be choſen: he determined to ioyne battell againſt the will of his other colleague and fellow Conſul *Scipio*, who thought nothing could be to leſſe purpoſe, then to put all the ſtate and common wealth in ieopardie, ſpecially hauing all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field againſt him. Now, *Annibal* had ſecret intelligence of all this variance, by ſpials he had ſent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politicke and ſuttle as he was, found out a place ſtraight between both campes, couered ouer with buſhes and briers, and there he placed his brother *Mago* to lye in ambuſh, with a companie of choſen men. Then he commaunded the horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, to ſcurrie to the trenches of the ROMANES, to intiſe him to come to battell: & thereupon made the reſidue of his armie to eate, and ſo put them in very good order of battell, to be readie vpon any occaſion offered. Now the Conſul *Sempronius*, at the firſt tumult of the NVMIDIANS, ſodainly ſent his horſemen to encounter them, and after them put out ſixe thouſand footemen, and in the ende, came him ſelfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middeſt of winter, and extreame cold, and ſpecially in the places incloſed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Now the NVMIDIANS as they were commaunded, intiſed the ROMANES by litle and litle on this ſide the riuer of Trebia, vntill they came to the place where they might diſcerne their enſignes: and then they ſodainely turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, oftentimes to flie of ſet purpoſe, and then to ſtay vpon the ſodaine when they ſee time, to charge their enemie more hotely and fiercely then before. Whereupon *Sempronius* incontinently gathered his horſemen together, and did ſet his men in battell ray, as time required, to giue charge vpon his enemie, that ſtayed for him in order of battell. For *Annibal* had caſt his men into ſquadrons, readie vpon any occaſion. The skirmiſh beganne firſt by the light horſemen, & afterwards increaſed hotter by ſupply of the men of armes: howbeit the ROMANE Knights being vnable to beare the ſhocke of the enemies, they were quickly broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with ſuch furie & noble courage, that they had bene able to haue reſiſted, ſo they had fought but with footemen onely. But on the one ſide, the horſemen and Elephants made them affraied, and on the other ſide the footemen followed them very luſtely, and fought with great furie againſt famiſhed and frozen men. Wherefore the ROMANES notwithſtanding, ſuffring all the miſeries that vexed them on euery ſide, with an vnſpeakeable corage and magnanimitie, ſuch as was aboue their force and ſtrength: they fought ſtill, vntill that *Mago* comming out of his ambuſh, came and ſodainly aſſailed them with great ſhowtes

from his enemies by his ſon who was afterwards called African. Padus β.

P. Cornelius Scipio and T. Sempronius Longus, Conſuls againſt Annibal. Trebia β.

Ambuſh layed by Annibal to intrappe Sempronius.

Annibal fought with Sempronius the Conſul at the riuer of Trebia. The Numidians craft in flying.

and cries, and that the middle squadron of the CARTHAGINIANS also (through *Annibals* cõmandement) slew vpon the CENOMANIANS. Then the ROMAINS seing their confederats flie, their harts were done, and vtterly discouraged. It is sayed that there were tenne thousand footemen of the ROMAINS got to PLACENTIA, and came through the enemies. The rest of the armie that fledde, were most part of them slaine by the CARTHAGINIANS. The Consull *Sempronius* also scaped very narrowly from the enemies. The victory cost *Anniball* the setting on also: for he lost a great number of his men, and the most parte of all his Elephantes were slaine. After this battell, *Anniball* ouercame all the countrie, and did put all to fire and sworde, and tooke also certen townes: and with a fewe of his men made a great number of the countrie men flie, that were disorderly gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the spring, he brought his armie into the field sooner then time required: & meaning to goe into THVSCAN, he was driuen backe by a great tempest at the verie toppe of the height of the Appenine, and so compelled to bring his armie about PLACENTIA: howbeit shortly after he put himselfe againe into the fields for diuers vrgent & necessary causes. For had he not saued himselfe by that pollicie, he had almost bene taken tardie by the ambush of the GAVLES: who being angry with him that the warre continued so long in their coũtry, they sought to be reuenged of him, as the onely author & occasion of the warre. Therfore perceiuing it was time for him to auoide this daunger, he made all the hast he could to leade his armie into some other prouince. Furthermore, he thought it would increase his estimatiõ much among strangers & also greatly encorage his owne people, if he could make the power of the CARTHAGINIANS to seeme so great, & also their Captaine to be of so noble a corage, as to dare to make warre so neare to the citie of ROME. All things therefore set apart, he marched with his campe by the mountaine Appenine, and so cõming through the country of the LIGVRIANS, he came into THVSCAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion coũtry, & to the marisses about the riuer of Arnus. The riuer of Arnus at that time was very high, and had ouerflowen all the fields thereabouts. *Anniball* therefore marching with so great an army as he had, could not auoide it, but that he must needes lose a number of his men & horse, before he could get out of those euill fauored marisses. Insomuch that he himselfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of the great paines he had taken day and night without sleepe or rest, and also through the euill ayer: though he was caried vpon a high Elephants back, which only was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meane time, *C. Flaminius* Consul, to whom the charge of *Sẽpronius* armie was giuen: he was come vnto ARETIVM against the Senates mind, who were maruellously offended with him, because he left his cõpanion *Cn. Seruilius* at ROME, & went vnto his prouince by stelth as it were, without the furniture of a Consul & his officers. This was a very hasty man of nature, and one that the people had brought to that dignitie & office: so that he was become so proud & insolent that men might see he would hazard all things without wit or iudgement. *Anniball* hauing intelligence thereof, thought it the best way to anger the Consul, & to do what he could possible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Cõsul should come to ioyne with him. Therfore, he marching forward with his campe through the coũtry of FESVLA, & ARETIVM, he burnt & spoiled al the coũtrey therabouts, & filled them all with feare, neuer leauing to destroy all before him, vntill he came to the mountaine Cortonenses, & so to the lake called Thrasimene. When he had viewed the place he went about to surprise his enemy by some ambush: whereupon he conuied certen horsemen vnder the hils, hard by the straight that goeth vnto Thrasimene, and behind the mountaines also, he placed his light horsmen. Then he himself with the rest of his army came downe into the field, supposing that the Consul would not be quiet: and so it fell out. For hot stirring heads are easily intrapped, & fall into the enemies ambush, & oftẽtimes do put all in hazard, because they will follow no counsell nor good aduise. *C. Flaminius* therfore seeing their country vtterly spoiled, the corne destroyed and cut downe, and the houses burnt: he made great hast to leade his armie against the enemie contrarie to all mens minds, who would haue had him taried for his companion *Cn. Seruilius* the other Consul. So euen at sunne set, when he was come to the straightes of the lake of Thrasimene, he caused his campe to stay there, although his men were not wearie with the long iorney they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day

Annibals victorie of the Consull Sempronius.

Arnus fl.

Anniball lost one of his eyes in the marisses by the riuer of Arnus.

C. Flaminius & Cn. Seruilius, Consuls.

Montes Cortonenses.

Lacus Thrasimenus.

The iudgement of a souldier.

making no view of the coūtrie, he went ouer the mountains. Then *Anniball* who long before was prepared for this, did but ſtay for the oportunitie to worke his feate. when he ſaw the ROMAINS come into the plaine, he gaue a ſignall vnto all his men to giue charge vpon the enemie. Thereupon the CARTHAGINIANS breaking out on euerie ſide, came before and behinde, and on the flanckes to aſſaile the enemie, being ſhut in betweene the lake and the mountaines. Now in contrary maner, the ROMAINS beginning to fight out of order, they fought incloſed together, that they could not ſee one another, as if it had bene darke: ſo that it is to be wondred at, how, and with what minde they fought it out ſo long, conſidering they were compaſſed in on euerie ſide. For they fought it out aboue three howers ſpace, with ſuch furie and courage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that preſent time, neither did they offer to flie or ſtir a foot: vntill they heard that the Conſull *C. Flaminius* going from rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was ſlaine by a man of armes called *Ducarius*. Then when they had loſt their Generall, and being voyde of all hope, they fled, ſome towards the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which, diuers of them flying, were ouertaken and ſlaine. So there were ſlaine * fifteene thouſand in the field, & there ſcaped about ten thouſand. Furthermore the report went, that there were ſix thouſand footemen which forcible (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there ſtayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe vpon *Annibals* promiſe: but they were betrayed, and ſlaine, euery mothers ſonne of them. After this great victory, *Anniball* did let diuers ITALIAN priſoners goe free without ranſome paying, after he had vſed them maruellous curteouſly: becauſe that the fame of his clemencie and curteſie ſhould be knowen vnto all nations, whereas in deede his owne nature was contrarie to all vertues. For he was haſtie and cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought vp in warres, and exerciſed in murther, treaſon, & ambuſhes laide for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor ciuill gouernment. So by this meanes he became one of the cruelleſt Captaines, the moſt ſubtle, and craftieſt to deceiue and intrappe his enemie, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemie: ſo thoſe whom he could not ouercome in warre by plaine force, he went about to intrappe by ſlight and policie. The which appeareth true by this preſent battell, and alſo by the other he fought againſt the Conſull *Sempronius*, by the riuer of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leaue this talke till an other time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow and death of the Conſull *Flaminius* was reported at ROME, hauing loſt the moſt part of his armie: there was great mone and lamentation made through all the citie of ROME. Some bewailing the common miſerie of the common wealth, others lamenting their priuate particular loſſe, & ſome alſo ſorowing for both together. But indeede it was a wofull ſight, to ſee a world of men and women to run to the gates of the citie, euery one priuatly asking for their kinne and friends. Some doe write, that there were two women, who being very ſorie & penſiue, diſpairing of the ſafetie of their ſonnes, died ſodainly for the extreame ioy they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they ſaw their ſonnes aliue and ſafe. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Cn. Seruilius*, the other Conſull with *C. Flaminius*, did ſend him foure thouſand horſemen, not vnderſtanding yet of the battell that was fought by the lake of Thraſymene. But when they heard of the ouerthrow of their men by the way, and therefore thought to haue fled into VMBRIA: they were compaſſed in by the horſemen of the enemies, and ſo brought vnto *Anniball*. Now the Empire of ROME being brought into ſo great extreamity and daunger, becauſe of ſo many ſmall loſſes one in the necke of an other: it was ordained, that an extraordinarie Gouernor or Magiſtrate ſhould be choſen, who ſhould be created Dictator: an office ſpecially vſed to be reſerued for the laſt hope and remedy, in moſt extreame daunger and perill, of the ſtate and common wealth. But becauſe the Conſul *Seruilius* could not return at that time to ROME, all the waies being kept by the enemy: the people contrary to their cuſtome, created *Q. Fabius* Dictator, (who afterwards attained the ſurname of *Maximus*, to ſay, very great) who likewiſe did name *M. Minutius* Generall of the horſemen. Now this *Fabius* was a graue and wiſe counſeller, and of great authority and eſtimation in the common wealth: inſomuch as the citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perſwading themſelues, that the honour of ROME might be better preſerued vnder the gouernment and conduct of ſuch a Generall, rather then

Battell betwixt Anniball and C. Flaminius the Conſull, by the lake of Thraſimene.

The Romains were ſo earneſt in fight, that they heard not the miſe of an earthquake.

C. Flaminius the Conſull ſlaine.

Plutarch in the life of Fabius Maximus addeth to as many priſoners

Annibals craftines to diſſemble vertue.

The naturall diſpoſition of Annibal.

Extreame ioy cauſeth ſodaine death.

The office of Dictator, of what effect.

Q. Fabius Maximus created Dictator.

vnder the gouernment of any other man whatsoeuer. So *Fabius* knowing it very wel, after he had carefullie and diligentlie giuen order for all things necessarie: he departed from ROME, and when he had receiued the armie of the late Consull *Cn. Seruilius*, he added vnto them two other legions, and so went vnto the enemie. Now *Annibal* was gone from the lake of Thrasymene, and went directly towards the citie of SPOLETVM, to see if he could take it at the first assault. But when he saw that the townes men stood vpon the rampers of their wals, and valiantly defended themselues: he then left the towne and destroyed the countrie as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into APVLIA, through the marches of ANCONA, & the countrie of the MARSIANS and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the citie of ARPY, not farre from the campe of the enemie, to the ende to draw out the warre at length. For the rashnes and foole hardines of the former Captaines affore time, had brought the state of ROME into such miserie: that they thought it a victorie vnto them, not to be ouercome by the enemie, that had so often ouercome them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the chaunge and alteration of the Captaine. For, though *Annibal* had set his men in battell raye, and afterwardes perceiuing his enemie stirred not, went and destroyed the country, hoping thereby to intise the Dictator to fight, when he should see the country of his confederates so spoyled, as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moued withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. *Annibal* was in a maruellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often remoued his campe, to the ende that going diuerse wayes, some occasion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemie, or else to giue battell. So when he had passed the mountaine Appenine, he came vnto SAMNIVM. But because shortly after, some of CAMPANIA, who hauing bene taken prisoners by the lake of Thrasymene, had bene set at libertie without ransome: they putting him in hope that he might take the citie of CAPVA, he made his armie march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the countrie, to bring him vnto CASINVM. Now the guide ouerhearing CASINVM, vnderstood it CASILINVM, & so mistaking the sound of the word, brought the armie a cleane contrary way vnto CALENTINVM, and CALENVM, and from thence about STELLA. So when they came into a country enuironned about with mountaines & riuers, *Annibal* knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guide to death. *Fabius* the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patiently, and was contented to giue *Annibal* libertie to take his pleasure which way he would: vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his garrison, being places of great aduantage and commoditie. So the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, was in manner compassed in euery way, and they must needes haue died for famine in that place, or else haue fled, to their great shame and dishonor: had not *Annibal* by this stratageame preuented the daunger. Who knowing the daunger all his armie stoode in, and hauing spied a fit time for it: he commaunded his souldiers to bring forth two thousand oxen which they had gotten in spoile in the fieldes, hauing great store of them, and then tying torches of fire lockes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimblest men he hadde to light them, and to driue the oxen vp the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the relieue of the first watch. All this was duely executed according to his commaundement, and the oxen running vp to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them faire and softly. Now the ROMAINES that had long before placed a strong garrison vppon the mountaines, they were affrayed of this strange sight, and mistrusting some ambushe, they forthwith forsooke their peeces and holdes. *Fabius* him selfe mistrusting also that it was some stratageame of the enemy, kept his men within the campe, and could not well tell what to say to it. In the meane time, *Annibal* got ouer the mountaine, not far from the bathes of Swessa, which the countrey men doe call the tower of the bathes, and brought all his army safe into ALBA: and shortlie after, hee marched directlie as though hee would goe to ROME, howbeit he sodainly turned out of the way, and went presently into APVLIA. There he tooke the city of GLERENVM, a verie rich and wealthie towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, and came and camped by LAVRINVM, not farre from the CARTHAGINIANS campe. So he being sent for to ROME about waighty affaires

Hastines of Captaines often times verie hurtfull.

The guide cruelly put to death by Annibal.

Annibals stratageame in the mountaenes of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, against Q. Fabius Dictator.

Certaine bathes at Swessa, called the tower of the bathes.

Glerenum: a city in Apulia.

affaires of the ſtate, there was no remedie but that he muſt needes depart from thence with all the ſpeede he could: howbeit before he went, he lefte *Marcus Minutius* Generall of the horſemen, his Lieutenant of all the armie, and commaunded him in his abſence not once to ſturre nor to meddle with the enemies. For he was fully bent to followe his determination, which was: not to vexe the enemie, nor to fight with him, though he were prouoked vnto it. Howbeit *Marcus Minutius* litle regarding the Dictators commaundement, his backe was no ſooner turned, but he ſet vpon a companie of the enemies diſperſed in the field a foraging, and ſlue a great number of them: and fought with the reſt euen into their campe. The rumor of this skirmiſh flewe ſtraight to ROME, and there was ſuch great account made of it, that it was eſteemed for a victorie: and the common people were ſo ioyfull of it, that they ſtraight made the power of the Lieutenaunt, equall with the Dictator *Fabius*: the which was neuer heard of before. *Fabius* patiently bearing this extreame iniurie with a noble courage, hauing no way deſerued it: he returned againe vnto the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one ſelfe time (a thing neuer ſeene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the armie betweene them, either of them commaunded his armie a parte, as the Conſulles were wont to doe before. *Marcus Minutius* thereupon grewe to ſuch a pride and haughtie mind, that one day he ventured to giue battell, and made not his companion *Fabius* a councell withall: the which *Anniball* hauing ſo often ouercome, durſt ſcantly haue enterpriſed. So he led his armie into ſuch a place, where the enemie had compaſſed them in: inſomuch that *Anniball* ſlue them at his pleaſure, without any hope left them to eſcape, if *Fabius* had not come in time (as he did) to aide them, rather reſpecting the honor of his countrey, then remembring the priuat iniurie he had receiued. For he comming freſh with his armie to the battell, made *Anniball* affrayed, that the ROMAINES legions had liberty to retire with ſafety. Whereby *Fabius* wan great fame for his wiſedome and valiantnes, both of his owne ſouldiers, as alſo of the enemies them ſelues. For it was reported that *Anniball* ſhould ſay, returning into his campe: that in this battell he had ouercome *M. Minutius*, but withall, that he was alſo ouercome by *Fabius*. And *Minutius* ſelfe alſo confeſſing *Fabius* wiſedome, and conſidering that (according to *Heſiodus* ſaying) it was good reaſon to obey a better man then him ſelf: he came with all his army vnto *Fabius* campe, and renouncing his authority, came and humbly ſaluted *Fabius* as his father, and all that day there was great ioy, and reioycing among the ſouldiers. So both the armies being placed in garriſon for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Conſuls created: *L. Paulus AEmylius*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Conſul. So they had liberty and commiſſion to leauie a greater armie then the Generals before them had done. Whereby the legions were newly ſupplied, and alſo others added vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Conſuls were come into the army, as they were of ſeuerall diſpoſitions, ſo did they alſo obſerue diuerſe manners in their gouernment. *Lucius Paulus*, who was a graue wiſe man, and one that purpoſed to follow *Fabius* counſell and faſhions: he did deſire to draw out the warre in length, and to ſtay the enemy without fighting. *Varro* on the other ſide was a haſty man, and venturous, and deſired nothing but to fight. So it chaunced, that not long after it was knowen, to the great coſt and daunger of the citie of ROME, what difference there was betwixt the modeſtie of *AEmylius*, and the foole-hardineſſe of *Varro*. For *Anniball* being affrayed of ſome ſturre and tumult in his campe for lacke of victuals, hee departed from GLERENVM, and going into the warmeſt place of APVLIA, came and camped with all his army, by a village called CANNES. So hee was followed with both the Conſuls, who came and camped ſeuerallie hard by him, but ſo neare one to an other, that there was but the riuer of Aufide that parted them. This riuer as it is reported, doth alone deuide the mountaine of the Appenine, and taketh his head on that ſide of the mountaine that lieth to the ſea ſide, from whence it runneth to the ſea Adriaticum. Now, *Lucius Paulus* finding that it was impoſſible for *Anniball* beeing in a ſtraunge countrey to maintaine ſo great an armie of ſuch ſundrie nations together: hee was fullie bent to tracte time, and to auoyde battell, perſwading him ſelfe that it was the right and onelie waie to ouercome him, being as much to the enemies diſaduauntage,

Two Dictators together neuer heard of before

L. Paulus AEmylius, and C. Terentius Varro Conſuls.

The difference betwixt L. Paulus, and C. Ter. Varro.

Aufidus ſt.

as alſo maruellous profitable and beneficiall for the common wealth. And ſure if *C. Terentius Varro*, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that *Annibals* armie had bene ouerthrowen by the ROMAINS, without ſtroke ſtriking. Howbeit he had ſuch a light head of his owne, and was ſo fickle minded, that he neither regarded wiſe counſell, nor *Paulus AEmylius* anthoritie: but in contrarie manner woulde fall out with him, and alſo complained before the ſouldiers, for that he kept his men pent vp, and idle whileſt the enemie did put forth his men to the fielde in battell raye. So when his turne came, that he was abſolutelie to commaunde the whole armie, (for they both had abſolute power by turnes) he paſſed ouer the riuer of Aufide by breake of day, and gaue the ſignall of battell without the priuitie of his companion *Aemylius*, who rather followed him againſt his will then willingly, becauſe he coulde doe none otherwiſe. So he cauſed a skarlet coate of armes to be put out verie earlie in the morning, for a ſignall of battell. *Anniball* on the other ſide was as glad of it as might be poſſible, that he had occaſion offered him to fight (conſidering that the continuall delaying of battell did alter all his purpoſe) he paſſed his armie ouer the riuer, and had ſtraight put them in verie good order. For hee had taken great ſpoyles of his enemies to furniſh himſelfe verie brauely. Now the armie of the ROMAINES ſtoode South-ward, inſomuch that the South winde (which the men of the countrie call Vulturnus) blewe full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie manner had the vantage of the winde and ſunne vpon their backes, and their battell ſtoode in this manner. The AFRIKANS were placed in both the wings, and the GAVLES and SPANYARDES ſet in a ſquadron in the midſt. The light horſemen firſt beganne the skirmiſh, and after them followed the men of armes: and becauſe the ſpace betwixt the riuer and the footemen was verie narrow, ſo as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it laſted not long. So, the horſemen of the ROMAINES being ouerthrowen, the footemen came with ſuch a luſtie courage to receiue the charge, that they thought they ſhould not haue day enough to fight. Howbeit the ouer earneſt deſire they had to ouercome their enemies, made their ouerthrow more miſerable, then their ioy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAVLES and SPANYARDES, (who as we haue ſaid before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withſtand the force of the ROMAINES, they retyred towards the AFRIKANS in the wings. The ROMAINES perceiuing that, ranne vpon the enemie with all the fury they could, and had them in chaſe & fought with them, till they were gotten in the midſt of them. Then the CARTHAGINIANS that were in both wings, came & compaſſed them in before they were aware. Moreouer, there were fiue hundred of the NVMIDIAN horſemen, that colourably fled vnto the Conſuls, who receiued them very curteouſly, and placed them in the rereward of the armie. They ſeeing their time, ſhewed behind the enemies, and did ſodainly giue them charge. Thē the army of the ROMAINS was vtterly ouerthrowen, & *Anniball* obtained victory. *Liuie* writeth that there were ſlaine in this battell* forty thouſand footmen, and aboue two thouſand ſeuen hundred horſemen. *Polybius* ſaith, that there were many more ſlaine. Well, letting this matter paſſe, it is certaine that the ROMAINS had neuer greater loſſe, neither in the firſt warre with AFRICKE, nor in the ſecond by the CARTHAGINIANS, as this ouerthrow that was giuen at CANNES. For there was ſlaine, the Conſull *Paulus AEmylius* him ſelf, a man vndoubtedly deſeruing great praiſe, and that ſerued his country and common wealth euen to the hower of death: *Cn. Seruilius*, Conſul the yeare before, he was alſo ſlaine there, and many other that had bene Conſuls, Prætors, and others of ſuch like dignity, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other Senators and honeſt citizens, and that ſuch a number of them, that the very crueltie it ſelfe of the enemy was ſatisfied. The Conſull *Terentius Varro*, who was the onely author of all this warre and ſlaughter, ſeeing the enemy victor euery way, hee ſaued him ſelfe by flying. And *Tutidanus* a Chiefetaine of a band, comming through his enemies with a good company of his men, he came vnto CANVSIVM. Thither came alſo about tenne thouſand men, that had eſcaped from their enemies, as out of a daungerous ſtorme: by whoſe conſent, the charge of the whole army was giuen vnto *Appius Pulcher*, and alſo vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, who afterwardes did end this warre. Thus was the end of the battell fought by CANNES. Newes flew ſtraight to ROME of this ouerthrow, the which though they iuſtlie filled

Battell at Cannes.

A ſtratageame of Annibal.

* *Plutarke in the life of Fabius ſaith, that there were fifty thouſand ſlaine and fourteene thouſand taken priſoners.*

Paulus AEmylius Conſull, ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.

Great ſlaughter at the battell of Cannes.

all

all the citie with ſorrow and calamitie, yet the Senate and people of ROME kept alwaies their countenance and greatnes, euen in this extreame miſerie. Inſomuch they had not onely good hope to keepe their citie ſafe, but furthermore they leauied a new armie and made young men to beare armor, and yet left not SICILIA and SPAYNE vnprouided in the meane time: ſo that they made the world to wonder at them, to conſider theſe things how they could in ſo great calamitie and trouble haue ſo noble hartes, and ſuch wiſe counſell. But to let paſſe the former ouerthrowes, and great loſſes they ſuſtained at TICINVM, at TREBIA, & at the lake of Thraſimene: what nation or pepole could haue borne this laſt plague wherby the whole force and power of the ROMAINS was in manner vtterly deſtroied and ouerthrown? and yet the people of ROME ſo held it out, and that with ſo great wiſdome and counſell: that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Beſides to help them the more, *Anniball* being cõqueror, trifling time in taking his leiſure, and refreſhing his armie: he gaue the ROMAINS leiſure that were ouercome to take breath againe, & to reſtore themſelues. For doubtles, if *Anniball* being conqueror, had immediatly after the victorie obtained, brought his armie directly to Rome: ſurely the ROMAINS had bene vtterly vndone, or at the leaſt had bene compelled to haue put all in venture. So it is reported, that *Anniball* often times afterwardes repented himſelfe he followed not his victorie, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counſaile which wiſhed him to let his ſoldiers reſt, then *Maharbals* aduiſe, generall of his horſmẽ, who would haue had him gone ſtraight to ROME, and ſo to haue ended all this warre. But he ſeing *Annibals* delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now common in euery mans mouth: *Anniball*, thou knoweſt how to ouercome, but thou knoweſt not how to vſe victory. But what? all things are not (as *Neſtor* ſaieth in *Homer*) giuen to men altogether. For ſome had no skill to ouercome, others knew not how to follow their victory, & ſome alſo could not keepe that they had won. *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES that made war with the ROMAINS, was one of the famouſeſt captains that euer was: yet as men write of him, though he was maruellous fortunat to conquer realmes, he would neuer keepe them. Euen ſo in like manner, ſome captaines haue bene indued with excellent vertues, & yet notwithſtãding haue bin inſufficient in martiall affaires, deſeruing praiſe in a captaine: as we may read in diuerſe hiſtories. Now after this battell fought by CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALATINIANS, the SAMNITES, after thẽ alſo, the BRVTIANS, LVCANIANS, & diuers other nations & people of ITALY, caried away with the fame of this great victory: they all came & yeelded to *Anniball*. And the citie of CAPVA alſo (which *Anniball* was deſirous to haue won long before) forſaking their old frends & confederats, made new league & frendſhip with *Anniball*, the which wan him great eſtimatiõ with other nations. For at that time the city of CAPVA was verie populous & of great power, & the chiefeſt city of eſtimation of all ITALY next vnto ROME. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of CAPVA, it is certaine that it was a colony of the THVSCANS, the which was firſt called VVLTVRNVM, & after that CAPVA, by the name of their Gouernor called *Capius*: or otherwiſe, (as it is moſt likely) becauſe of the fields round about it. For on euery ſide of it, there are goodly pleaſant fields, full of all kinds of frutes growing on the earth, called in Greeke Kepi. Furthermore, all the coũtry is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the ſea there dwell the SVESSANIANS, the CVMANIANS, and the NEAPOLITANS. On firme land alſo towardes the North, are the CALENTINIANS, and the CALENIANS. On the Eaſt and South ſide, the DVNIANS and the NOLIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a ſtrong ſituation, and on the one ſide is compaſſed in with the ſea, and on the other ſide with great high mountaines. Now the CAMPANIANS floriſhed maruellouſly at that time: and therefore, ſeeing the ROMAINS in manner vtterly vndone by the battell they had loſt at CANNES, they quickly tooke part with the ſtronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore beſides that they made league with *Anniball*, they receiued him into their citie with great triũph, hoping that the warre being ended, they ſhould be the chiefeſt & welthied of all ITALIE. But marke how men are commonly deceiued in their expectation. Now, when *Anniball* came into the citie of CAPVA, there was a world of people that went to ſee him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had wonne of the enemie. So being come into the citie, they brought him vnto *Pacuuius* houſe, his verie familiar friend,

The conſtancie of the Romains in extreamitie.

The Romains loſt three great battels to Annibal at Ticinum, Trebia, & Thraſimene.

Maharball generall of Annibals horſmẽ.

Maharbals ſaying to Anniball.

Pyrrhus could not keepe the realmes he conquered.

The citie of Capua, how ſo called.

who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he made him a notable banquet, to the which no citizens were bidden, saving onely *Iubellius Taurea* a stout man, and the sonne of *Pacuuius* his hoast: who through his fathers meanes, with much a doe, was reconciled to *Annibal*, for that *Annibal* hated him as he did, because he followed *Decius Magius*, who alwaies tooke the ROMAINS part. But now let vs consider a litle I pray you, how great men sometime vnwares are subiect to great dangers and misfortunes. For this yong man dissembling his reconciliation with *Annibal*, watching time and occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feast, while they were making merrie, he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor & good will againe of the ROMAINS, the which they had lost through their great wickednesse. Then he told him how he was determined to kill *Annibal*, the enemy of his coũtry, and all ITALIE besides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authoritie, was maruellously amazed withal, to heare what his sonne said: wherfore imbracing him with the teares running downe his cheeks, he prayed him to leaue off his sword, and to let his gueſt be safe in his house. The which his sonne in the end yeelded to with great a doe. Thus *Annibal* hauing before withstoode all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of the GAVLES, and hauing brought with him also a great army from the sea, and the farthest part of SPAYNE, through so many great and mightie nations: he scaped killing verie narrowly by the hand of a young man, whilest he was at the table making merrie. The next morning *Annibal* had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promises, and told them many things, which the CAMPANIANS easily beleeued, and therefore flattered themselues, that they should be Lords of all ITALIE: howbeit they reckoned beside their hoast. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit themselues to *Annibal*: that it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their citie, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembred, nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainely by one example I will shew you amongst many. *Annibal* willed them to deliuer him *Decius Magius*, the head of the contrarie faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the presence of all the people: who, because he would not forsake the ancient league and friendshippe with the ROMAINS, had shewed himselfe a more faithfull citizen to his countrie & common wealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whilest these things passed thus in CAPVA, *Mago* (*Annibals* brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his countrimen, which they had wonne of the enemies: and with all, before the Senate to declare the noble exploytes of armes done by *Annibal*, and to proue the words true he spake, he poured out at the comming in of the Senate house, the golden rings which had bene taken from the ROMAINE Knights: of the which there were (as some doe report) aboue a bushell full, and as other some doe write, aboue three bushels full and a halfe. After that he praied a new supply for *Annibals* army: which was granted him by the Senate with greater ioy, then afterwards it was sent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perswaded themselues by the things present, that the warre would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fayer, they thereupon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide *Annibals* attempts, by leuying of souldiers. Now no mã withstood this new supply to be sent to *Annibal*, but *Hanno*, a perpetuall enemie of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS wayed not his counsell and aduise then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsell for them, as often times before he had vsed the like. So whẽ *Annibal* had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his campe before the citie of NOLA, hoping they would yeelde of themselues without compulsion. And certainly so had it come to passe, had not the sodaine comming thither of *Marcellus* the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the sedition, & repulsed the enemie that was comming into the citie, by a saly he made vpon him at three seuerall gates, chasing and killing them euen to their campe with great losse. This is that noble captaine and valiant souldier *Marcellus*, who with a noble corage made the world know that *Annibal* was not inuincible. *Annibal* perceiuing that there was no other way, but to let NOLA alone til an other time: he came to ACERRES, and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on farther

Conspiracy against Annibal at Capua.

Marcellus victory of Annibal at the citie of Nola.

further with greater power vnto CASILINVM, a fit place to offend the CAPVANS, he went about to win them that lay there in garrison: but when he saw that neither his faire promises, nor otherwise his threates could preuaile, he left part of his armie to besiege the citie, and bestowed the residue in garrisons before the winter season. Howbeit, he chose for his chiefest seate and strength the citie of CAPVA, which stoode verie pleasauntly, and had plentie of all things. There it was that *Annibals* souldiers being vsed to lye hard, and easily to away with colde, hunger and thirst, became then of valiant men, rancke cowardes: of strong menne weakelings: and of seruiceable and readie men, timerous and effeminate persons, through the daily pleasures they enioyed at will. For sweet intising pleasures, do corrupt the strength and courage of the minde, and mans disposition vnto vertue: moreouer they spoile his witte, and take all good counsell from him, all which things are daungerous for men. And therefore *Plato* rightly calleth pleasure, the bayte of all euils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS more then otherwise the highest Alpes, and all the armies of the ROMAINS did. For one onely winter passed ouer in such pleasure and wantonnes, was of such great force to extinguish the vehement courage in the souldiers: that when they were brought into the fielde at the beginning of the spring, sure you would rightlie haue sayd that they had forgotten all martiall discipline. Thus the winter being passed ouer, *Anniball* returned again to CASILINVM, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeelde vnto him, after they had abidden so long a siege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extreamity, before they would yeeld to their so cruell an enemie, although they lacked victuals. Wherfore liuing first by spelt, or beere barly, and afterwards with nuts which they had receiued of the ROMAINS by the riuer of Vulturnus: they held it out so long, that *Anniball* in the end being angrie with the continuance of the siege, he was content to take the citie vpon composition, the which he had refused before. Now this warre in the which the CARTHAGINIANS had alwaies had great victories and good fortune, and receiued any losse worthy of memorie: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great chaunge and alteration. For the league that was made with *Philip* king of MACEDON, and the newe ayde and supply that was sent frō CARTHAGE, & the taking of PETILIA, CONSTANTIA, & of other cities of the cōtry of the BRVTIANS, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other side, the great victories which the ROMAINS had won vpon the enemies of SPAIN, & SARDINIA, did greatly encourage them, & gaue them also good hope that their affaires would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent captaines, *Fabius Maximus*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Marcus Marcellus*, a man most worthy of praise for martiall discipline: who so wisely gouerned the affaires of the state, that *Anniball* found he should make warre with an enemie, no lesse politike and wise, than hardie and valiant. For, first of all, he was driuen from the citie of CVMES, with great slaughter of his men, by *Sempronius Gracchus*, and forced to raise his siege: and shortly after he was ouercome by *Marcellus*, in a battell he fought at NOLA. For there were slaine aboue a thousand ROMAINES, and *6000 CARTHAGINIANS slaine, and taken flying. Now it is easily sene what great importance that battel was of: because *Anniball* immediatly vpon it, raised his siege from NOLA, & went into APVLIA to winter his army there. By this meanes came the ROMAINS to recouer againe, as out of a great sicknes, and sent a great power against the enemy: and were not content only to keepe their owne, but they durst also inuade others. So their chiefest intent was, to besiege the citie of CAPVA, for the iniurie they had but lately receiued of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the battell, was fought at CANNES, they forsook the ROMAINS, euē in their greatest extreamity & misery, & took part with *Anniball* that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleasures their city had receiued in old time by the ROMAINS. On th other side the CAMPANIANS, knowing they had made a fault, & being afraid of this new preparatiō of the ROMAINS, they sent to *Anniball* into APVLIA, to pray him to come & aid their citie (being of the number of their confederats) in their greatest necessity. *Anniball* departed out of APVLIA without delay, & came on with great iornies into CAMPANIA, & cāped by TIFATA ouer CAPVA, wherby he rather defered til another time, thē preuented the plague hanging ouer the CAMPANIANS heads: so spoiling the country round about NAPLES, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take NOLA by treason.

Annibal's souldiers married with ease at Capua.

Pleasure the baite of all euilles.

One winters ease spoiled a souldier, and made him a coward.

The hard shift of the Cassilinians to liue during Annibals siege.

Annibals good fortune began to faile him.

Three famous Captaines of the Romaines Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, Marcus Marcellus.

The victories of the Romains against Anniball.

*Plutarch in the lyfe of Marcellus, speaketh of fiue thousand Carthaginians slaine, & onely of fiue hundred Romains.

Two factions in Naples.

For in NOLA, the people and Senate were at variance the one againſt the other, as they were likewiſe in diuerſe other cities of ITALIE. The common people deſirous of change, fauored *Anniball* and the noble men, and men of authoritie, tooke part with the people of ROME. So when *Anniball* went to take the citie of NOLA, *Marcellus* met him with his army in battel ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, euen at the firſt meeting. There the ROMAINS ouercame, and draue the enemie with ſuch manhood and readines: that if the horſemen which had taken another waye had come in in time, as *Marcellus* commaunded them: no queſtion the CARTHAGINIANS had bene vtterly ouerthrown. *Anniball* after he had retyred his armie into his campe with great ſlaughter, he ſhortly after departed thence, & went into the countrie of the SALENTINIANS. For certen young TARENTINES that had bene taken priſoners in former battels, where the ROMAINS had bene ouerthrown, and that were afterwards deliuered free without ranſome: they to ſhew themſelues thankful, had put *Anniball* in hope to deliuer him the citie of TARENTVM, ſo he would bring his army before the citie. *Anniball* intiſed by their promiſes, did what he could to obtain it, becauſe he might haue ſome citie vpon the ſea in his power, the which he had deſired of long time. And indeed, of all the cities vpon the ſea coaſt, there was none ſo meete as TARENTVM, to bring aide out of GREECE thither, & alſo to furniſh the cãpe with many things that were to be occupied daily. So thogh this thing was drawen out in length, by the garriſon of the ROMAINS that valiantly reſiſted: yet *Anniball* neuer gaue ouer his enterpriſe, vntill that *Nico* and *Philomenes* the authors of the treaſon, had deliuered him the citie into his hands. The ROMAINS kept onely the caſtle, the which is in manner enuironned with the ſea on three ſides: and on the fourth ſide, that lay vpon the firme lande, it was verie ſtrong with rampers and bulwarks. *Anniball* perceiuing that he could doe no good on that ſide, becauſe of their great ſtrength: he determined to ſhut vp the mouth of the hauē of TARENTVM, hoping that was the only way to make the ROMAINS yeld, when their victuals ſhould be cut frō them. Yet the enterpriſe ſeemed verie hard, becauſe the enemies had all the ſtraights of the hauen in their power, and the ſhips alſo that ſhould beſiege the iſſue of the hauen, were ſhut vp in a narrow litle place, and were to be drawen out of the hauen, at the foote of the caſtle, to bring them intō the next ſea. But when neuer a man of the TARENTINES could deuiſe howe to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe: *Anniball* himſelfe perceiued that theſe ſhips might be drawen out of the hauen with certen engines, and then to cart them through the citie to the ſea. So hauing ſet cunning workmen in hand with the matter, the ſhips within fewe daies after were taken out of the hauen, and caried into the ſea, and then came and ſhewed before the barre of the hauen. Thus the citie of TARENTVM, being won againe, after the ROMAINS had kept it the ſpace of a hundreth yeares: *Anniball* leauing the caſtle beſieged both by ſea and land, he returned vnto SAMNIVM. For the Conſuls of the ROMAINS had ſpoyled and ſtripped the CAMPANIANS that went out to forrage, and hauing brought their armie before CAPVA, they determined (if it might be) to win it by ſiege. Wherfore *Anniball* being very ſory for the ſiege of CAPVA, he came with all his armie againſt the enemie: and ſeeing ſhortly after that the ROMAINS did not refuſe to fight, they both marched forward, and doubtles to fight, it would haue proued a bloody battell, had not *Sempronius* army ſeuered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA, vnder the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius*, after they had loſt *Sempronius Gracchus* in the coũtry of LVKE. For they ſeing this army far off, before they could know who they were, the ROMAINS & CARTHAGINIANS both were afraid and ſo retired into their campe. Afterwards the Conſuls went into ſeuerall countries, the one into LVKE, and the other towards CVMES, to make *Anniball* remoue from CAPVA: who went into LVCANIA, and found occaſion to fight with *M. Centenius*, who very fondly and deſperatly did hazard his army left him in charge, againſt a ſubtill and dangerous enemy. The battel being begun, *M. Centenius* was ſlaine valiantly fighting, & few other eſcaped. After this alſo there hapned another loſſe. For *Anniball* returning ſhortly after into APVLIA, he met with another army of the ROMAINS, the which *Fabius* the Prætor led, who alſo intrapped that armie by ambuſhes, and ſlue the moſt of them: ſo that of twenty thouſand men 2000 ſcant ſcaped the edge of the ſword. In the meane time the Conſuls perceiuing that *Anniball* was gone, they came with all their army vnto CAPVA, & did beſiege it round. This being come to

The citie of Tarentum deliuered vnto Anniball by treaſon.

Tarentum wonne by Annibal.

Annibals

Annibals eare, he came with his armie into CAMPANIA, in very good order and well appointed: and at his firſt comming he ſet vpon the campe of the ROMAINS, hauing firſt willed the CAMPANIANS at the ſelfe ſame inſtant to make a ſalye out on them. The ROMAIN Conſuls at the firſt tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betwene them, & went againſt them. The CAMPANIANS were eaſily driuen againe into the citie: howbeit againſt *Anniball*, the battell was verie bloody. For if euer he proued himſelfe a valiant captaine or noble ſouldier, that day he ſhewed it. He attempted alſo to ſurpriſe the ROMAINS by ſome ſtratageme. For as his men were about to breake into the ROMAINS camp, he ſent one thither that had the Latine tongue excellently well, who cryed out, by the commandement of the Conſuls, that the ROMAINS ſhould ſaue themſelues in the next mountains, conſidering they had almoſt loſt all their camp & ſtrength. This cry made on the ſodaine, had eaſily moued thē that heard it, if the ROMAINS being throughly acquainted with *Annibals* ſubtilties, had not found out his deceit. Wherfore one of them incouraging another, they made the enemie retire, and compelled him in deſpite of his beard to flie into his campe. When *Anniball* had done what he could by all deuiſe and practiſe poſſible to raiſe his ſiege from CAPVA, and perceiuing all would not ſerue, being ſory for the danger of his confederates: he then determined to call a councell, the which he had paſſed ouer a long time, hauing reſerued it for the laſt refuge. For he truſſed vp his cariage, and marched away with his army, & as quietly as he could, he paſſed ouer the riuer of Vulturnus, and coaſting through the countries of the SIDICINIANS, ATIFANIANS, & CASSINIANS, he came to ROME with enſignes diſplayed, hoping thereby he ſhould make them raiſe their ſiege, being ſo earneſtly bent to winne CAPVA. This flying ſtraight to ROME by currers, they were ſo afraid there, as ROME was neuer in like feare it ſtood in then. For they ſaw their mortall enemie come to them with enſignes diſplayed, whom they had ſo often proued, almoſt to the vtter deſtruction of their Empire: and now they ſaw him preſent, whom they could not reſiſt being abſent, threatning to bring the Senate and people of ROME into ſubiection. So all ROME being in feare and tumult, it was ordained that *Fuluius Flaccus* (one of the Conſuls lying before CAPVA) ſhould be ſent for home. And that the new Conſuls *Sulpitius Galba*, and *Cornelius Centimalus*, ſhould lye in campe out of the citie: and that *C. Calphurnius* Prætor, ſhould put a ſtrong garriſon into the Capitoll, and alſo that the Citizens that had borne any office or dignitie, ſhould be appointed by their countenance and authoritie, to pacifie the ſodaine tumults that might happen in the city. So *Annibal* marched forward without ſtaying, till he came to the riuer of Aniens, and there camped within 24 furlong of ROME: and ſhortly after that, he came with two thouſand horſe ſo neare vnto ROME, that riding from the gate Collina, vnto *Hercules* temple, he had leiſure to view at his pleaſure, the ſituation and walles of ſo great a citie. *Fuluius Flaccus* ſeeing that, could not abide it, but ſtraight ſent out certen men at armes of the ROMAINES againſt him: who comming with great furie to giue charge vpon him as they were commaunded, they eaſily ſent him packing. The next morning *Anniball* brought his armie out of the campe, and did ſet them in battell ray, determining to fight preſently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The ROMAINS on the other ſide did the like. So, both armies marched one againſt the other with ſuch life and courage, that to ſee them, they appeared men that feared no daunger, ſo they might obtaine the victorie that day. For on the one ſide, the CARTHAGINIANS were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended vpon this battell, as being the laſt they ſhould fight. The ROMAINS in contrary maner, they were to fight for their country, libertie, and their goods to ſee whether they could keepe them, or that they ſhould come to their enemies handes. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memorie. For as they were ready ſet in battell ray, tarying but for the ſignall of battell to giue charge: there fell ſuch a wonderfull great ſhower and ſtorme vpon them, that both of them were driuen in ſpight of their teethes, to bring backe their armie into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, vnto the which it ſeemed the battell had bene deferred: when they had againe both of thē ſet their men in battell raye, there fell the like ſtorme vpon them, which did as much hurt the ROMAINS and CARTHAGINIANS, as the firſt: ſo that it forced them onely to looke to ſaue themſelues, and not to thinke otherwiſe to fight. *Anniball* perceiuing this, he turned to his frends and tolde them, that

Annibals ſtratageme.

Vulturnus fl.

Sulpitius Galba, Cornelius Centimalus Conſuls.

Aniens fl.

Anniball commeth to inuade home.

A wonder.

the first time he thought not to winne ROME, and that at the second time the occasion was taken from him. So there was a thing that greatly troubled *Anniball*, and that was this. That though he came so neere to ROME, with an armie of horsemen and footemen: yet he heard that the ROMAINS had sent aide into SPAINE, and that they had redeemed the cõuntry where he had bene, at a farre greater prise than reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused all the goldsmithes and bankers shoppes of the ROMAINS citizens to be solde by the Cryer. But afterwardes casting with himselfe what a hard enterprise it was to take the citie of ROME, or else being afrayed to lacke victuals: (for he had stored himselfe onely but for tenne dayes) he raysed his campe, and remouing thence came vnto the holy wood of the goddesse *Feronia*, and rifled the rich temple there, and afterwardes went thence into the countrie of the BRVTIANS and LVCANIANS. The CAPVANS hauing intelligence therof being left out of all hope: they yeelded vp their citie vnto the ROMAINS. The citie of CAPVA being thus yeelded vp, and brought againe to the subiection of the ROMAINS, it was of great importance to all the people of ITALY, and withall brought a great desire of change. *Anniball* himselfe also following euill counsell, did spoile and destroy many cities he could not keepe: wherby he did sturre vp the harts of diuerse nations against him. For where before when he was conqueror, he had often let prisoners goe without ransom paying, through which liberality he had won the harts of many men: euen so at that present time, his barbarous crueltie made diuerse cities (misliking to be subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS) to rebell against him, and to take parte with the ROMAINS. Amongst them was SALAPIA, the which was yeelded vp vnto the Consul *Marcellus*, by *Blacius* meanes chiefe of all the ROMAINE faction: and a band also of choice horsemen which was left there in garrison, were in manner slaine euerie man of them. This is the citie where *Anniball* fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reproue his immoderate lust & lasciuiousnes. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continencie of this Captaine, say that he did neuer eate lying, and neuer dranke aboue a pynte of wine, neither when he came to make warre in ITATY, nor after that he returned into AFRICK. Some there be also that say, *Anniball* was cruell and vnconstant, and subiect to diuerse such other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chastitie or incontinencie. But they report that his wife was a SPANIARD, borne in CASTVLO, a good towne: and that the CARTHAGINIANS granted her many things, and trusted her very much, because of the great faith and constancy of that nation. Now *Anniball* after he had lost (as we haue told you) the citie of SALAPIA: he found the meanes to crie quittance, and to make the ROMAINS lose more then he had lost. For at the selfe same time *Fuluius* Viceconsul, laye besieging of HERDONEA, hoping to winne the citie without resistance. And because he stood in no feare of any enemy roũd about him, (for *Anniball* was gone into the cõuntry of the BRVTIANS) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affaires, contrary to the nature of the ROMAINE Captains. *Anniball* being aduertised thereof by spyals, would not lose such a goodly opportunitie: and therefore comming into APVLIA with his army ready, he came so hastely vnto HERDONEA, that he had almost stolen vpon *Fuluius*, vnprouided in his campe. Howbeit the ROMAINES valiantly receiued the first charge with such corage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithstanding in the end, as the ROMAINS two yeare before that had bene ouercome not farre from thence, with their Consul *Fuluius*: euen so likewise vnder the conduct of this *Fuluius* Viceconsul, the ROMAINE legions were vtterly ouerthrowen, and their Captaine slaine, with the most parte of his armie. The Consull *Marcellus* was at that time in the citie of SAMNIVM, who being aduertised of this great ouerthrow, desired to be euen with him: and though it seemed he came too late to helpe things past remedie, yet he brought his armie into the countrie of the LVCANIANS, whither he vnderstood *Anniball* was gone after his victorie, and came and camped directly ouer against his enemie, and soone after came to battell. The which the CARTHAGINIANS refused not, but gaue such a fierce onset on either side, that they fought it out till Sunne set, and no man knewe who had the better, and so the night parted them. The next morning the ROMAINS shewing againe in field in battell raye, made it knowen that the enemies were afraid of them. For *Anniball* kept his men within the campe, and the next night following stole away without any noise, and went

Salapia a citie where Annibal fell in loue.

The death of Fuluius viceconsul.

went into APVLIA. *Marcellus* alſo followed him foote by foote,& ſought to put all to hazard by ſome notable battell: for he bare himſelfe thus in hand, that of all the ROMAINE Captaines there was none machable with *Annibal* but himſelfe,either in counſell,wit,or policie: or elſe in martiall diſcipline, or warlike ſtratagemes. Howbeit the winter folowing kept him, that he could not fight any ſet battell with the enemie: for after he had made a few light skirmiſhes,becauſe he would not trouble his ſouldiers any more in vaine, he beſtowed them in garriſon for the winter time. At the beginning of the next ſpring, procured partly by *Fabius* letters(who was one of the new Conſuls for that yeare,) and partly alſo through his owne diſpoſition: he brought out his garriſons ſooner then they were looked for, and came with his army againſt *Annibal*,who lay at that time at CANVSIVM. Now it chanced, that through the neareneſſe of both their campes,and the good deſire they both had to fight: in few dayes they fought three ſeuerall times. The firſt battell,when they had fought it out till night, in manner with like hope of both ſides, and that it could not be iudged which of them had the better: they both of purpoſe retired into their campe againe. The ſecond day *Annibal* was conquerer, after he had ſlaine almoſt two thouſand ſeuen hundred enemies, and put the reſidue of the army to flight. The third day,the ROMAINES to recouer the ſhame & diſhonor they had loſt the day before:they were the firſt that prayed they might fight,and ſo *Marcellus* led them out to battell. *Annibal* wondring at their valiantneſſe,ſayd vnto his people:that he delt with an enemie that could neither be quiet Conquerer,nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: becauſe the ROMAINES did their beſt to be reuenged of their loſſe, and the CARTHAGINIANS on the other ſide were mad in their mindes, to ſee that the vanquiſhed durſt prouoke the vanquiſhers vnto battell. In the end, the ROMAINES being ſharply reproued, and alſo perſwaded by *Marcellus* to ſticke to it valiantly like men, that the newes of their victorie might come to ROME, before the newes of their ouerthrow: they flue in among the preſſe of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thriſe broken their enemies, they made them all flie. At the ſelfe ſame time *Fabius maximus* tooke the citie of TERENTVM againe,almoſt after the ſelf ſame ſort it was loſt. This being reported vnto *Annibal*,he ſaid:the ROMAINES haue alſo their *Annibal*. The next yeare following,*Marcellus* and *Criſpinus* were choſen Conſuls, who preparing to put themſelues in readines for warre,they led both the armies againſt the enemy. *Annibal* diſpayring that he was not able to reſiſt them in battell,he ſought all the wits he had to deuiſe ſome way to intrappe them by ſutteltie,whom he could not ouercome by battell. So *Annibals* head being occupied thus, there was offred him a better occaſion to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe,then he looked for. Betweene both campes,there was a prety groue, in the which *Annibal* layed certain bands of the NVMIDIANS in ambuſh, to intrappe the enemies paſsing to and fro. On the other ſide, the Conſuls by conſent of them all, thought it beſt to ſend to view this groue, and to keepe it if neede required: leaſt in leauing it behind them, the enemies ſhould come, and ſo be vpon their iackes afterwards. Now before they remoued their army, both the Conſuls went out of their campe,with a ſmall company of horſemen with them,to view the ſituation of this place: and ſo going on very vndiſcreetely,and worſe appointed then became men of their authoritie and place,they vnfortunatly fell into *Annibals* ambuſh. So,when they ſaw themſelues in a moment compaſſed about on euery ſide with enemies, that they could not go forward, and were alſo fought withall behind: they defended themſelues the beſt they could, rather by compulſion, then of any determination they had to fight. So *Marcellus* was ſlaine fighting valiantly: and *Criſpinus* the other Conſul alſo very ſore hurt,who hardly ſcaped the enemies hands. *Annibal* being aduertiſed that *Marcellus* was ſlaine,who was the chiefeſt mā of all the ROMAINE Captaines, that had moſt hindered the happy ſucceſſe of his victories, and had beſides troubled him moſt: he preſently went and camped there where the battell was fought, and when he had found *Marcellus* body,he gaue it honorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may ſee how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are eſteemed of all men: conſidering that the cruell and moſt mortall enemy, gaue honourable buriall to ſo noble and excellent a Captaine. The ROMAINES in the meane time ſeeing one of their Conſuls dead, and the other Conſull very ſore hurt: they drew ſtraight to the next mountaines,and camped in a ſtrong place. Howbeit *Cri-*

Diuers conflicts of the Romaines with Annibal.

Annibals words of Marcellus.

Marcellus, & Criſpinus Conſuls.

Annibal layeth ambuſh for the Romaines.

The death of Marcellus.

The power of magnanimitie.

Spinus had sent to the next townes of the mountaines, to aduertise them that *Marcellus* his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ring he sealed his letters withall: wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in *Marcellus* name. *Crispinus* Messenger came but newly vnto SALAPIA, when letters were brought also from *Annibal* in the behalfe of *Marcellus*, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they sent his Messenger away, & carefully looked for *Annibals* comming. About the fourth watch of the night, *Annibal* came to the citie of SALAPIA, who of purpose had put all the ROMAINS that had fled, in the vauntgard, because that they speaking the Latin tongue, might make them beleeue that *Marcellus* was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffred six hundred of them to come in, they shut to the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the army, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the citie. Thus *Annibal* being in a maruellous rage he had missed of his purpose: he remoued thence, & went into the countrey of the BRVTIANS, to ayde the LOCRIANS that were besieged by the ROMAINES, both by sea and by land. After all these things, at the earnest request of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant souldiers, *Marcus Liuius*, & *Claudius Nero*: who hauing deuided the army betwixt them, went vnto their seuerall charge & prouinces. *Claudius Nero* went into the country of the SALENTINIANS, and *M. Liuius* into GAVLE, against *Hasdrubal* BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alpes, & made hast to ioyne with his brother *Annibal*, bringing with him a great army both of footemen and horsemen. Now it chaunced at the same time, that *Annibal* had receiued great losse by *Claudius* the Consul. For first of all, he ouercame him in the countrey of the LVCANIANS, vsing the like policies & fetches that *Annibal* did. Afterwards againe, meeting with *Annibal* in APVLIA, by the citie of VENVSIA: he fought such a lusty battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the field. By reason of these great losses, *Annibal* sodainly went to METAPONT, to renew his army againe. So hauing remained there a few dayes, he receiued the army from *Hanno* the which he ioyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. *C. Nero* lay not farre from VENVSIA with his campe: who hauing intercepted letters of his enemies, he vnderstood by them that *Hasdrubal* was at hand with his army. Thereupon, he bethought himselfe night and day, what policie he might vse to preuent the ioyning of two so great armies together as these. So after he had taken aduise of himselfe, he followed in sight a daungerous determination: but peraduenture necessary, as the time required. For, leauing the campe vnto the charge of his Lieutenaunt, he tooke part of the army with him, and making great iourneyes, came to PICENVM (being the marches of ANCONA) so that on the sixt day he came to SENA. There both the Consuls ioyned their forces together, and setting vpon *Hasdrubal* by the riuer of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were six and fiftie thousand of the enemies slayne on that day: so that they almost had as great an ouerthrow, as the ROMAINES had receiued before at the battell of CANNES. Now *Claudius Nero*, after this famous victorie, returning as speedily vnto VENVSIA as he went thence, he set vp *Hasdrubals* head, where the enemies kept their watch: and did let certaine prisoners go, to cary newes to *Annibal* of this great ouerthrow. For afterwardes it was knowen, that *Annibal* knew nothing yet of *Claudius* secret enterprise, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had made. Whereat sure I can but wonder, that so suttle a Captaine as *Annibal*, could be deceiued by *Claudius*, considering both their campes lay so neare together: so that he first heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and all his army, before he vnderstood any thing of the Consuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now *Annibal* hauing not onely receiued a generall, but also a particular great losse by the death of his brother: he sayd then he plainly saw the chaunge and alteration of the CARTHAGINIANS good fortune, and shortly after remoued his campe, and went thence into the country of the BRVTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow giuē by the riuer of Metaurum, was a maruellous incouragemēt to the ROMAINES, & would also be a great logge in his way, for the succesſe of all this warre. This notwithstanding, he gathered together all his power he had left in ITALIE, after so many great battels and conflicts, and so many cities taken: and mainteyned the warre with an inuincible courage. But the most straungest thing in *Annibal*

Marcus Liuius, and C. Nero: Consuls.

Sena, a citie of Apulia.

Metaurum fl. M. Liuius, & C. Nero Consuls ouercame Hasdrubal, & slue 56000. of his men.

The change & alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune.

was

was this: that through his authoritie or wisedome, he kept all his army in peace and amitie together, (being a medley of SPANIARDS, AFRICANS, GAVLES, and of diuers other nations) and neuer man heard that there was any brawle or tumult among them. Howbeit the ROMAINES themselues, after they had wonne SICILIA, SARDINIA, and SPAYNE againe, they could neuer vtterly ouercome him, nor driue him out of ITALIE, before they had sent *P. Cornelius Scipio* into AFRICK: who making warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, he brought them to such great extremitie, that they were driuē to send for *Anniball* home out of ITALIE. *Anniball* at that time, (as I haue sayd before) was in the country of the BRVTIANS, making war by inrodes and sodaine inuasions, rather then by any fought battell: sauing that once there was a battell fought in hast betwixt him and the Consull *Sempronius*, and immediatly after he came and set vpon the same *Sempronius* with all his army. At the first battell, *Anniball* had the victorie: but at the second, *Sempronius* ouercame him. Since that time, I can finde in no Greeke nor Latin Author, that *Annibal* did any famous acte in ITALIE worthy memorie. For being sent for into AFRICK by the CARTHAGINIANS, he left ITALY, sixteen yeares after this AFRICK warre was begun, greatly complayning of the Senate of CARTHAGE, and of himselfe also. Of the Senate, because that all the time he had bene in his enemies country so long, they had allowed him so litle money: and so scanted him besides with all other things necessary for the warres: And of himselfe, because that after he had so often ouercome the ROMAINES, he had alwayes delayed time after the victorie, and had giuen the enemy libertie to gather force againe. It is reported also, that before he imbarked and tooke sea, he set vp a triumphing arche or piller, by the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, in the which were briefly grauen his noble victories, both in the Punick and Greeke tongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind serued him well, that in few dayes he arriued at LEPTIS, and landing all his army, he first came to ADRVMENTVM, & afterwards vnto ZAMA. There receiuing aduertisement how the affaires of the CARTHAGINIANS prospered: he thought it best to deuise some way to end this warre. For this cause he sent vnto *Scipio*, to pray him to appoint him some conuenient place where they might both meete, and talke together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly knowen, whether *Anniball* did this of his owne head, or by commaundement from the Senate. *Scipio* refused not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous generals of mighty nations, in a great plaine together, either of them hauing his Interpreter, to talke together of diuers matters touching peace and warre. For, *Anniball* was altogether bent to peace: because he saw the affaires of the CARTHAGINIANS waxe worse & worse euery day: that they had lost SICILIA, SARDINIA, and SPAYNE: because the warre was brought out of ITALIE into AFRICK: because *Syphax* (a mighty king) was take prisoner of the ROMAINES: and also because that their last hope consisted in the army he had brought into AFRICKE: which was the onely remaine and relieue of so long a warre as he had made in ITALIE: and also because that the CARTHAGINIANS had so small a power left (both of straungers, and also of Citizens) that there were scarse men enough to defende the citie of CARTHAGE. So he did his best to perswade *Scipio*, with a long oration he made, rather to agree to peace, then to resolue of warre. Howbeit *Scipio* that liued in hope to bring this warre to a good end, he would not seeme to giue eare to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either side, in the end they brake off, and made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battell strike by the citie of ZAMA, in the which the ROMAINES obtained victorie. For first of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne vpon their owne army, so that they did put all *Annibals* horsemen out of order. And *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, who made both the winges, increasing their feare, gaue the horsemen no leysure to gather themselues in order againe. Howbeit the footemen fought it out a long time, and with a marueilous great courage: in so much that the CARTHAGINIANS (trusting in their former victories) thought that all the safetie and preseruation of AFRICKE, was all in their handes, and therefore they layed about them like mē. The ROMAINES on the other side had as great harts as they, and besides, they stood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeede did the ROMAINES great seruice to helpe them to the victorie: and that was, *Lælius* and *Masinissaes* returne from the chase of the horsemen, who rushed in to the battell of the enemie with great

The prayse of Annibals great wisedom in the gouernment of his armie.

P.C. Scipio inuaded Carthage.

The last battell Anniball fought in Italie was with Sempronius, in the which he ouercame Annibal.

Anniball sent for to returne into Africke, after he had warred 16. yeares in Italie.

Annibals arche of triumphe.

Anniball departeth out of Italie.

Anniball and Scipios meeting, & talke.

Scipios victorie of the Carthaginians at the battell of Zama.

furie, and did put them in a maruellous feare. For at their comming, the CARTHAGINIANS harts were done, and they saw no other remedy for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slaine that day, aboue twenty thousand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more prisoners. *Anniball* their generall, after he had taried to see the end of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwardes when he was sent for to CARTHAGE, to helpe to saue his country: he perswaded the Senate not to hope any more in warres, but did counsell them, that setting all deuises a part, they should send vnto *Scipio* the ROMAINE Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condition. When the ten Ambassadours had brought the capitulation and agreement vnto CARTHAGE of the articles of peace: it is reported that there was one *Gisgo*, who misliking to heare talke of peace, he made an oration, and perswaded all he could to renew war against the ROMAINES. Wherefore *Anniball* perceiuing that diuers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to see such beastes, and men of no vnderstanding, to dare to speake of such matters, in so daungerous a time: he cast him downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his oration. So when he saw that the Citizens, and all the whole assembly, thought this too presumptuous a part of him, & vnmeete altogether for a free citie: he himselfe got vp into the pulpit for orations, and sayd. Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of CARTHAGE, and brought vp all his life time in warres, be ignoraunt of the lawes and ordinaunces of the citie. After that, he spake so wisely to the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediatly moued by the authoritie of so great a person: they all agreed to accept the conditions which the vanquisher, & the necessitie of time offred them. The articles out of doubt were very extreme, and such as the vanquished are wont to receiue with all extremitie by the conquerours. But besides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were boũd to pay the ROMAINES an annuall tribute, vntill a certaine time were runne out. So when the day came that the first pension was to be payd to the ROMAINES, & that euery man grudged when the subsidie was spoken of: some say that *Anniball* being offended with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGINIANS, he fell a laughing. And when *Hasdruball Hædus* reproued him because he laughed in such a common calamitie of all the citie, he aunswered, that it was no laughter nor reioycing from the hart, but a scorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was lesse cause (and onely because it touched euery priuate mans purse) then before, when the ROMAINES tooke from the CARTHAGINIANS their shippes, armour, and weapons, and their spoyles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gaue lawes and ordinaunces vnto thẽ that were vanquished. I know some Authors write, that *Anniball* immediatly after he had lost the battell, fled into ASIA, for that he was affrayed they would deliuer him into *Scipioes* handes, that perhaps might demaund him of them. But whether that was done sodainly, or some time after the battell was lost at ZAMA, it makes no great matter: considering that all the world knoweth, that when he saw things brought to extremitie, he presently fled into ASIA vnto king *Antiochus*. So is it most true, that king *Antiochus* receiued him with great curtesie, and vsed him very honourably: in somuch as he made him of counsell with him all in all, both in priuate and publike causes. For the name of *Anniball* caried great reputation with all men: besides that, he had a common & mortal hate to the ROMAINES, which was a pricking spurre still to moue warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy houre into that country, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set warres at libertie against the ROMAINES. So he told him, that the onely way to make warre with the ROMAINES, was to go into ITALIE to leauy ITALIAN souldiers, by whom onely, that victorious country of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred ships, sixteen thousand footemen, and a thousand horsemen onely. With this small army he promised to inuade ITALIE, and that he would maruellously trouble the ITALIANS, whom he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very sound of his name onely: because of the late warres he had made there, so fresh yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke hart againe vnto him to renew the warres of AFRICKE, if the king would licence him to send men vnto CARTHAGE, to stirre vp the BARCINIAN faction, whom he knew hated the ROMAINES to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his request, he called *Ariston*

The flying of Anniball.

Anniball could not abide to heare fooles talke of warre.

Anniball in his miserie, fled vnto king Antiochus into Asia.

TYRIAN

TYRIAN vnto him, a fine ſuttle fellow, and meete for ſuch a purpoſe: to whom he made large promiſes, and perſwaded him to go to CARTHAGE to his friends, and to cary them letters from him. Thus *Annibáll* being a baniſhed man, & fled out of his country, raiſed warre in all parts againſt the ROMAINES. And ſurely his counſell had taken good effect, had king *Antiochus* rather followed his aduiſe, as he did at the firſt, then the vaine perſwaſions of his fine Courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred *Annibáll* great enemies. For they being affrayed that by his counſels he ſhould grow in great fauour with the king, (for he was a wiſe and politike Captaine) and that thereby he ſhould beare great ſway and authoritie: to preuent it, they lacked no deuiſe to bring him in diſgrace with the king And it ſo chaunced at that time, that P. *Villius*, who came Ambaſſadour vnto EPHESVS, had often conference with *Annibáll*. Hereupon his priuie enemies tooke occaſion to accuſe him, and withall, the king himſelfe became ſo ielous of it, that from thence forth he neuer more called him to councell. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, as ſome do report, P. *Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN (who was one of the Ambaſſadours ſent vnto king *Antiochus*) talking familiarly with *Annibáll*, prayed him amongeſt other things to tell him truely, whom he thought the worthieſt Captaine of all others. *Annibáll* aunſwered him: Firſt he thought *Alexander*, king of MACEDON the chiefeſt: next vnto him, P*yrrhus* king of the EPIROTES: and thirdly, himſelfe. Then *Scipio* AFRICAN ſmiling, asked him: what wouldeſt thou ſay, *Annibáll*, if thou haddeſt ouercome me? Truely ſayd he, then I would be chiefeſt my ſelfe. This anſwer pleaſed *Scipio* maruellous well, becauſe he ſaw he was neither deſpiſed, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peereleſſe, by ſome ſecret flattery of *Annibáll*. After theſe things, *Annibáll* found occaſion to talke with king *Antiochus*, and began to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, and bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the ROMAINES: whereby he ſo ſatisfied the king, that he was againe receiued into his grace and fauour, which he had almoſt vtterly loſt. Thereupon the king was determined to haue made him Admirall of his army by ſea, the which he had put in readineſſe for ITALIE, and alſo to make proofe of his great courage and ſeruice, whom he knew to be a worthy man, and a mortall enemy to the ROMAINES. But one *Thoas*, Prince of the ÆTOLIANS, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or elſe for that his fancie was ſuch: he altered the kings minde, and cleane changed his purpoſe, the which was a matter of great importance for the warre he pretended to make. For he gaue counſell vnto *Antiochus*, that he ſhould go himſelfe into GRECE, and direct his owne affaires: and that he ſhould not ſuffer an other to cary away the honor & glory of this warre. So king *Antiochus* ſhortly after wēt into GRECE, to make warre with the ROMAINES. Within few dayes after, when he conſulted whether he ſhould make league with the THESSALIANS, *Annibals* opinion was ſpecially asked: who ſpake ſo wiſely touching the ſtate of the THESSALIANS, and the chiefeſt matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, & gaue their conſents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they ſhould not need much to care for the THESSALIANS, but rather to make all the meanes they could, to get king *Philip* of MACEDON to take their part: or elſe to perſwade him to be a Newter, & to take neither part. Furthermore, he gaue counſell to make war with the ROMAINES in their owne country, & offred himſelfe to ayde him the beſt he could. Euery man gaue good care to his words, but his opinion was rather cōmended, then followed. Wherefore euery man maruelled, that ſuch a Captaine as he, that had ſo many yeares made warre with the ROMAINES (who had in manner cōquered all the world) ſhould then be ſo light ſet by of the king, when it ſpecially ſtood him vpō, to haue ſuch a mās helpe & coūſell. For, what captaine liuing could a mā haue foūd more skilfull or politike, or meeter to make war with the ROMAINES, thē him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the firſt beginning of this war: but ſhortly after, diſdaining all their coūſel, he cōfeſſed that *Annibáll* only ſaw what was to be done. For after the ROMAINES had obtained victory in the war he made in GRECE: *Antiochus* fled out of EVROPE into EPHESVS, where making mery, & there following pleaſure, he hoped to liue in peace, little thinking the ROMAINS would come with any army into ASIA. Now, theſe flattering courtiers ſtill fed his humour: a perpetuall plague to Kings & Princes, that ſuffer thēſelues to be flattered, & are contented to be deceiued, becauſe they giue good eare to that that pleaſeth

Enuy, the common plague & poyſon of Princes Courts.

Scipio African met with Annibáll at Epheſus.

Annibals iudgement of the moſt famous Captaines.

Annibáll counſelleth king Antiochus to make warre with the Romaines.

King Antiochus iudgement of Annibáll.

them. But *Anniball*, who knew the power & ambition of the ROMAINES, perſwaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, & bad him truſt to it, that the ROMAINES would neuer ſtay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in AFRICKE, and EVROPE. *Antiochus* perſwaded by the authority of ſuch a man, ſtraight commaunded *Polyxenidas*, a very ſeruiceable man, and skilfull in ſea ſeruice, that he ſhould go meete with the army of the ROMAINES that was comming thither. Then he ſent *Anniball* into SYRIA, to leauy a great number of ſhippes together, and afterwards made him, and *Apollonius*, (one of his fauoured Courtiers) generals of his army by ſea: who notwithſtanding that *Polyxenidas* was put to the worſt by the ROMAINES, they went & ſet vpō the RHODIANS, that were confederates with them. *Anniball* in this battell aſſayling *Eudamus* the Captaine of the RHODIANS, that led the left wing: he had already compaſſed in the Admirall galley, and doubtleſſe had obtained the victorie, but that the other wing came in to reſcue, after they had followed *Apollonius* in chaſe, and tooke the victorie from him, that was his owne. After this battell by ſea, which had no great good ſucceſſe: we do not finde that *Anniball* did any thing worthy memorie. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome, beſides other conditions, the ROMAINES offred him: they deſired that *Anniball* (the mortall enemy of their country) ſhould be deliuered vnto them. *Anniball* foreſeeing this long before, he ſodainly ſtale from *Antiochus*, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrowen. So, after *Anniball* had wādred vp & downe a long time, he fled at length vnto *Pruſias*, king of BITHYNIA, for ſuccour. Now he did not ſo much truſt to his friendſhip, but becauſe he ſought for the meeteſt place he could come by, as alſo for the ſafeſt, the which he moſt deſired: conſidering that the ROMAINES had the moſt part of the ſea and land in their ſubiection. Some ſay, that after king *Antiochus* was ouercome, *Anniball* wēt into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS: & that the rumour ran immediatly, he had brought a great maſſe of gold and ſiluer with him. Wherfore being affrayd leaſt the CRETANS ſhould offer him ſome violence, he deuiſed this ſhift to ſcape the daunger, he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and ſent them into the temple of *Diana*, ſayning that he was maruellous carefull for them, as though all his treaſure had bene there. On the other ſide he had hid all his gold in images of braſſe, the which he had left careſly lying on the ground in the houſe. In the meane time, whileſt they watched the temple carefully, that theſe earthen pots ſhould not be caried away without their priuitie: *Anniball* hoyſed ſayle, and fled into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the ſea ſide, which the country men call LIBYSSA, of the which by ſome mens ſaying, there ranne an old oracle and prophecie in this ſort.

Anniball made generall of Antiochus army by ſea, together with Apollonius.

Anniball fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia.

The land of Libyſſa ſhall couer vnder mowld
The valiant corps of Anniball, when he is dead and cold.

There *Anniball* lay, not ſpēding his time idlely, but paſsing it away in exerciſing of the mariners, riding of horſes, and trayning of his ſouldiers. Some Authors alſo do write, that at that time *Pruſias* made warre with *Eumenes*, king of PERGAMVM, who was a cōfederate & friend of the ROMAINES: & that he made *Anniball* his Lieutenant generall of his army by ſea: who aſſayling *Eumenes* with a new found and vnknowen deuiſe, wan the victory of the battell by ſea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that *Anniball* had gotten an infinite number of ſnakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begun, & they buſily tending their fight: he threw thoſe pots with ſnakes into the enemies ſhips, and that by this fearefull and ſtraunge deuiſe he made them flie. Now whether this was true or not, the old chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely *AEmylius* and *Trogus*. And therefore I report me to the Authours. So, the newes of the diſſention betwixt theſe two kings, *Pruſias*, and *Eumenes* being brought to ROME: the Senate ſent *T. Q. Flaminius* Ambaſſadour into ASIA, whoſe name was famous for the noble victories he had obtained in GRECE, to the end (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt theſe two kings. *Flaminius* being come vnto king *Pruſias*, he was maruellouſly offended, and ſory in his minde to ſee *Anniball* yet aliue, (that was the mortalleſt enemy of the ROMAINES) after the cōqueſts of ſo many nations, & the ſacking of ſo many people: therfore, he was very earneſtly in hand with king *Pruſias*, to deliuer him *Anniball*. *Anniball* frō the firſt beginning miſtruſted king *Pruſias* incōſtancie very much, & therfore had digged diuers vaults

Anniball, king Pruſias generall by ſea, againſt Eumenes, king of Pergamum.

A ſtrange deuiſe of ſnakes put in earthen pots, & throwē into the enemies ſhips.

Titus Quintius Flaminius ſent Ambaſſadour into Aſia.

in

in his house, and made seuen seuerall vents to flie out at, if he were sodainly taken. The report of *Flaminius* cõming did encrease his suspition the more, for that he thought him the greatest enemy he had in ROME: both generally for the hate he bare vnto all the ROMAINES, as also particularly for the remembraunce of his father *Flaminius*, that was slaine in the battell fought by the lake of Thrasymene. So *Anniball* being full of care and griefe (as it is reported) he founde deuises to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the kings gard which were sent to take him, had compassed his house about: *Anniball* thought to flie at their first comming, and to saue himself by the secretest vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the gard, then he determined to rid himself out of the ROMAINES handes, by destroying himselfe. So, some do report, that he was strangled by one of his men, whom he had commaunded to helpe to dispatch him. Others write again, that he had druncke buls bloud, and when he had druncke it, dyed, as *Clitarchus*, and *Stratocles* do falsly report of *Themistocles*. Howbeit *Titus Liuius*, that famous Historiographer writeth, that *Anniball* called for the poyson he had ready for such a mischiefe, & that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he sayd: Come on, let vs rid the ROMAINES of this payne and care, sith their spight and malice is so great, to hasten the death of a poore old man that is halfe dead already. The auncient ROMAINES aduertised *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES, who came with ensignes displayed to the very wals of the citie of ROME, that he should looke to himselfe, and beware of poysoning: and these ROMAINES now do make a friend forgetting his kingly state & faithfull promise, vilely to betray his poore guest. After he had sayd, bitterly cursing king *Prusias*, he poysoned himselfe, being three score and ten yeare old, as some writers do testifie. His body was buried in a tombe of stone by LIBYSSA, on the which was ingrauen no more but this: *Here lyeth Anniball.* The ROMAINES being aduertised of his death, euery man sayd his opinion, as his fancie serued him. Some greatly blamed *T. Q. Flaminius* crueltie, who to make himselfe famous by some notable acte (as he thought) made a poore old man put himselfe to death, that was in manner halfe dead by age, and besides, was past doing the state of ROME any more hurt, they being Conquerours in manner of all the world. But some againe on the other side, commended *Flaminius* for it, & sayd it was a good deede of him, to rid the ROMAINES of their mortall enemy: who though he had a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wise counsell, and great experience in warres, to intise king *Prusias* to make warre, & to molest all ASIA besides with new warres. For at that time, the power of the king of BITHYNIA was so great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, *Mithridates* king of the same BITHYNIA, did maruellously molest the ROMAINES both by sea & by land, & moreouer fought battels with *L. Lucullus*, and *Cn. Pompey*, famous Captaines of the ROMAINES. And so the ROMAINES might also be affrayd of *Prusias*, & specially hauing *Anniball* his Captaine. So some iudge, that *Q. Flaminius* was specially sent Ambassadour vnto king *Prusias*, secretly to practise *Annibals* death. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that *Q. Flaminius* was not so desirous to haue *Anniball* so sodainly put to death, as he would haue bene glad otherwise to haue brought him againe to ROME, that had done such mischiefe to his country: & this had bene a great benefit for ROME, and much honour also vnto himselfe. Such was the death of *Anniball* the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous man doubtlesse, and highly to be commended for martiall prayse, setting his other vertues aside. So we may easily iudge, of what power and force his noble minde, his great wisedome and courage, and his perfit skill of martiall discipline was in all things. For in all the warre the CARTHAGINIANS had so vehemently, & with such great preparation enterprised: they neuer thought themselues ouercome, till *Anniball* was ouerthrowen at that great battell by ZAMA. So it appeareth, that all their strength and skill of warres began, and also ended, with *Anniball* their Captaine.

Anniball poysoned himselfe, being seuentie yeare old.

Annibals tombe by Libyssa.

The prayse of Anniball.

THE LIFE OF
Scipio African.

The parentage of Scipio.

Pvblius Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the familie of the *Cornelij*, who was the first ROMAINE Captaine against whō *Annibal* fought in ITALIE: was the father of *Cornelius Scipio* afterwardes surnamed AFRICAN, the first so called, becausse he had cōquered that natiō. The same *Scipio*, after he had obtained many great victories in SPAYNE, and done notable feates of armes: was in the end slaine with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying & incouraging of his men frō place to place, thronging in the greatest daunger & fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother *Cn. Scipio* also end his life, much after one selfe maner, and was slaine valiantly fighting. So these two Captaines, besides the fame they atchieued by their noble deedes, left behind them great praise of their faithfulnesse, modestie, and courage: the which made them not onely wished for of their souldiers that were then liuing, but also of all the SPANYARDES besides. *Cn. Scipio* had a sonne called *P. Cornelius Nasica*, one that had bene Consull and had also triumphed: who being but a young man, was thought the meetest man of all the citie of ROME to receiue *Idea*, the mother of the goddes. This *Publius* had two sonnes, the so famous *Scipioes*: of the which the one was called ASIAN, becausse he cōquered ASIA: and the other AFRICAN, becausse he subdued AFRICK at that famous battell of ZAMA, where he ouerthrew *Annibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS, as we said before. Whose life we purpose now to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (so famous by all the Greeke and Latin Authours) the greater by our history: as for that we would make all mē know the order of his noble deeds, & morall vertues, to the end that all Princes and noble Captaines in reading it, should behold the liuely image of perfit vertue, which may moue an earnest desire in thē to follow the example of *P. Cornelius Scipioes* life, who from his childhood gaue great hope & shew of a noble nature, & excellēt vertue, after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, vnder the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the second warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but seuenteen yeare old, & in a very short time grew so toward, & forward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all manner of paines like a souldier, that he wan great cōmendation of his own father, & besides, great estimatiō also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokēs of a sharpe wit, & noble courage: that it made him beloued, & also feared of his

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Scipioes great mind & goodly personage.

Scipioes iourney into Spayne.

both the *Scipioes* were ſlayne, and both SPAYNES almoſt loſt; and the ROMAINE legions alſo ouerthrowen & put to flight: *L. Martius* a ROMAINE Knight, hauing gathered together the remnant of both armies, reſiſted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed vp with glory of the victorie they had gotten, & with great valiantneſſe, and vnſpeakeable induſtry he mainteined war in SPAYNE, againſt three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS. Now *Scipio* being come to this army that lay in garriſon for the winter time, euery man did certainly perſwade themſelues that the warre ſhould proſper: and when they ſaw him, they remembred their old Captaines, in ſomuch that there was neuer a ſouldier could haue his fill, with looking vpon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the ſouldiers for their noble courage, not diſpayring for the calamity of their countrey: he greatly honored *Lucius Martius*, to ſhew, that who ſo truſteth in his owne vertues, needs not enuy the glory of another man. So winter being paſt, he tooke the old and new bandes out of the garriſons, and firſt of all determined to go and lay ſiege vnto new CARTHAGE. For of all the cities of SPAYNE it was the wealthieſt, & none more meeter to make warre both by ſea & land, then that. Moreouer, the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS had beſtowed in this citie all their munition, and greateſt treaſure: and left a ſtrong garriſon, both in the citie, and caſtle. But the Captaines themſelues were deuided in diuers countryes, to the end that they three might keepe the whole regiō from ſpoyle, leaſt of all looking then that CARTHAGE ſhould be beſieged. But *Scipio* hauing put all in readineſſe, he came to beſiege new CARTHAGE with all his army both by ſea & lād. This ſeemed to be a maruellous hard enterpriſe, and would continue long, both becauſe the citie was very ſtrong of it ſelfe, and alſo for that the men within it were ſo couragious: that they did not onely thinke themſelues able to defend the citie, but their harts ſerued them alſo to make ſalyes out vpon the enemy, and to skirmiſh with them, euen to the very trenches of the ROMAINES campe. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a man can not attaine by force, he may winne by induſtrie. Now *Scipio* knew, that the lake or mer which is not farre from the wals of CARTHAGE, did ebbe and flow with the tyde, and that it was paſſable by forde on that ſide where they might eaſilieſt come to the walles: So, he thinking to imbrace this occaſion, and that he could not poſsibly meete with a better deuiſe to take CARTHAGE: when he ſaw his time, he ſet his men in battell ray, and hauing deuided them into ſeuerall ſquadrons, gaue a more deſperate aſſault vnto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he choſe out a band of the valianteſt men he had, and commaunded them to wade ouer the lake, and to ſcale the walles on that ſide, where they within the towne made leaſt account of it. So, theſe ſouldiers that were commaunded to giue this attempt, after they had paſſed ouer the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watche or garde, becauſe the greateſt fury of the fight, was on the other ſide of the citie. Therefore they eaſily getting vp on the wall, came and aſſayled the enemies behind them. The citizens, and thoſe of the garriſon, perceiuing they were vnwares fallen into that great daunger: they immediatly forſocke the walles, and ſeeing themſelues charged on euery ſide, betooke them to their legges, and fled. The ROMAINES purſued them ſo hotly, that they wanne the citie, and ſacked it: where they found a wonderfull great ſpoyle, and aboundance of all things neceſſary for warre. *Scipio* greatly prayſed his ſouldiers, & did rewarde them, for that they had done ſo valiant ſeruice. Howbeit when he ſhould come to giue the ſcaling crowne of the wals, vnto the firſt man that got vp vpon the wall: there were two ſouldiers at ſuch variance for the matter, that all the army was in daunger of diuiſion and mutinie vpon that occaſion. Thereupon *Scipio* called his men together, and in open aſſembly told them, that he knew they both got vp on the wall together, and ſo gaue them both a ſcaling crowne: and by this meanes their tumult was preſently pacified. Afterwards he ſent vnto all the cities of SPAYNE, the hoſtages that were found in the citie, which were a maruellous number: the which wanne him great fame for his curteſie and clemencie, whereby he allured many nations to yeeld themſelues vnto the ROMAINES, & to forſake the CARTHAGINIANS. But one thing aboue all the reſt, chiefly increaſed his prayſe, and wanne him great loue and good will, as a myrror and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady taken priſoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in CARTHAGE: whom he carefully cauſed to be kept, and preſerued from violence and diſhonour. And afterwardes whē he knew that

The valiantneſſe of Lucius Martius a Romaine knight.

Scipio beſiegeth new Carthage in Spayne.

Scipio wanne the citie of new Carthage by aſſault.

The great chaſtitie of Scipio.

that ſhe was maried vnto *Luceius*, Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: he ſent for her husband that was a very young man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntouched, or diſhonoured. *Luceius* not forgetting his noble curteſie vnto her, did let all his ſubiectes vnderſtand the great bounty, modeſty, and rare excellencie of all kinde of vertues that were in this ROMAINE generall: and ſhortly after he returned againe to the ROMAINES campe, with a great number of horſemen.

The three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS (*Mago*, *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN, & the other *Haſdruball*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) knowing that the loſſe of new CARTHAGE did the great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other ſtraunge nations, as alſo by the coniecture diuers made of the ſucceſſe of this warre: they firſt practiſed to diſſemble the loſſe of it, and then in ſpeach to make light of it as much as they could. *Scipio* hauing ioyned vnto him diuers nations and Princes of SPAYNE, (among the which were the two litle kings, *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*) vnderſtãding where *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN lay: he marched towards him with his army, to fight with him, before *Mago* and the other *Haſdruball* came to ioyne with him. *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN lay in campe by the riuer of Beſula, & was very deſirous to fight, truſting wholly to his ſtrength and army. But when he heard that *Scipio* was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of prety ſtrength. The ROMAINE legions followed him, and gaue him no reſpit, but purſued ſo neare, that they came and aſſaulted his campe at their firſt comming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the aſſault of a citie. The CARTHAGINIANS truſting to the ſtrength of the place, and driuen vnto it of neceſsitie, (the which maketh cowards moſt deſperat) they valiantly reſiſted their enemies the beſt they could. The ROMAINES in contrary manner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out luſtely like men, and the fight was ſo much more cruell, for that it was in the ſight of their Generall *Scipio*, and of all the army beſides: in ſomuch that their valiant ſeruice there could not be hidden. Therefore they neuer gaue ouer the aſſault, vntill that hauing done their vttermoſt endeuour, they got vp vpon the rampers, and entred in diuers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. *Haſdruball*, Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, ſaued himſelfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMAINES entred into their fort. After this battell, *Scipio* according to his manner, cauſed all the Spaniſh priſoners to be brought before him, and then gaue them libertie to depart, without paying of raunſome. Among the priſoners, there was a young gentleman of the kings bloud, and nephew vnto *Maſiniſſa*, whom when he had vſed very honourably, he ſent vnto *Maſiniſſa*, with great and rich gifts: to ſhew thereby, that a generall of an army ſhould be as bountifull & full of ciuill vertues, as otherwiſe skilfull and expert in martiall diſcipline. For the end of warre is victorie: the benefite whereof conſiſteth in bountie, and clemencie. From thence commeth the glory and all other prayſes due to Captaines: as it happened in thoſe things whereof we now treate. For a great number of SPANYARDS being preſent, wondering at the great clemẽcie of the generall of the ROMAINES: they could do no leſſe but call him king, to honour and recompence his vertue. But *Scipio* ſtrake that word dead ſtraight, the which was no common ſound to the ROMAINES eares, and therfore he would by no meanes allow that title, which he knew to be hatefull to the noble men of his country, and alſo vnmeete for the libertie of the ROMAINES. He onely prayeth the SPANYARDS, that if they had any minde & deſire not to ſhew themſelues vnthankefull to him, that then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of ROME. So whileſt theſe things were done by *Scipio*, the other two captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, (*Mago*, & *Haſdruball*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) after they vnderſtood of the ouerthrow of their men by the riuer of Beſula: they made all the ſpeede they could ioyne together, and ſhortly after came and met with *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN, to conſult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and conſidered all things, they concluded thus: that *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN ſhould go into ITALY to his brother *Annibal*, where the warre was greateſt: & that *Mago*, and the other *Haſdruball* ſhould remaine in SPAYNE, ſhould ſend for aide from CARTHAGE, & ſhould not fight with the ROMAINES vntill all their forces looked for were aſſembled, & ſo might make a great and puiſſant army. When *Haſdrubal* was gone into ITALIE, *Hanno* was ſent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practiſing in his iourney to make the CELTIBERIANS to rebell, *M. Syllanus* came and ſet vpon him by *Scipioes* commaundement,

Mago, Haſdruball Barcinian, Haſdruball Giſgo, the three famous Captaines of the Carthaginians.

Beſula fl.

Scipioes liberalitie to his enemies.

Vertues meete for a generall.

Scipio called king, by the Spanyards.

Haſdrubal ſent into Italie to his brother Annibal with an armie.

Hanno the chiefe of the contrarie faction vnto Hasdruball Barcinian, ouercome in battell, and taken prisoner.

and was so fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. Now there was a citie which the country men called ORINGE, the which was very wealthy, and meete to renew the warre. *Lucius Scipio* was sent thither with part of the armie to besiege it: but finding it a very strong situation, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he enuironned the towne, and within few dayes tooke and sacked it. Winter came on a pace, and the time of the yeare made thē both to retire into their garrisons, for the winter. So *Scipio* hauing had so good fortune in this warre, he went vnto TARRACON: *Mago*, and the other *Hasdruball*, the sonne of *Gisgo*, went to the sea side. The next sommer, warres growing more bloudy and cruel then before in the lower SPAYNE, the ROMAINES & CARTHAGINIANS met, and ioyned battell by the riuer of Besula, and fought set battels. After they had fought a long time together, *Scipio* at length got the victorie, and made the enemies flie: (of the which there were slaine a great number in the field) and giuing them no leasure to gather together againe, and to make head against him, he fought with them, and followed the chase so hotly, that *Hasdruball* & *Mago* were driuen to leaue the maine land, and to flie to GADES, after they had lost all their army. In the army of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble courage, and very wise, called *Masinissa*, who finding meanes to haue secret conference with *Syllanus*, he was the first man that offred him friendship, either being brought to it through *Scipioes* liberalitie, or else becaus he thought the time was come, that it was the surest way to take part with the ROMAINES, which were the cōquerors. It is that *Masinissa* that afterwards, (through the goodnes of the ROMAINES) became the great & mighty king of NVMIDIA, & indeede he was diuers wayes a profitable friend vnto the ROMAINES. Furthermore, the selfe same yeare, (which was the fourteenth of the second warre with the AFRICANS) SPAYNE was the first nation and people of the vpland men dwelling in the hart of the realme, that was conquered vnder the happy conduct of the Viceconsull *Scipio*: howbeit it was the last realme that was made a prouince long time after, by *Augustus Cæsar*. Now *Scipio* not contenting him selfe with the great victories he had obtained, in very short time in SPAYNE (for he had an imagination & good hope also to cōquer AFRICKE) he thought that his best way, to make all the meanes he could possible to get *Syphax*, king of the MASÆSYLIANS, a friēd to the ROMAINS. Wherefore after he had felt the kings minde, perceiuing that he was well inclined to make league with the ROMAINES: he presently set all his other affaires aside, & sailed into AFRICK with two gallies onely, at fiue owers to a bancke. At the selfe same time also came *Hasdruball*, the sonne of *Gisgo* thither, from GADES: so that both these valiant & lusty Captaines came of purpose to the king, enuying one the other, to craue the kings good will, vnto their country and common wealth. *Syphax* welcomed them both into his Court, and did vse them very honourably and curteously, and appointed that they should both eate at one table, and lye in one selfe chamber, because the one should not thinke his enterteinement better then the other. It is reported, that *Hasdruball* wondering at the magnanimity and great wisedome of *Scipio* that was present, he considered with himselfe the great daunger the citie of CARTHAGE and all AFRICKE besides was in, through that mans meanes: for he saw him yet a young man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continually obtained such victories, and therefore considering the lustie youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it was vnpossible to perswade him to imbrace peace, rather then warre. Besides, he was affrayed also that *Syphax*, moued by the personage and authoritie of him that was present, would take part with the ROMAINES: and indeed his minde gaue him rightly, for so it happened. For though *Syphax* at the first shewed himselfe indifferent to them both, and had moued talke to end the war betwixt the ROMAINES & the CARTHAGINIANS: yet afterwards when *Scipio* told him he could conclude no peace without consent of the Senate of ROME, he reiected *Hasdruball*, and inclining to *Scipioes* request, he made league with the people of ROME. So *Scipio* being returned againe into SPAYNE, himselfe partly by force, and partly also by *L. Martius* meanes, conquered ILITVRGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refused to yeeld themselues vnto the ROMAINES. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kind of sportes and pleasures, after he had so fortunately obtained so many famous victories: when he was come to new CARTHAGE, he caused the fensers to prepare themselues to fight with great

Masinissa offereth his friendship vnto the Romaines.

Syphax king of the Masasylians.

Hasdruballs iudgement of Scipio.

Syphax, king of the Masasylians, maketh league with the Romaines.

great pompe, where there were many great eſtates, not only to ſee that paſtime, but alſo they themſelues to handle the weapons in perſon. But amongeſt other SPANYARDES of noble houſes, there were two called, *Corbis* & *Orſua*, which were at ſtriſe together for the kingdome: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being ſlaine by the others hand. The fight was very lamentable & grieuous to the beholders: but the death of him that was ſlaine, troubled them much more, for they were both couſin germaines. After all this, *Scipio* hauing his mind ſtill occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then thoſe which he had alreadie brought to paſſe: he fell ſicke. His ſickneſſe being caried through all SPAYNE, and as it happeneth often, his diſeaſe being reported to be much greater and daungerous then it was in deede: thereupon, not onely the nations of SPAYNE beganne to riſe in hope of chaunge, but the armie ſelfe alſo of the ROMAINES, the which he had left at SVCRO. Firſt of all, martiall diſcipline was corrupted, through the abſence of the Generall. Afterwardes alſo, the report of his ſickeneſſe, and daunger of his life being ſpred abroad in the armie, raiſed ſuch a rebellion among them: that ſome of them litle regarding the authoritie and commaundement of the head Captaines of the bands, they draue them away, and choſe two meane ſouldiers for their Captaines, who preſumptuouſly tooke vpon them the name giuen vnto them by men of no authoritie, and yet with more arroganeie, made the bundles of roddes and axes to be caried before them. Such folly doth furie and vaine ambition oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other ſide, the SPANYARDS ſlept not, and ſpecially *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who aſpiring to the kingdome of SPAYNE, came to *Scipio* when he was conqueror, after he had taken new CARTHAGE. But afterwards, being offended to ſee the power of the ROMAINES increaſe daily, they ſought occaſion to make ſome alteration. So after they had heard, not only of *Scipioes* ſickeneſſe, but alſo how he was at deathes dore, and did beleeue it: they preſently leauied an armie, and went and made warre with the SVESSITANS which were confederats of the ROMAINES. But *Scipio* being recouered againe of his ſickneſſe, like as vpon the falſe rumor of his death euery man beganne to riſe: euen ſo after the truth was knowen in deede of his recouerie, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durſt proceede any further in their rebellion. *Scipio* being more skilfull in martiall diſcipline, then acquainted with ſedition and rebellion: although he was maruellouſly offended with the ſouldiers that had committed this follie, yet in the end, leaſt following his anger, men ſhould haue thought him to haue exceeded all boundes of reaſon in puniſhing of them, he referred all vnto the councell. The moſt part of them gaue aduiſe, that the authors of the rebellion ſhould be puniſhed, and all the reſt pardoned: for by this meanes ſaid they, the puniſhment ſhall light vpon a few that haue deſerued it, and all the reſt ſhall take example by them. *Scipio* followed that aduiſe, and preſently ſent for all the ſeditious bandes, to come to new CARTHAGE to receiue their pay. The ſouldiers obeyed his commaundement, ſome of them making their fault leſſe then it was, as men doe often flatter themſelues: others alſo truſting to the Captaines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreame in puniſhment. For *Scipio* was wont to ſay, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMAINE citizen, then to kill a thouſand enemies. The rumor ranne alſo, that *Scipio* had an other armie readie, the which he looked for to ioyne with them, and then to ſet vpon the kings (*Mandonius* & *Indibilis*) who made warre with the SVESSITANS. Theſe ſouldiers departing frō SVCRO, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto CARTHAGE. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armour and weapons being taken from them, they were enuironned with all the legions armie. Then the ROMAINE Generall ſitting in place of iudgement, ſhewed himſelfe before all the company in as good health & good diſpoſition of bodie, as euer he was in all his youth. Then he made a ſharp & bitter oration, full of grieuous complaints: inſomuch as there was not one of all the ſouldiers that were vnarmed, that durſt caſt vp their eyes or looke their Generall in the face, they were ſo aſhamed. For their conſciences did accuſe them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and ſenſes from them, & the preſence of their gratious Captaine, made them bluſh as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherefore there was a generall and ſorrowfull ſilence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he cauſed the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be

The vnfortunate fight of two couſin germaines.

The rebellion of the Romaine ſouldiers againſt their Captaines, in Scipioes ſickneſſe.

Mandonius: Indibilis, two kings of Spain.

Scipioes wiſedome ſuppreſſing his anger.

Scipioes great wiſedome in puniſhing the offenders.

Scipioes care of his countrimen.

Scipio did put the authors of the rebellion to death.

brought forth before the whole assembly, who, after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamentable sight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, *Scipio* made all the other souldiers to be sworne againe, and then went and proclaimed warre against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. For they considering with themselues, how the ROMAINE souldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leauied an armie of twentie thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and came downe with them against the ROMAINES. *Scipio* hauing intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, & that other nations could rebell: he departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great speed as he could to meete with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted so to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemie, nor also to refuse the battell if it were offred them. Howbeit it chanced by the neerenes of both campes, that within few daies, they being prouoked by the ROMAINS, came downe & set their men in battell ray, & ioyned battell with *Scipio*: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloudy & cruel. But at length the SPANYARDS seeing themselues compassed in behinde, and being driuen to fight in a ring to defend the enemie on euery side, they were ouercome: so that the third part of them scarcely saued themselues by flying. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* seeing themselues vtterly vndone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left: they sent Ambassadors vnto *Scipio*, humbly to pray him to receiue them to mercie, and to pardon them. But *Scipio* knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMAINES, yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemy by curtesie and clemencie, then by force: he did pardon them, and onely cõmaunded them to giue him money to pay his souldiers. In the meane time *Masinissa* came from GADES, & landed: because he would himselfe in person confirme the friendship he had offered *Scipio* in his absence, by the meanes of *M. Syllanus*, and also speake with him face to face, whom he iudged to be a worthy man, for the famous victories he had obteined. And in truth *Masinissa* was not deceiued in the opinion he had of the valiantnes and vertues of *Scipio*, but found him the selfe same man whom he before had imagined him to be in his minde: the which but seldome happeneth so notwithstanding. For besides the great rare gifts of nature that *Scipio* had aboue all others, there was in him also a certaine Princely grace and maiestie. Furthermore, he was maruellous gentle & courteous vnto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to winne euery man. He was verie graue in his gesture & behauiour, and euer ware long haire. *Masinissa* being come to salute him, when he saw him, he had him in such admiration as it is reported, that he could not cast his eies off him, nor haue his fill of looking on him. So he thãked him maruellously for sending his Nephew vnto him, and promised him that his deedes should confirme and witnesse the friendship agreed vpon betwene them: the which he euer after inuiolably kept vnto the ROMAINES, euen to the houre of his death. So all the nations of SPAYNE became subiect to the Empire of ROME, or at the least their confederats: wherupon those of GADES also following the example of others, came and yeelded themselues vnto the ROMAINES. This is a very auncient nation, and if we may credit the report of it: as CARTHAGE was in AFRICKE, and THEBES in BOEOTIA, so was GADES vpon the sea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. *Scipio* after he had conquered all SPAYNE, & driuen out the CARTHAGINIANS, considering that there remained nothing more for him to doe: he left the gouernment of the prouince vnto *L. Lentulus*, and to *Manlius Acidinus*, and returned to ROME. When he was arriued at ROME, the Senate gaue him audience out of the citie, in the temple of *Bellona*. There, when he had particularly tolde them of the thinges he had valiantly, and fortunately brought to end: and further, that he had ouercome foure Captaines in diuers foughten fieldes and also put to flight foure armies of the enemies, and driuen the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAYNES, and that there was no nation left in all those partes, but was subdued to the ROMAINES, the Senate gaue iudgement, that all these things were worthie of a noble triumph. But because neuer man yet was suffred to enter into ROME in triumph, for anie victories he had obtained, whileſt he was onely but Vicecounsull, and had not yet beene Consull: the Senators thought it not good, and *Scipio* himselfe also made no great suite for it, because he would not be an occasion to bring in any newe custome, and

A noble thing to ouercome the enemie by clemencie.

Masinissa cometh vnto Scipio.

A Princely Maiestie in Scipioes person.

The antiquitie of those of Gades.

Scipioes noble deedes.

Scipioes returne out of Spaine to Rome.

to

to breake the olde. So when he came into the citie, he was afterwardes declared Consull, with the great good will and consent of the whole assembly. It is reported that there neuer came such a world of people to ROME, as were there at that time, not only for the assemblies sake, but more to see *P. Cor. Scipio*. Wherefore, not the ROMAINES onely, but all the strangers also that were there, all their eyes were vpon *Scipio*, and said both openly and priuately: that they should send him into AFRICK, to make war with the CARTHAGINIANS, at home in their owne country. *Scipio* also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske aduise of the people, if the Senate would be against such a worthie enterprise. For amongest the peeres and Senators, there were some that vehemently inueyed against that opinion, and among the rest, *Fabius Maximus* specially, a man of great fame and authoritie. *Scipio* went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no may to ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to driue *Annibal* out of ITALY, but that only: and that all other counsels were in vaine, and vnprofitable. After this matter was long debated in councell, SICILIA was appointed vnto *Scipio*: and the whole Senate gaue him commission to go with all his armie into AFRICKE, if he thought it meete and profitable for the common wealth. The decree of the Senate being published, euery mans minde ranne of so great enterprises, that they perswaded themselues AFRICKE was already their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit *Scipio* saw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this iorney, because of the pouertie of the common treasure, and for lacke of young men: the flower and choyse of the which was vtterly gone, by the former great losses and ouerthrowes *Annibal* had giuen them. Howbeit to satisfie euerie mans expectation of him, he made all the possible speede he could, to prepare things necessarie for the warres. So diuers people of THVSCAN, and of the VMBRIANS, offered to helpe him to their best power: some of them gaue him timber to builde his shippes, others holpe him with armour, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kind of victuals and munition for his armie. The shippes being built, and all the armie by sea put in readinesse, in the space of fiue and fortie daies, a thing incredible to manie: *Scipio* departed out of ITALIE, and sailed towards SICILE. But when he came to take muster of his armie, he specially chose those that had serued long time in the warres, vnder the conduct of *M. Marcellus*, the which were all esteemed for very expert souldiers. And for the SICILIANS, he partly wanne them by courtesie, and partly by compulsion compelled them to giue him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he ment to make in AFRICKE, when the time of the yeare should serue for it. Among other things, it is reported that *Scipio* chose out of diuers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the saide prouince, and commaunded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, euerie man with horse and armor. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commaundement: the Consull bad them choose whether they would follow him in the warres of AFRICKE, or else deliuer vp their armor & horse, to as many other ROMAINES as they were in nũber. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the warre, *Scipio* appointed three hundred other young ROMAINES in their places, whom he had brought out of ITALY with him vnarmed, because he would mount and arme them at the SICILIANS cost, as in deede it chaunced. Afterwards, they did him great seruice in AFRICK, in many great battels. Now time was come on for *Scipio* to put his armie in garrison for the winter time, when he came to SYRACVSA, taking order not only for the preparation of warre, but also for the affaires of SICILIA. There when it was tolde him by complaint of diuers, that there was a great companie of ITALIAN souldiers in that citie, who would not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the warres, but kept them still in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enioyned them by speciall commandement to make restitution to the SYRACVSANS: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senates commaundement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hearts of SICILIA, and was reported to be a iust and vpright Consull. In the meane time he was aduertised by *Caius Lælius*, that returned out of AFRICKE with great spoile: how king *Masinissa* was verie desirous of his comming thither, and that he instantly praied him he would come into AFRICKE, as soone as he could possible, so it were without the preiudice of the common wealth. Moreouer, that diuers nations and people of AFRICKE had the like

Scipio made Consull.

Scipio prepared his armie and nauie by sea in fiue and fortie daies.

Scipioes policie in Sicilia.

desire: who hating the gouernement of the CARTHAGINIANS, desired nothing more, then some good occasion to rebell. Nowe this iorney was not deferred through *Scipioes* fault or negligence, considering that such a Captaine could hardly be found that was more carefull & diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of SICILIA, and the oportunitie he had to recouer LOCRES againe, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpose to passe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenant *Pleminius* disorder grieued him much: because that hauing left him at LOCRES, he fell to all sortes of insolencie, as to deflowre women, and to spoile the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruellously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subiect to the gouernement of so vile & wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of LOCRES being arriued at ROME, and exhibiting their complaintes in open Senate of the great wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* did them: the noble men tooke the matter so grieuously, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same *Pleminius*, but also against *P. C. Scipio* himselfe. Wherupon *Scipioes* enemies hauing gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offred the LOCRIANS, with the licentiousnesse of *Pleminius*, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had suffred all these things more negligently, then became the office or dutie of a Consull. They added thereto moreouer, that his army he had in SICILE was altogether vnruly & vnseruiceable, and regarded not the ordinances of the campe: and that the Captaine himselfe was careless, and altogether giuen ouer to pleasure and idlenes. But aboue all others, *Fabius Maximus* was his heauy enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modestie and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of SICILIA, and to dismisse him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, & extreame. Wherefore following *Quintus Metellus* counsell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into SICILIA, to make diligent inquirie, whether the accusations obiected against *Scipio* were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they should commaund him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into ITALY. And on the other side, if they found that he was vniustly accused, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies and detracters: then that they should send him to his armie, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambassadors were arriued in SICILIA, after they had made diligent inquirie according to the articles of their commission: they could not finde that *Scipio* was faultie in any thing, sauing that he had too lightly passed ouer the wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* had done vnto the LOCRIANS. For *Scipio* was very liberall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they saw his armie, his shippes, and all his other furniture and munition for warre: it is reported that they wondred so much to see the great aboundance and good order taken for all thinges, that when they returned to ROME, they greatly commended *Scipio*, and reiecting all the accusations of his accusers, they did promise the Senate and people of ROME, assured hope of victorie. So when all these home troubles at ROME were taken away, there chaunced other outwarde troubles a broad that grieued him much. For the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* came and tolde him that their master had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, & was become friend to *Hasdruball*, whose daughter he had maried: and therefore that he wished him if he ment to do his country good, to make no attempt vpon AFRICK, for he was determined to reckon the CARTHAGINIANS friends his, & also to set vpon them whō the CARTHAGINIANS account their enemies. *Scipio* quicklie returned the Ambassadors againe vnto *Syphax*, because the effect of their comming should not be blowen abroad in his campe: & gaue them letters, in the which he praied king *Syphax*, that remembring his league and faithfull promise, he should beware he attempted nothing vnworthy the name of a ROMAINE, & faith of a king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told thē, that the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* were come into SICILE, to complaine of his long tarying, as *Masinissa* had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his iorney to go into AFRICKE, and therupon commanded all his souldiers to put themselues in readines, and to prouide all things necessary for their iorney. The Consuls commaundement being published through all SICILE, there repaired immediatly vnto *Lilybea* a multitude of people

P. C. Scipio accused.

Q. Fabius Maximus, a great aduersary vnto Scipio.

Scipios nature

King Syphax reuolteth from the Romains.

people,not only of thoſe that were to ſaile into AFRICK,but of others alſo that came to ſee the fleete & armie of the ROMAINES:becauſe they neuer ſaw an army better furniſhed,nor ſet out with all things neceſſarie for warre,nor better repleniſhed with ſouldiers, then that. So *Scipio*, all things being readie,imbarked at LILYBEA with ſo earneſt a deſire to paſſe ouer the ſea,that neither owers nor wind did content his minde. Yet he was brought in few daies ſailing,to the promontory or mountaine called faire, and there he put all his men a land. The newes of his arriual flying ſtraight to CARTHAGE,all the city was preſently in ſuch an vprore,that ſodainly they ſounded the allarme,and garded the gates and wals, as appeareth by teſtimony of ſome in writing. For from *M.Regulus* time, vnto that preſent day, it was almoſt fifty yeares ſpace ſince any ROMAINE Captaine euer entred AFRICK with force of armes. And therefore it was no maruell though they were affraid, and grew to vprore. The name of *Scipio* did encreaſe their feare the more, becauſe the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captaine matchable with him. *Haſdruball* the ſonne of *Giſgo* had the name at that time of a luſty Captaine,whom they knew had notwithſtanding bene ouercome, and driuen out of SPAYNE by *Scipio*. Howbeit putting all the hope & ſafety of their coũtry in him,& in king *Syphax* that mighty king:they neuer left intreating the one,nor perſwading the other,to come & helpe the affaires of AFRICKE,with all the ſpeed they could poſſible. So,whileſt they two were preparing to ioyne both their armies together,*Annibal* the ſonne of *Hamilcar*,being appointed to keepe the next country adioining to it,came againſt the ROMAINES.*Scipio* after he had deſtroied the country,& enriched his army with great ſpoile: he camped by the city of VTICA,to ſee if it were poſſible for him to win ſo noble and wealthy a citie ,and being beſides ſo commodious for the warres both by ſea and land. At the ſelfe ſame time *Maſiniſſa* came to the ROMAINES campe,and was inflamed with a vehement deſire to make warre againſt king *Syphax*,by whom he had before bene driuen out of his kingdom & inheritance.*Scipio*,that had knowen him in SPAYNE,a young Prince of an excellent wit,and quicke and valiant of his hand: he ſent him to diſcouer the army of the enemies,before the CARTHAGINIANS could gather any greater power,and willed him to vſe all the deuiſe and meanes he could poſſible to intiſe *Hanno* to fight. *Maſiniſſa* as he was commanded, began to prouoke the enemy,and drawing him out by litle and litle,he brought him where *Scipio* lay with all his legions armed , looking for a good houre to fight. The armie of the enemies was now wearied, when the ROMAINES came to ſet vpon them with their freſh armie. *Hanno* at the firſt onſet was ouercome and ſlaine,with moſt of his men : and all the reſt fled, and diſperſed themſelues here and there , where they thought they might beſt ſcape. After this victory,*Scipio* returning backe againe to beſiege the city of VTICA: the ſodaine comming of *Haſdruball* & king *Syphax*, made him to leaue off his enterpriſe, for that they brought with them a great army both of footemen & horſemen , and came and camped not farre from the ROMAINES. *Scipio* perceiuing that,raiſed his ſiege immediatly,and came and fortified his campe vpon a hill,from whence he might go & fight with the enemy, and moleſt them of VTICA,and alſo keepe his ſhippes ſafe that rode at ancker. Howbeit the time of the yeare being come, that both armies were to diſpoſe their men in garriſons for the winter ſeaſon : he determined to ſend vnto king *Syphax* to feele his minde, and to make him leaue the friendſhippe of the CARTHAGINIANS if it were poſſible.For he knew wel it was his mariage with *Sophonisba*, that through her flattering perſwaſions had brought him to that furie , that he had not only forſaken the friendſhip of the ROMAINS, but alſo ment to deſtroy them,contrary to his faith and promiſe: and that if he had once ſatisfied the heate of his loue with her , he thought then he might be called home againe. *Syphax* hauing vnderſtoode *Scipioes* meſſage ſent him, he anſwered,that indeed it was time not only to leaue the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but alſo to giue vp all thought of warre : and ſo promiſed , that he would be a good meane to make peace. *Scipio* gaue good eare vnto it , and caught holde of an excellent fine deuiſe. He choſe the valianteſt ſouldiers in his armie , apparelled them like ſlaues , and made them waite vpon the Ambaſſadours , and gaue them inſtructions what they ſhould doe . Theſe fellowes, whileſt the Ambaſſadors and king *Syphax* were in talke together about the articles and conditions of peace , and that the conſultation helde longer then it was wont to doe: they went and walked vp and downe through the enemies campe, to ſee all the wayes and entries into

The ready and faithfull good will of Maſiniſſa to the Romaines.

Hanno ouercome and ſlain

Sophonisba, king Syphax wife.

Scipioes craft.

it,according vnto *Scipioes* inſtructions. After they had done this diuers times,they came again to *Scipio*. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, *Scipio* ſeemed to make preparation for wars,(as being out of hope of any peace)& to make his army ready by ſea,preparing engines of battery to returne to beſiege VTICA,as he had done before. He gaue out this rumor through all the country, to perſwade his enemies that it was true: howbeit hauing called the Captaines & pety Captaines of his army together, he made them priuy to his intent and enterpriſe. He told them that both the enemies campes lay not farre a ſunder, of the which, the one of them had all their tents & cabbins of wood: and the building of the other campe was all of reedes,ſo that they were both eaſie to be burnt. Wherupon hauing ſent for *Maſiniſſa*,& *Caius Lælius* to come vnto him, he gaue them charge about midnight to giue alarom vnto *Syphax* camp,& to ſet it a fire: and that he himſelfe on the other ſide,would ſet vpon the CARTHAGINIANS campe. They two obeyed *Scipioes* commandement,performed his will without delay, & came at the houre appointed them to aſſaile the NVMIDIANS camp,& ſo did ſet the houſes of reedes afire, which tooke fire in ſuch ſort, as the flame was immediatly round about the campe. The NVMIDIANS at the firſt,thinking the fire had come by misfortune,ranne thither ſtraight vnarmed to quench it. But when they found thēſelues among the legions of the ROMAINES, and that there was nothing but killing downe right,ſeeing themſelues ſo compaſſed in on all ſides, they ſaw their beſt remedie was to flie. On the other ſide alſo,where *Scipioes* armie was: the CARTHAGINIANS campe was almoſt all burnt, and the enemies put to flight with ſuch cruell ſlaughter, that ſome writers affirme there were ſlaine that night about fortie thouſand men,aſwell CARTHAGINIANS as NVMIDIANS. This great ouerthrow & ſlaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in ſuch a feare and terror, that ſome thought beſt to ſend for *Annibal* out of ITALIE: and others gaue aduiſe to make peace with *Scipio*. Howbeit the BARCINIAN faction which was rich & wealthy,and altogether againſt the peace makers: they ſo preuailed, that they leauied a new power to beginne warre againe. King *Syphax* and *Haſdruball*,hauing leauied a great multitude of footmen & horſemen againe, renewed their armie ſooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitch their campe directly ouer againſt the enemies. *Scipio* hauing vnderſtanding of that,would not tarry,but determined to giue them battell, whileſt his men were in good heart,and willing to fight. So it chanced at the firſt, by the neereneſſe of both their campes,that there were certaine skirmiſhes: but in the end,the armies came to ioyne battell, and the ROMAINES fought with ſuch corage and terror, that at the firſt onſet,they made the NVMIDIANS and CARTHAGINIANS flie,& ſlew the moſt part of them. *Haſdruball* and *Syphax* ſcaped,by flying out of the ſlaughter. *Scipio* ſent *Maſiniſſa* and *Caius Lælius* with the light horſemen to giue them chaſe. *Syphax* being come into NVMIDIA,& from thence into his own realme & kingdome he leauied an army in haſte, of all ſorts of people, and came to meete with *Maſiniſſa* & *Caius Lælius*, and was not affraid to giue them battel. But it was a fond part of him,conſidering that he was nothing like ſo ſtrong as his enemy,neither for number of fighting men,nor yet in liklihood of ſouldiers. For neither the ſouldiers, nor Captaines of his army were matchable with the ſouldiers & Captains of the ROMAINES campe: and therfore king *Syphax* was eaſily ouercome by ſuch skilfull ſouldiers, & moreouer was himſelfe taken in battell, with many other great noble men, whō *Maſiniſſa* would hardly haue looked for: & then they were brought vnto *Scipio*. At the firſt there was a maruellous ioy among thē, when it was told them that king *Syphax* ſhould be brought priſoner vnto the camp: but afterwards when they ſaw him bound,they were all ſory to ſee him in ſuch pitifull ſtate, remembring his former greatnes & regall maieſtie. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had bin but a litle before,what wonderfull great wealth he had,& alſo the power of ſo great a realme & kingdom. Howbeit *Scipio* the ROMAIN Conſul, receiued him very curteouſly, and gently asked him what he ment to change his mind in that ſort,& what moued him to make war with the ROMAINS. Then the king remēbring his former friendſhip and faithfull promiſe broken,he boldly told him,that it was the loue he bare to his wife *Sophonisba*,who only had procured him to deale ſo diſhonorably with the ROMAINS: howbeit, that he had ſo ſmarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promiſe. And yet,that this was a great comfort to him in his extreame miſery,

A maruellous great ſlaughter of the Carthaginians.

Syphax, king of the Maſeſylians ouercome, and taken in battell.

misery, to see that his mortall enemy *Masinissa* was also taken with that frenzy & mad humor, wherewith he before was possessed. For after *Syphax* was ouercome and taken, *Masinissa* went vnto CYRTHA, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found *Sophonisba* there, with whom he fell in fansie: who after she had finely wrapped him in with her deceitfull flatteries and kindnes, he promised her also to deliuer her out of the ROMAINS handes: and because he might the better perform his promise made, he tooke her to his wife, & maried her. When *Scipio* was informed of these things, it grieued him maruellously. For it was knowen to al mē, that *Syphax* was ouercome vnder the conduct, and through the ROMAINS meanes: and therefore all that was belonging to *Syphax*, was at the disposition of the ROMAINES. Wherefore if *Masinissa* had without *Scipioes* consent, vndertaken to defend *Sophonisbaes* quarrell: then it appeared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, and the maiesty of the people of ROME. Furthermore, his filthy lust did agrauate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intollerable, by how much the continency of the ROMAIN Consul was the greater, the which *Masinissa* saw daily before his eies, and might haue bene a patterne and example vnto him. For *Scipio*, besides many other proofes and shewes of his vertues, in all places where he obtayned victory, he alwaies kept the women vndefiled, which were taken prisoners. So, *Scipio* being much offended with *Masinissa*, (though he shewed it not before company) receiued him verie louingly at his returne to the campe: yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a seuere Captaine. Whereupon *Masinissa* went into his tent and wept, & could not tell what way he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiuing that it was vnpossible for him to keepe promise with *Sophonisba*, which grieued him to the heart: he sent her poison, & a message withall, the which she dranke immediatly, and so willingly made her selfe away. Furthermore, the CARTHAGINIANS after they had receiued such wonderfull great losses & ouerthrowes, one after an other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to such a straight and extreamity, that they were no more to looke after the enlarging of their dominions, but only to cōsider which way they might keepe their owne country: they sent for *Annibal* to come out of ITALY. Who returning with great speede into AFRICK, before he did any thing else, he thought good first to talke with *P. Scipio* about peace: either becauſe he was affrayed of the good fortune of this young man, or else for that he mistrusted he could not otherwise helpe his countrey and common wealth, which he saw decaying, and like to be destroied. Wherefore a place was appointed, where they might meet according to his desire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end, *Scipio* offred *Annibal* such conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the ROMAINES were not weary of warre, and that *Scipio* him selfe being a young man, had better hope to obtaine victorie, then great desire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being set aside, they brake off their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthy Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared them selues to battel, either to giue or take away in short time from their common weales, the seigniorie and Empire of all the world. The place where they imployed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the city of ZAMA: in the which the ROMAINES being conquerours, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the end brake so fiercely into the footemen, that they ouerthrew all the army. It is reported, that there were slaine and taken by the ROMAINES, aboue forty thousand CARTHAGINIANS. *Annibal* fled out of the fury of the battel, and saued him self, though that day he had shewed him selfe like a valiant and famous Captaine. For at this battel he had set his army in better order then euer he had done before, and had strengthened it, both with the commodity of the place, and reliefe beside: and euen in the very fury and terror of the battell he so besturred him selfe among his souldiers, that the enemies them selues did commend and praise him, for a noble Captaine. After this victory, *Scipio* meeting with *Vermina* king *Syphax* sonne, that brought aide to the CARTHAGINIANS: he put him to flight, and came and brought his army to the wals and hauen of CARTHAGE, thinking (as in deede it fell out) that the CARTHAGINIANS would sue to him for peace. For, as the CARTHAGINIANS before had bene very good souldiers, and ready to make warres: so were they now become timerous and faint hearted,

Masinissa wan the city of Cyrtha, where he fell in loue with Sophonisba, king Syphax wife.

The great and rare continency of Scipio.

Sophonisba poysoned her selfe, through Masinissaes procurement.

Annibal sent for into Italy, to returne into Africke.

Battell at Zama, and Scipioes victory of the Carthaginians.

The praise of Annibal.

ſpecially when they ſaw their Generall *Anniball* ouercome, in whom they chiefly repoſed all their hope and truſt, for defence of their countrey. Wherefore they being (as I haue ſayed) out of heart, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accuſtomed clemency he would graunt them peace. Now was great ſute made at ROME, to haue the gouernment of the prouince of AFRICKE, and one of the new Conſuls made haſt to come and make warre, with ſuch charge and preparation as was meete for his dignity and calling: and therefore *Scipio* doubting that an other ſhould cary away the glory for ending of ſo great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the CARTHAGINIAN Ambaſſadours requeſts. So, the capitulation of the articles of peace was offred vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, according to the conquerors minde: and beſides all other things, the whole fleete of all their ſhippes and gallies (in the which conſiſted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole fleete was burnt, it was ſuch a lamentable ſight vnto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if CARTHAGE had bene deſtroied and raſed to the very ground. For as ſome doe write, there were fiue hundred ſhippes burnt of all ſortes. Theſe things therfore ſhould make vs all beware of humaine frailtie, the which we often forget in our proſperity. For they that before perſwaded them ſelues to conquer the world, after they had wonne ſo many great battels and victories of the enemy, and in manner conquered all ITALIE, and ſo valiantly beſides beſieged the city of ROME: were in ſhort time after brought to ſuch miſery and extremity, that all their power and force being ouercome, they had left them no more but the wals of CARTHAGE, and yet they were not ſure to keepe them, but through the ſpeciall grace and fauour of the enemy. After theſe things were done, *Scipio* by decree of the Senate, did not onely reſtore king *Maſiniſſa* to his realme againe, but alſo adding thereunto the beſt part of all king *Syphax* countrey, they made him one of the mightieſt kings of all AFRICKE: and afterwards he gaue honorable gifts vnto euery man as he had deſerued. In fine, after he had ſet all the affaires of AFRICKE at good ſtay, he brought his army backe againe into ITALY: at what time there came to ROME a world of people, to ſee ſo great and famous a Captaine, returning from ſuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into ROME with pompe of triumphe, *Terentius Culeo* following of him with a hatte on his head, becauſe that through his fauor and friendſhip he was taken out of bondage. *Polybius* writeth, that king *Syphax* was led in triumph: howbeit ſome ſay he died before *Scipio* triumphed. In deede diuerſe that did triumphe, ſome before him during the warres of the CARTHAGINIANS, & others afterwards in the wars of MACEDONIA and ASIA, they made greater ſhew of plate, both of gold and ſiluer in their triumph, and led alſo a greater number of priſoners: howbeit one only *Annibal* that was ouercome, and the glory of ſo great a war ended, did make the triumphe of *P. Scipio* ſo excellent and famous, that it farre paſſed all the gold and magnificent pompe of all others triumphes. For after AFRICKE was conquered, no nation then was aſhamed to be ouercome by the ROMAINS. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and open paſſage to encreaſe and enlarge the Empire of ROME, both in MACEDON, and alſo in ASIA, and in other parts of the world beſides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may righty call AFRICAN, after the conqueſt of AFRICKE) being returned to ROME, hee lacked no temporall dignities nor honors. For in the counſel holden for the election of Cenſors, although there were diuers others of the nobleſt houſes of ROME that ſued for that office: yet he him ſelfe, and *AElius Petus* were preferred before all the reſt, and after they were created Cenſors, they did gouerne in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwardes the Cenſors that followed them, did ſtill one after an other chooſe *Scipio* AFRICAN Prince of the Senate: the which dignity was wont to be giuen to them onely, that obtained the type of all honor, through their great conqueſts and benefits done to their countrey. Shortly after, he was againe choſen Conſull with *Sempronius Longus*, the ſonne of that *Sempronius* whom *Anniball* ouercame in that great ouerthrow, at the battell by the riuer of Trebia. They two were the firſt (as it it reported) that deuided the noble men and Senatours from the people, in the ſhew place to ſee paſtime. This ſeparation was very odious to the people of ROME, and they were maruellouſly offended with the Conſuls for it: becauſe they tooke it, that increaſing the honour of the ſtate of the Senators, they thereby did diſcountenaunce and imbaſe them. Some ſay alſo, that

Fiue hundred ſhippes of the Carthaginians, burnt by Scipio

Scipies returne to Rome.

Scipioes triumph at Rome for the Carthaginians.

Scipio, and AElius Petus choſen Cenſors. Scipio Prince of the Senate.

Scipio and Sempronius Longus choſen Conſuls.

Scipio

Scipio AFRICAN afterwardes repented him ſelfe that he had taken away the olde cuſtome, and brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variaunce betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the CARTHAGINIANS touching their borders and confines. Whereuppon the Senate ſent *Scipio* thither with two other commiſſioners: who after they had heard the cauſe of their quarrell, they left the matter as they found it, and would proceede no further in it. And this they did, becauſe that the CARTHAGINIANS being troubled with ciuill warres at home, ſhould take vppon them no other warres abroade, neither ſhould haue leyſure to attempt anie alteration otherwiſe. For the ROMAINES had great warre with king *Antiochus*, and *Anniball* CARTHAGINIAN was there with him, who ſtill ſtirred vp the old enemies againſt the ROMAINES, and practiſed to raiſe vp new enemies againſt them, and in all things to counſell the CARTHAGINIANS to caſt amay the yoke of bondage, which the ROMAINS had brought them into vnder the title of peace, and to proue the friendſhip of the kings. Howbeit ſhortly after, the ROMAINES hauing obtayned victory, and driuen king *Antiochus* out of GREECE: they intended alſo to conquer ASIA: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio* AFRICAN, as a man that was borne to end warres of great importaunce. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio*, and *Caius Lælius* were Conſuls, and either of them made ſute for the gouernment of ASIA. The matter being conſulted vppon, the Senate ſtood doubtfull what iudgement they ſhould giue, betwixt two ſo famous men. Howbeit, becauſe *Lælius* was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater eſtimation: the Senate began to take his part. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, prayed the Senate that they would not diſhonour his houſe ſo, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was beſides very wiſe, and that he him ſelfe alſo would be his Lieutenant: he had no ſooner ſpoken the wordes, but the Senatours receiued him with great ioy, and preſently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordayned in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* ſhould goe into GREECE to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and that from thence he ſhould goe into ASIA, if he thought good to make warre with king *Antiochus*: and alſo that he ſhould take his brother *Scipio* AFRICAN with him, becauſe he ſhould goe againſt *Anniball*, that was in *Antiochus* armie. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the which he firſt ſhewed from his youth vnto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwardes alſo vnto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, conſidering the great things he had done? For, notwithſtanding hee was that AFRICAN by name that had ouercome *Anniball*, that had triumphed ouer the CARTHAGINIANS, and excelled all others in praiſe of martiall diſcipline: yet of his owne good nature he made him ſelfe inferiour to his younger brother, becauſe he might haue the honour of obtayning the gouernment of that prouince from his fellow Conſull *Lælius*, that was ſo well beloued, and of great eſtimation. *Lucius Scipio* the Conſull brought great honour to his countrey by that warre, for that hee followed the ſound and faithfull counſell of his brother. For firſt of all going into GREECE, he tooke truce for ſixe monethes with the ÆTOLIANS, through the aduiſe of his brother AFRICAN: who counſelled him, that ſetting all things a part, hee ſhould ſtraight goe into ASIA, where the warre was rifeſt. Afterwardes alſo he wanne *Pruſias* king of BITHYNIA from *Antiochus* friendſhippe, who before was wauing vp and downe, doubtfull which ſide to take, and all through his brother AFRICANS meanes and practiſe. So the authoritie of the AFRICAN was very great, and all thoſe that would obtaine any thing of the Conſull, came firſt to the AFRICAN to be their meane and interceſſor. Now when he came into ASIA, *Antiochus* Ambaſſador, and *Heraclides* BIZANTINE, came vnto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly told their meſſage, perceiuing that they could not obtaine reaſonable conditions of peace: they priuately talked with *Scipio* AFRICAN as they were commaunded, and practiſed the beſt they could to make him king *Antiochus* friend. For they told him, that *Antiochus* would ſend him his younger ſonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the gouernment of all his realme, only reſeruing the name and title of the king. Howbeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no leſſe in faithfulneſſe and bounty, then in many other vertues, after he had aunſwered them to all other matters, hee told them, that for his ſonne hee would take him for a maruellous friendlie gift: and that for a priuate good turne,

The crafty counſell of Scipio.

The naturall loue of Scipio African to his brother L. Scipio.

The fidelity and loue of P. Scipio to his countrey.

he would do the best he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counsell the king aboue all things to leaue of thought of warre, and to receiue those offers and conditions of peace, which the Senate and people of ROME would offer him. Shortly after, *Antiochus* sent *P. Scipio* his sonne according to his promise: who (as it is reported) had bene taken prisoner from the first beginning of the warre, as he went from CHALCIDE, vnto ORICVM: or as other writers say, as he passed by in a pinnase. Yet some hold opinion, that hee was taken as he went to discouer the counsell of the enemies, and that he was then sent againe vnto his father, lying sicke at the city of ELEA. This great curtesie of king *Antiochus* was maruellous well thought of of the AFRICAN, and not without cause: for to see his sonne after he had bene away so long, it did greatly lighten his spirites, and diseased body. But *P. Scipio* to shew some token of a thankefull minde, prayed the Ambassadours that came vnto him, greatly to thanke king *Antiochus* for the exceeding pleasure he had done him, to send him his sonne. Afterwardes he gaue *Antiochus* aduise also that he should not giue battell, till he vnderstoode of his returne from ELEA to the campe. So *Antiochus* being perswaded by the authority of so worthy a man, he kept close in his campe for a certaine time, and determined to draw the warre out at length, hoping in the end that he might come to speake with the Consull, by the AFRICANS meanes. But afterwardes, the Consull camping hard by MAGNESIA, did so vexe and prouoke the enemy, that the king came out to battell, and sette his men in battell ray. It is reported that *Anniball* him selfe was present at the battell, being one of the Generalles for the king. So *Antiochus* being ouercome, and his army discomfited, perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires: he came vnto the AFRICAN, (who being newly recouered of his sickenesse, came to the campe within a litle after the field was wonne) and by his meanes obtayned of the Consull to be contented to talke of peace. When *Antiochus* Ambassadours were come to the campe, and that they had humbly craued pardon in the behalfe of their king, and also prayed that they would giue them such conditions of peace, as they best liked of: *Scipio* AFRICAN with the consent of them all aunswered them, that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to yeelde to aduersity, neither also to be proud in prosperity: and therefore that he now made him the selfe same offers and conditions of peace, which he did before the victory. That the king should not meddle with EVROPE, that he should surrender vp all he had in ASIA from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the riuer of Tanais: that he should pay tribute twenty yeares together: that he should also put in such hostages as the Consull would choose out: and that specially aboue all the rest, they should deliuer *Annibal* CARTHAGINIAN vnto the Consul, who was the only author and procurer of this war. But he, as we haue written in his life, perceiuing that king *Antiochus* army was ouerthrowen both by sea and by land, escaped the ROMAINES handes, and went vnto *Prusias* king of BITHYNIA. *Antiochus* hauing accepted the offers and conditions of peace, sayd, that the ROMAINES vsed him verie fauourably, to ridde him of so great care, and to appoint him so small a kingdome. For great kindomes, and ouermuch wealth which euery man coueteth, are full of great and sundry troubles: insomuch that *Theocritus* wordes are as true, as otherwise excellently written.

Antiochus being ouercome, accepteth conditions of peace.

Great kingdomes and wealth are full of troubles.

The things I wish are neither wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne,
Nor yet of swiftnes and of strength to beare away renowne:
But singing with a merie heart in simple shed, to looke
Aloofe vpon the troublous seas, that are so hard to brooke.

So when the mighty king of ASIA was ouercome, and that so great a warre was so easelie ended beyond all mens opinion: the Consull *L. Scipio* returned to ROME, and made his entry into the citie, shewing a great and honourable triumphe. Hee also deserued the surname of the prouince and countrey subdued by him. So that as his elder brother before was called AFRICAN, for that he had conquered AFRICKE: euen so was *Lucius Scipio* surnamed ASIAN, for conquering ASIA vnto ROME. And *P. Scipio*, through whose counsell his brother *Lucius* had brought his warres to happy end, he went not cleare without honour also. For shortly after, two noble Censors, *T. Q. Flaminius*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* chose him Prince of the Senate the third time. Now at that time, the house and familie of the

L. Scipio surnamed Asian, for his conquest of Asia.

T. Q. Flaminius, M. C. Marcellus Censors.

Scipioes

Scipioes and *Cornelians* floriſhed, with ſupreame degree of honour: and the authority of *Scipio* AFRICAN was growen to ſuch height and greatneſſe, as no priuate man could wiſh to be any greater in a free city. Howbeit the ſecrete malice of wicked hearts, which could no longer abide this greatnes and authority, began at length to burſt out, & to light vpon thoſe that were the authors of ſo great things. For two Tribunes of the people, ſuborned (as it is reported) by *Porcius Cato*: they accuſed *P. Scipio* AFRICAN for keeping backe king *Antiochus* money, and becauſe he brought it not into the common chamber or treaſury. *Scipio* AFRICAN knowing his innocency, being called by the Magiſtrate, ſhewed him ſelfe obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenaunce, and there made an oration, declaring what things he had done for the benefit and commodity of his countrey and common wealth. The reherſall of theſe things did not miſlike the common people that were preſent: becauſe he did it rather to auoide the daunger prepared for him, then otherwiſe for any vaine glory or oſtentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being ſo contented, were vehement againſt him, and ſpared no iniurious words, but accuſed him as though he had in deede beene in fault, howbeit vpon ſuſpition, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commanded to come before them againe, hee appeared at the hower appoynted, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole aſſembly, and went vp to the pulpit for orations. When he ſaw that euery man kept ſilence, then he ſpake in this manner. I remember my Lordes, that on ſuch a day as this, I wan that famous victory of *Annibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leauing a ſide this contention, I thinke it good we go vnto the Capitol to giue God thankes for the victory. So he departed thence, and all the whole aſſembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but alſo to all the other temples of the city, leauing the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeaunts. That day was the very laſt date of all the AFRICANS good fortune, for the great aſſembly and multitude of people that wayted vppon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the countrey, far from all ambition, and the company of people: and ſo went vnto LINTERNVM in a maruellous rage, that for reward of his ſo great ſeruice, and ſo ſundry benefites as he had brought vnto his countrey, he receiued but ſhame and reproach: or els, for that in deed being as he was of a noble minde, he thought it more honour willingly to giue place to his enemies, then to ſeeke to maintaine his greatnes by force of armes. So when the Tribunes did accuſe him of contempt, and that his brother *Lucius* did excuſe his abſence by reaſon of his ſickneſſe: *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the Tribunes that was againſt the AFRICAN, tooke his excuſe (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did ſo well defend *Scipioes* cauſe, ſometime honorably praiſing him, an other time alſo threatning his enemies: that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were maruellouſly offended for the great iniury they did him. Some doe write, that *P. Scipio* him ſelfe, before he went vnto LINTERNVM, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought vnto the Senate, to deliuer the accompt of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit nor pride, but with that ſelfe boldnes of mind he had afore time vſed to the treaſurers, when he did againſt the law require the keyes of the common treaſure, to ſupply the preſent neede of the ſtate. Now ſome there be alſo that ſay, it was not the AFRICAN, but *Scipio* ASIAN that was accuſed before the Tribunes: and that *Scipio* AFRICAN was ſent in commiſſion at that time into TVSCAN. Who, vnderſtanding of his brothers accuſation at his returne to ROME, and finding his brother *Lucius* condemned, and the Sergeaunts wayting on him to carie him, being bound, into priſon: he was in ſuch a rage withall, that he reſcued his brother by force out of the Sergeaunts hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beſide, that *Tiberius Gracchus* one of the Tribunes, complayning firſt that the authority of the Tribuneſhip was troden vnder feete by a priuate perſon: he afterwardes letting fall all the malice and enuy he bare vnto the *Scipioes*, defended their cauſe, becauſe the Tribunes ſhould rather ſeeme to be ouercome by a Tribune, then by a priuate perſon. They ſayed moreouer, that the ſelfe ſame day the Senate ſupped in the Capitoll, he perſwaded the AFRICAN to let *Tiberius Gracchus* mary his younger daughter. This promiſe was no ſooner made, but *P. Scipio* comming home to his houſe, told his wife that he had beſtowed their daughter: Whereupon ſhe being angrie,

The time of the floriſhing of the Cornely.

The inconſtancy of theſe worldly things Great men moſt enuied.

The laſt fortunate day of the Africans good fortune.

The voluntarie baniſhment of Scipio from Rome.

T. Gracchus Tribune.

Diuers opinions about the accuſation of the African.

told him again that he ſhould not haue maried her without conſent of her mother, though he could haue beſtowed her vpon *Tiberius Gracchus*. This anſwer liked *Scipio* maruellous well, when he ſaw that his wife was of his minde, touching the mariage of their daughter. I know it is thought of ſome, that it was attributed to *Tiberius* the ſonne, and to *Appius Claudius* his father in law. For *Polybius*, and other ancient writers affirme, that *Cornelia*, the mother of *Caius* and *Tiberius Gracchi*, was maried vnto *Gracchus* after the AFRICANS death. For *Scipio* AFRICAN was maried vnto *AEmylia* the daughter of *L. Paulus AEmylius* Conſull, that was ſlain at the battell of CANNES. By her he had two daughters, of the which the eldeſt was maried vnto *P. Cornelius Naſica*, and the younger vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, either before, or after the death of his father. Now touching his ſon, there is litle mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We haue ſpoken of his yonger ſonne that was taken by king *Antiochus*, and afterwardes franckly ſent vnto his father: of whom notwithſtanding afterwards I finde no mention in writing, ſauing that ſome ſay he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of *Cicereius* his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in writing alſo, that the yonger AFRICAN was adopted by the ſonne of *P. Scipio*. *Cicero* in his booke intituled *Cato Maior* ſayth, how weake (ſaied he) was the ſonne of *P.* AFRICAN that adopted thee his ſonne? And in his ſixth booke alſo *de repub.* *AEmylius* the father exhorteth *Scipio* his ſon, to follow iuſtice and piety, as his grandfather *Scipio* AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of *P. Scipio* AFRICAN, writers doe diuerſly varie: for ſome ſay that he died and was buried at ROME. And for proofe thereof they doe bring forth the monument that was ſette vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which ſtoode three ſtatues or images, two whereof were the images of *P.* and *Lucius Scipio*, and the third was of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And ſurely that which *Cicero* wrote, ſeemeth to confirme it true: our *Ennius*, ſayed he, was maruellouſlie beloued of AFRICAN the great, & therfore it is thought that he was buried in *Scipioes* tomb. Other authors write alſo (and ſurely they agree beſt with the common report) that *Scipio* AFRICAN died at LINTERNVM, and that there hee was buried at his owne appointment: becauſe his country ſo vnthankefully acknowledging his ſeruice, ſhould do him no honor at his death: and that there they ſet him vp a tombe, and his ſtatue vpon that, the which afterwardes was blowen down by a tempeſt of wind, and the which *Liuie* him ſelf witneſſeth he ſaw. Furthermore, by CAIETA this Epitaphe was grauen in a plate of copper, ſet in a marble tombe.

The Africans wife, and children.

Diuers opinions touching the death of P. Scipio.

Statues of the two Scipioes and Ennius the Poet, by the gate Capena at Rome.

Scipio African died at Linternum.

The Epitaphe of Scipio African.

The man that vanquisht Annibal and conquerd Carthage towne,
And eke increaſt the Romaines both in Empire and renowne,
Lies here a heape of duſt and earth hid vnderneath this ſtone:
His deedes, his proweſſe, and his life, are altogether gone.
VVhom neither Europe could withſtand, nor Africke in times paſt,
(Behold mans frailty) here he lies in litle roome at laſt.

Now touching the time of his death, hauing made great ſearch for it, I haue found in certaine Greeke Authors, that the AFRICAN lined foure and fifty yeares, and died ſhortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendation for martiall diſcipline, and beſides excelled in all other vertues: the which did ſo delight his minde, that he was wont to ſay, he was neuer leſſe idle, then when he tooke his eaſe: neither more ſolitarie, then when he was alone. For ſome times he would withdraw him ſelfe out of the aſſemblie, and from all mens company, and thought him ſelfe ſafe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deedes was ſo great, that whereſoeuer he went, all ſorts of people would come and ſee him.

Scipio African 54. yeare old at the time of his death.

The common report went, that when he was at LINTERNVM, there came certaine rouers vnto him to ſee ſo famous a man, and to kiſſe that ſo faithfulll and victorious a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all ſortes of people: becauſe it doth not onely make the good, but the euill alſo to loue and honour it.

The power of vertue.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Anniball with P. Scipio African.

NOW let vs compare *Anniball* and *Scipioes* deedes together, as touching their ciuill diſcipline. Firſt if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifeſt that both of them haue bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they haue not onely bene comparable with the nobleſt Kings and Princes in their time (being alſo in that age when warres floriſhed moſt) but with thoſe alſo that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at thē, that they hauing great and heauie enemies in their coūtry, (who ſought to ouerthrowe all their doings and enterpriſes) could poſſibly goe through with ſo great matters, and to obtaine ſuch happie and famous victories, in ſtraunge and forreyne warres. Therefore paſſing ouer all other matters, what a doe had *P. Scipio*, before he could obtaine to be ſent into AFRICK, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS? *Fabius Maximus*, and other noblemen of the citie being greatly againſt it? Againe, what enemie had *Anniball* of *Hanno*, who was prince and head of the contrary faction againſt him? Now they both hauing ouercome ſuch greate troubles at home, did notwithſtanding bring things to end worthy perpetuall memorie: not by chaunce as it hapneth vnto many, but through their induſtrie, great wiſedome, and counſell. So diuers do wonder greatly at *Annibals* courage and noble minde: who after he had ſacked the citie of SAGVNTVS, came boldly from the fartheſt part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great armie of footmen and horſmen, and came to make warre with a great ſtate and common wealth, the which his predeceſſors alwayes dreaded: and after he had wonne many battels, and ſlaine ſundry Conſuls and Captaines of the ROMAINS, he came and camped hard by the citie of ROME it ſelfe, and procured ſtraunge kings and farre nations to make warre with the ROMAINS. He that was able to do ſo great things as theſe, men cannot otherwiſe thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Captaine. Others alſo ſpeaking of *Scipio* doe greatly prayſe and commend him for the foure Chieftaines he ouercame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated, and put to flight in SPAINE, and alſo for that he ouercame and tooke that great king *Syphax* priſoner. In fine, they come to praiſe that famous battell in the which *Scipio* ouercame *Anniball* at ZAMA. For if *Fabius* (ſaid they) were praiſed, becauſe he was not ouercome by *Anniball*: what eſtimation will they make of the AFRICAN, that in a pitched battell ouercame that ſo famous and dreadfull Captaine *Anniball*, and alſo did end ſo dangerous a warre? Beſides alſo, that *Scipio* did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy in plaine field. Where *Anniball* in contrary manner did alwaies vſe craft & ſubtilty, and was full of ſtratagemes and policie. And therefore all Authors, both Greeke and Latine, doe count him very fine and ſub-

tell. Furthermore, they greatly commend *Annibal* for that he maintained his army of ſo ſundry nations, ſo long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMANES: and yet that there was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other ſide, they blame him againe, becauſe he did not follow his victorie, when he had ouercome the ROMANES at that famous battell of CANNES: and alſo becauſe he ſpoiled his ſouldiers with too much eaſe, and the pleaſures of CAMPANIA and APVLIA, whereby they were ſo chaunged, that they ſeemed to be other ſouldiers then thoſe that had ouercome the ROMANES, at the ſundrie battels of TREBIA, THRASIMENE, and CANNES. All writers do reproue theſe things in *Annibal*, but ſpecially his crueltie. For amongſt other things, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwardes to burne them aliue? What ſhall a man ſay of them whom he cruelly put to death, in the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, when he departed out of ITALY? For *Scipio* AFRICAN on the other ſide, if we ſhall rather credit the beſt authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious writers: we may ſay, he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely liuely and valiant in fight, but alſo curteous and mercifull after victory. For oftentimes his enemies proued his valiantnes, the vanquiſhed his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithfulnes. Now therefore, let vs tel you what his continencie & liberalitie was, which he ſhewed in SPAINE vnto a young Ladie taken priſoner, and vnto *Luceius* Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: doth it not deſerue great praiſe? Now for their priuate doings, they were both vertuouſly brought vp, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, *Annibal* was verie familiar with *Socillus* LACEDÆMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with *Ennius* the Poet. Some ſay alſo, that *Annibal* was ſo well learned in the Greeke tongue, that he wrote an hiſtory in Greek touching the deedes of *Manlius Volſo*. Now truly I do agree with *Cicero*, that ſayd in his booke *de Oratore*, that *Annibal* heard *Phormio* PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, diſcourſing very largely of the office & dutie of a Chieftaine & generall, and of the martiall lawes and ordinances: & that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philoſopher, he ſhould anſwer in no verie perfect Greeke, but yet in Greeke, that he had ſeene many old doting fooles, but that he had neuer ſeene a greater doterd then *Phormio*. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, & *Annibal* had a ſharpe taunting wit in his anſwers. When king *Antiochus* on a time prepared to make warre with the ROMAINS, and had put his army into the field, not ſo well furniſhed with armor and weapon, as with gold and ſiluer: he asked *Annibal* if he thought his army ſufficient for the ROMAINS? yea (Sir) quoth he, that they be, were the enemies neuer ſo couetous. This may truely be ſayed of *Annibal*, that he obained many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the deſtruction of his countrie. *Scipio* in contrarie maner did preſerue his countrie in ſuch ſafetie, and alſo did ſo much increaſe the dominions thereof: that as many as ſhall looke into his deſert, they cannot but call ROME vnthankefull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (preſeruer of the citie) ſhould goe out of ROME, then that they ſhould repreſſe the fury and inſolency of a few. And for mine owne opinion, I cannot thinke well of that citie, that ſo vnthankfully hath ſuffered ſo worthy & innocent a perſon to be iniured: and ſo would I alſo haue thought it more blame worthy, if the citie had bene an ayder of the iniurie offred him. In fine, the Senate (as all men doe reporte) gaue great thankes vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, becauſe he did defend the *Scipions* cauſe: and the common people alſo following the AFRICAN, when he viſited the temples of ROME, and left the Tribunes alone that accuſed him, did thereby ſhew how much they did loue and honor the name of the *Scipoes*. And therefore, if we ſhould iudge the Citizens hartes and good willes by thoſe things, men would rather condemne them for cowards, to haue ſuffered ſuch outrage, then vnthankefull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were verie few that conſented to ſo wicked a deed, and all of them in manner were very ſorie for it. Howbeit *Scipio*, that was a man of a great minde, not much regarding the malice of his enemies: was content rather to leaue the citie, then by ciuill warres to deſtroy it. For he would not come againſt his coũtry with enſignes diſplaid, neither would he ſolicite ſtrange nations and mighty kings to come with force, and their aide, to deſtroy the citie, the which he had beautified with ſo many ſpoyles and triumphes as *Martius Coriolanus*, *Alcibiades*, and diuerſe others did, by record

Phormio Peripatetician reading Philoſophie in Epheſus.

Annibals witie anſwer, vnto king Antiochus.

of auncient ſtories. For we may eaſily perceiue how carefull he was to preſerue the libertie of ROME, becauſe when he was in SPAINE, he refuſed the title and name of king which was offered him: and for that he was maruellous angrie with the people of ROME, becauſe they would haue made him perpetuall Conſull and Dictator: and conſidering alſo that he commanded they ſhould ſet vp no ſtatue of him, neither in the place of the aſſembly, nor in the iudgement ſeate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honors afterwardes were giuen by the Citizens vnto *Cæſar*, that had ouercome *Pompey*. Theſe were the ciuill vertues of the AFRICAN, which were great and true praiſes of continencie. Now therefore, to deliuer you the ſumme and effect of theſe things: theſe two ſo famous Captaines are not ſo much to be compared together in their ciuill vertues (in the which *Scipio* chiefly excelled) as in the diſcipline of warres, and in the glorie of their famous victories. To conclude, their deathes were ſomwhat alike: for they both died out of their contries, although *Scipio* was not condemned by his contry as *Annibal* was, but would by voluntarie baniſhment dye out of the citie.

The end of the whole volume of Plutarkes liues.

A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALLEST THINGS CONTEINED IN THIS VOLVME.

Bas pag.691
Abantes. 3
Abantidas tyrant is slaine. 1082
Abolus fl. 299
Academia why so called. 18. *the Academicks opinion.* 570
Acerres a citie. 33
Acron making warre with Romulus is slaine. 30
Acrocorinthus mons. 1088
Achaians reuenge Philopœmens death. 404. *they redeeme the Romaines being sold for slaues.* 414. *their loue to Aratus.* 1096. *they send for Antigonus.* 1100. *they send for Philip.* 1102
Achilles dishonest fact. 687
Achelous fl. 179
Acrotatus his valiantnesse. 442
Acontium mons. 505
Acuphis wise aunswere to Alexander. 749
Aduersitie maketh men hastie. 792
Adranus the god. 288
Æacus. 5
Ægeus Theseus father. 2. *he acknowledgeth his sonne.* 6. *his death.* 11
Ægros fl. 482
Æthra Theseus mother. 2. *is taken prisoner.* 18
Æson fl. 269
Æques taken by Camillus. 154
Ægina wonne by the Athenians. 186
Ædiles of two sortes. 448
Æmilia Scipioes wife. 261
Ælius Tubero his vertue. 263
Ænobarbus why so called. 274
Æschylus ouerthrowne by Sophocles dyeth in Sicile. 530
Africans haue their eares boared through. 924 *the greatnesse of their dominions.* 1133
Agesipolis king of Lacedæmon. 307
Agiatis Agis his wife maried to Cleomenes. 850. *her death.* 859
Agis his linage and his constancie. 843. *he would reforme the common wealth.* 844. *his law.* 845. *he maketh his goods common.* 846. *he deceiued Agesilaus, his iourney into Achaia.* 847. *he gaue place to Aratus.* 848 *he is caried to prison, he is betrayed.* 849. *he, his mother and grandmother are strangled.* 850, 489
Agesilaus his parentage, his education. 651. *he learned first to obey then to commaunde, his modestie, his lamenesse, he is made king by Lysanders meanes.* 652. *he is an vprighter enemie then a friend.* 653. *his iourney into Asia, his dreame in Aulide, his grudge to Lysander.* 654, 317, 490. *his deedes in Asia, his craft.* 655. *his victorie of Tisaphernes, he is made generall of the Lacedemonian nauie.* 656. *he draue Pharnabazus out of his tents, his meeting with Pharnabazus and talke with him.* 657. *he was a friend to his friends without respect, his letter for his friend, his vertue, he is sent for out of Asia.* 658. *his obedience to his countrey, his darke speaches, he deceiued the barbarous people & returned home through their countrey.* 659. *he ouercame the Pharsalians, his battell with the Thebans.* 660. *his worthinesse, his constancie.* 661. *his policie to winne his enemies, he was king with Agesipolis, his Apothegmes.* 662. *he ouercame the Acarnanians, his prayse of Iustice.* 663. *he cockered his children, his iourney into Boeotia, his subtile deuise to shewe the weaknesse of the Allyes, he fell sicke of a daungerous disease.* 665. *his strife with Epaminondas.* 666. *his deuise to apprehend traytors.* 668. *he saued Sparta.* 669. *he reiected Epaminondas from Lacedæmon, he was greedie of warres.* 670. *he is derided of the Egyptians, he despised all dainties, he forsaketh Tachos.* 671. *his stratageme against the Egyptians.* 672. *his death, and raigne, his body annoynted with wax in steed of hony.* 673. *how he and Pompey came to be great.* 714. *their deeds, he lost Lacedæmon.* 715. *he was more constant then Pompey.* 716. *he made warre with the Persians.* 1021
Alicus slayne. 18
Alcmenaes body vanished out of sight. 39
Alcæus verses against Philip. 410
Alcyoneus Antigonus sonne. 446
Albanus ouerflowing wonderfull. 143
Alcinus Albanian wore an armor of 120. *pound weight.* 950
Alexas treason iustly punished. 1003
Alexia besieged and conquered by Cæsar. 771
Alexandria had a great Librarie burnt. 781
Albani what people they are. 691. *they rebell against Pompey.* 691
Alcibiades, his linage and tutors. 209. *his beautie, he lisped, his studies.* 210. *his insolencie to Antus.* 211. *his liberall fact, he ranne from Socrates, he is giuen to pleasure.* 212. *he striketh a schoolemaister, his first warfare, he saueth Socrates life, his mariage, his dogge.* 213. *his largesse, he commeth to the common wealth, he is victor at the Olympian games, he is a promise breaker.* 214. *his aduersaries.* 215. *he breaketh peace with the Grecians, and beguileth the Lacedæmonians.* 216. *he is chosen generall, his ryot.* 207. *his dishonestie, he was authour of warres in Sicile.* 218. *he is accused of prophaning the mysteries.* 219. *his enemies craft, his iourney into Italie.* 220. *he answereth his accusatiõ, he is condemned, he flyeth to Sparta.* 222. *he is vnconstãt, he got Timea king*

king Agis wife with child. 652. 223. *he flyeth from Lacedæmon.* 224. *he is called from exile.* 226, 230. *his victory at Lacedæmon, Calcedonia, Selubrea, Cizicum, he is taken priſoner.* 227, 228. *he is wittie.* 214, 228. *his ſtratageme winning Bizantium.* 229. *his oratiõ, being generall he reſtored the old ceremonies.* 231. *his ſecõd iourney, he is accuſed by Thraſibulus.* 232. *put from his generalſhip, flyeth into Bithynia.* 233. *his dreame death and buriall.* 234. *he is compared with Coriolanus, their actes.* 257. *their manners for money.* 258. *their loue to their countrey.* 259. *his good counſell to the Athenian Captaines.* 481. *his diuers wit.* 580. *his craft, he is periured.* 582

Alexander the great, his parentage. 717. *his birth, wonders at his birth, his perſonage, his body had a ſweete ſauour.* 718. *he coueted honour, his noble minde.* 719. *his agilitie in riding, his Epiſtle to Ariſtotle, he practiſed Phiſicke.* 720. *his ſouldierfare, he mocketh his father.* 721. *the beginning of his raigne, he ouercame Syrmus, he won Thebes.* 722. *he is choſen generall of Greece, his talke with Diogenes.* 723. *wonderfull ſignes appeared to him, his armie in Aſia, his liberalitie, his ſaying of Achilles.* 724. *his battell with Darius, his victorie of the Perſians.* 725. 727. *he honoreth the memorie of Theodectus, his ſickneſſe in Cicilia.* 726. *he greatly truſted his Phiſitian.* 727. *his clemencie to captiue Ladies, his chaſtitie, his pleaſant ſpeach of womens beautie.* 728. *he is temperat in eating, his education, he was a pleaſant Prince.* 729. *he beſiegeth Tyre, his two dreames of Tyre, his iourney againſt the Arabians, his courage.* 730. *he taketh the citie of Gaza, he builded Alexandria, his dreame in Egypt, his iourney to the oracle of Hammon.* 731. *he aſcribeth godhead to himſelfe.* 732. *he maketh feaſtes and playes.* 733. *his chaſtitie is commended.* 734. *his magnanimitie, his third battell with Darius, his armour.* 735. *an eagle flew ouer his head, his third victorie of Darius, & his liberalitie.* 736. *he findeth treaſure at Suſa.* 737. *his iourney into Perſia, he findeth great treaſure in Perſia.* 738. *his prodigalitie is reproued, he reproueth the prodigalitie of his friends.* 739. *he was an enemie to idleneſſe, his care of his friends, his care of iuſtice.* 741. *he pardoned ſlaunders, his painfull iourney after Darius, his deſire to purſue his enemies, his loue to his enemies.* 741. *he goeth after the Parthian maner, he bringeth the Macedonians to obedience.* 742. *he maried Roxane the Perſian, he enuied Philotas.* 743. *why he ſlue Clitus, his dreame of Clitus.* 744. *he is offended with Ariſtotle.* 747. *his iourney into India, he burnt his owne cariage, his cruelty to his men, a monſtrous lambe appeared vnto him.* 748. *his anſwere to Taxiles, he diſhonorably brake the peace, his actes againſt king Porus.* 749. *his conqueſts in India.* 750. *his returne out of India, his vayne deuiſes to make himſelfe immortall, he was in daunger.* 751. *he propounded ten queſtions to the wiſemen of India, and rewarded them.* 752. *his nauie in the Ocean, his armie in India, his ſouldiers riot, his ſubiectes rebell.* 753. *he made men drinke for games, his wonderfull giftes, he payed his ſouldiers debts.* 754. *his clemencie and liberalitie, his ſorrow for Hæpheſtion.* 755, 325. *he honoreth the Plateians for their noble mindes.* 357. *he warneth Ariſtides of the Perſias comming to fight.* 359. *he required certaine orators of Athens.* 907. *ſignes before his death, he is affrayed of Antipater.* 756. *he falleth ſicke, his death.* 757

Alexander tyrant of Pheres. 319. *his crueltie.* 321. *he was the firſt that was ſlayne by his owne wife.* 326

Alexander Polyperchons ſonne, his treaſon to the Athemans. 806

Amazones order in battell. 15 *what they were.* 691

Amulius perplexed in his minde. 24. *he is ſlayne.* 25

Amphyctriones their counſell. 530

Amompharetus his ſtubburneſſe. 360

Ambition abideth no equals. 490. *greatly to be auoyded.* 497. *hateſull in a common wealth.* 390. *dangerous.* 655

Amanus mons. 929, 965

Amyntas and Deiotarus forſake Antonius. 998

Amphicrates an orator of Athens dyed in Tigranes court. 556

Antonius Lupercian putteth the diademe vpon Cæſars head. 974

Antonius honoratus Tribune his oration to the mutinous ſouldiers. 1111

Antonius, his parentage, his fathers liberalitie. 968, 970. *he is corrupted by Curio, his charge vnder Gabinius, his actes againſt Ariſtobulus, his actes in Egypt.* 969. *his curteſie to Archelaus being dead, his ſhape, he is Tribune and Augur.* 970. *his actes for Cæſar, he flyeth vnto Cæſar, his vices.* 971. *he goeth with his armie to Cæſar, his manhood in war, he led the left wing of Cæſars army againſt Pompey, his abhominable life.* 972. *his diſſention with Dolabella.* *ibid.* *his drunkenneſſe, his inſolẽcie, he buyeth Pompeys houſe, he maried Fuluia, he was Conſull with Cæſar.* 973. *he vnwittingly gaue Cæſars enemies occaſion to conſpire his death, he was in daunger to be murthered with Cæſar.* 974. *he made an vprore for Cæſars death, he was Conſull, one of his brethren Pretor and an other Tribune, his diſſention with Octauius Cæſar, they became friends, his dreame.* 975. *he was iudged an enemie, he is ouerthrowne in battell, his patience in aduerſitie, he wan all Lepidus armie from him.* 976. *his conſpiracie with Cæſar and Lepidus, his crueltie to Cicero, his riot in his triumuirate.* 977. *his valiantneſſe againſt Brutus, he buried Brutus, his curteſie in Greece, his crueltie in Aſia.* 979. *his ſimplicitie, his maners, the maner how he fell in loue with Cleopatra.* 979. *his exceſſiue expences with her.* 980. *his fiſhing in Egypt.* 981. *he and Cæſar make peace with Pompey.* 982. *he is vnfortunate in Cæſars companie.* 983. *new diſpleaſurs betwixt him and Cæſar.* 984. *he ſent for Cleopatra into Aſia, and gaue her great prouinces, his twinnes by her, his great armie, his great loue to Cleopatra.* 985. *he beſieged Phraata, his battell with the Parthians.* 986. *his returne from thence.* 987. *his care of his*

wounded ſouldiers, his ſouldiers loue him, his ſingular giftes, his prayer for his armie. 989. great famine in his army. 990. his liberalitie to Mithridates, a tumult in his army, his deſperate minde. 991. he fought eighteen battels with the Parthians, he triũphed ouer Artabazus. 992. he pined away with looking for Cleopatra. 993. the cauſe of his warres with Cæſar, he deuided diuers prouinces to his children by Cleopatra, the accuſations betwixt him and Cæſar. 994. his nauie against Cæſar, he caried Cleopatra to the warres, he put his wife Octauia out of his houſe at Rome. 995. his Empire was taken from him, he had eight kings to aide him, he was too much ruled by Cleopatra, diuers ſignes about this warre, his dominions. 997. he was in daunger of taking at Actium, where he rode at anker, he refuſed his friendes counſell. 998. his battell with Cæſar. 999. he flieth after Cleopatra, he licenſeth his frendes to depart with giftes, his nauie is ouerthrowne. 1000. his legions yeeld to Cæſar, he followeth Timons life. 1001. his riot after his loſſe, he ſent Ambaſſadors to Cæſar. 1002. his order for banquetting. ibidem. ſtrange muſicke heard in his campe, his nauie yeeldeth to Cæſar and he is ouerthrowne, he ſlue himſelfe, he is caried to Cleopatraes tombe. 1004. the lamentation betwixt him and Cleopatra. 1005. Emperours came of him. 1008. he is compared with Demetrius, their power. 1009. their Ambition, their bountie, their riots, their wiues, their vnconſtancie. 1010. their warres. 1011. he was the firſt Romaine that had two wiues. 1011. he and Curio flye to Cæſar. 773. he was faithfull to Iulius Cæſar. 789. why he was not ſlaine with Cæſar. 1061. he made Iulius Cæſars funerall oration. 1062. his teſtimonie of Brutus. 1066

Anniball his parentage. 1129. his ſharpe wit, he is choſen generall to Haſdruball at 26. yeare old, his hate to the Romaines. 1130. his ſtratageme, he layeth ſiege to Saguntus. 1131. he winneth it. 1132. he determined to inuade Italie, his dreame at the riuer Iberus. 1133. he made way through the rockes, his comming into Italie, his army there, his firſt conflict with the Romaines. 1134. he layd an ambuſh to entrap Sempronius, he fought with Sempronius. 1135. his victorie of Sempronius, he loſt one of his eyes. 1136. his battell with Flaminius, his craftineſſe to diſſemble vertue, his naturall diſpoſition. 1137 he putteth his guide to death, his ſtratageme againſt Fabius. 1138. an other ſtratageme. 1140. he wanne three great battels of the Romaines. 1141. conſpiracie againſt him at Capua. 1142. his ſouldiers are marred with eaſe, his good fortune began to fayle him. 1143. he winneth Tarentum. 1144. an other ſtratageme, he commeth to inuade Rome. 1145. he fell in loue at Salapia. 1146. he fell into great errour, his ſtratageme ſetting vpon Fabius. 194. his ſtratagemes at Cannes. 199. his craft. 195. his battell. 200. he ſubdueth all Italie. ibid. his ambuſh for Fabius. 202. certaine Spaniards and Numidians forſake him. 333. his wordes conquering Marcellus. 343. his garriſon in Sinueſſe. ibid. his ambuſh. 344. he had diuers conflictes with the Romains, his words of Marcellus, he layeth an ambuſh for the Romaines. 1147. his wiſedome in gouerning his army, his laſt battell in Italie, he was ouercome by Sempronius, he is ſent for into Africke, his pillers of triumphe, his departure out of Italie, his parley with Scipio. 1149. he flyeth to Antiochus in Aſia. 1150. 411. he could not abide to heare fooles talke of warre. 1150. he counſelleth Antiochus to make warre with the Romaines. 1151. he is made generall of Antiochus army by ſea, he fled to Truſias king of Bithynia, he is generall of his army againſt Eumenes king of Pergamum, his ſtratageme with ſnakes. 1152. he poyſoned himſelfe, his tombe, his prayſe. 1153. 418. his laſt wordes, he was deceiued in the oracle concerning his death. 418. his iudgement of Captaines. 419. 426. 1151. he is ſent for out of Italie into Africke, his prayſe. 1165. his wittie aunſwere to Antiochus. 1172

Anaces why ſo called. 18

Antiopa, rauiſhed by Theſeus. 14

Andria and Phidtia meales why ſo called. 51

Andrians gods. 134

Antiorus Lycurgus ſonne. 65

Ancylia why ſo called. 76

Ancus Marcus ſonne. 81

Antigonus his ſouldiers armed with gilt armor. 646. his mocke to Eumenes. 647. his anſwere for keeping of Eumenes priſoner. 649. he is called Doſon. 264. his ſaying of Philopœmens skill. 394. he flyeth from Pyrrus. 440. his anſwer to Pyrrus chalenge. 444. his curteſie to Pyrrus body and his friends 446. his dreame. 941. his mirth with his ſonne Demetrius. 948. his ſhamefaſtneſſe. 951. his armie and the kings that conſpired againſt him. 953. his death. 954. his loue to his father. 967

Antagoras his rebellious act againſt Pauſanias. 365

Antiochus Ciceroes ſchoolemaiſter. 913

Antiochus the king his power. 376. he is hurt in the face. 378. he is ouercome by Manius, his mariage. 415. his army. 416. 376. his iudgement of Anniball. 1151. he doth accept conditions of peace. 1168

Anaxagoras wrote firſt of the Eclipſe of the Moone. 591. he determined to famiſh himſelfe, his anſwer to Pericles. 177

Antiochus Seleucus ſon maried his fathers wife. 959

Andocides the orator impriſoned. 221

Angers force. 246

Andromachus gouernour of Tauromenion, his treaſon to Craſſus. 615

Anapus fl. 293

Anius fl. 164. 776. 785

Antipater the ſtoicke Catoes ſchoolemaiſter. 811

Antipater beſieged the Athenians. 908. he was affrayed of Alexander. 744

Anienes fl. 1145

Antigonus of Corinth, did honorably entertaine Aratus, they are ſworne brethren. 1100. his craft and deceite. 1088. he craftily taketh the caſtle of Acrocorinth. 1088

Antigonus Demetrius ſon wan Sparta, his death. 863

Antigonus king of Iurie the first king, that was beheaded. 985
Antillus Antonius eldest sonne. 1002. *he is slaine.* 1006
Antalcidas his peace. 663. 1022. *his estimation with Artaxerxes, his death.* 1022. *his saying.* 665
Antilibon mons. 730
Androcottus. 751
Antigenes a Captaine banished for lying. 754
Antæus huge tombe. 626
Aunceſtours example is profitable for their posteritie. 1081
Antiochia a citie. 564
Androclidas, banished and slaine. 308
Antistius his death. 677
Aollius Romulus sonne. 29
Apollo Delphias. 7. *Lycius.* 445. *Thurias, Pythias.* 510
Aphydnes wonne by the Tindarides. 18
Appius Claudius goeth to dwell at Rome. 119. *his lunage. ibidem. he prouideth to continue warre with Pyrrus.* 434
Appius Clodius sent to Tigranes from Lucullus. 553. *he was Lucullus wiues brother.* 554. *his boldneſſe and abſtinence from taking gifts.* 555
Appolinius teſtimonie of Cicero. 913
Apolia and Prolyta Ageſilaus daughters. 661
Apollocrates Dionyſius eldeſt ſonne. 1044. 1051
Aquily certaine traitours. 108
Aratus, the ſonne of Clinias, ſcaped the tyrant Abantidas hands, his malice to tyrãts, his fauour, he wrote a booke of Commentaries, he practiſed to deliuer his countrey from tyranny. 1082. *his preparation, his poliſie to deceiue Nicocles ſpials.* 1083. *he is choſen generall of the Achaians.* 847. *his dangers in deliuering his countrey, he wanne Sicyone without bloudſhed.* 1084. *he ioyned Sicyone to the Achaians, he referred all things to the common wealth.* 1085. *he taketh ſea to go into Egypt.* 1086. *his treaſon to his countrey.* 857. *his danger in taking the caſtle of the Acrocorinth.* 1090. *the moone did benefite him. ibidẽ. he ioyneth Corinth to Achaia, his power and authoritie with the Achaiãs.* 1091. *he goeth about to ſet Argos at libertie, he prepared ſhort daggers againſt the tyrants decree, his gouernement obtained by vertue.* 1092. *he gaue Ariſtippus the victory, his ſtratageme to entrap him.* 1093. *his victory of Ariſtippus, his counſell againſt the Ætolians.* 1094. *he ſetteth vpon his laſciuious enemies, he bringeth the Ætolians, in league with the Achaians, he attempted to ſet Athens at libertie.* 1095. *he is ouerthrowne by the Macedonians, he deliuered Argos from tyranny.* 1096. *he putteth the rebels of Sicyone to death, his conſtancie in daunger, his ſubtiltie flying from Corinth, he is in daunger for his countrey.* 1099. *his infamie for Ariſtomachus.* 1101. *he cauſed Mantinea to be called Antigonia, he is ouerthrowne by the citie of Caphyes, his ſonnes wordes to Philip, his wiſe anſwere to Philip touching a Princes ſaftie.* 1103. *his diſſenſion with Philip, he is a wiſe counſeller.* 1102. 1103. *he forſooke Philip, he is poyſoned by Philips meanes, an oracle for his buriall.* 1104. *his ſonnes miſerable death.* 1105. *his temperance, his doings in his firſt Prætorſhip.* 1088. *he winneth Mantinea.* 1097. *he is ouerthrowne by Cleomenes.* 1097. *his reproch to preferre a ſtraunger to the gouernement before a citizen.* 1098. *his determination for the taking of the Acrocorinth.* 1088
Aratium a yearely ſacrifice to honour Aratus. 1104
Ariſtides his wealth. 348. *his enemies in the common wealth, his nature, his maner of dealing, his conſtancie.* 350. *his iuſtice, he is choſen treaſurer, condemned, reſtored, he reproueth theeues* 351. *he is Prouoſt of Athens, and called iuſt.* 352. 124. *he is baniſhed.* 353. *recalled, his acts againſt Xerxes, his words of Themiſtocles, his victorie at Pſitalea.* 354. *his counſell, his ſtratageme.* 355. *he is made generall of the Athenians.* 356. *he pacifieth a mutinie.* 357. *he preferreth the popular ſtate.* 364. *his ſentence of Themiſtocles deuiſe, he is generall with Cymon ouer the thenians, his iuſtice preuailed againſt the Lacedæmonians, his fine triall of traitors.* 365. *he ſeſſed the Grecians truly, preferreth neceſſitie, taunteth Themiſtocles.* 366. *he glorieth in pouertie, he is commended of Plato, his temperance, his death, he is cõdemned for extortion.* 367. *his tombe.* 368. *his ſaying of rich men, he is baniſhed.* 126. *he returneth.* 129. *his bookes called Mileſians.* 617
Artaxerxes Mnemon, his parentage. 1011. *he is made king of Perſia.* 1012. *he was curteous and liberall.* 1013. *his army againſt Cyrus.* 1014. *he is hurt by Cyrus.* 1016. *he dranke ſtincking water, his iuſtice.* 1017. *he driueth the Lacedæmonians out of his dominion.* 1021. *he ſlue Tiſaphernes, he ſent for his mother to come to court againe, he maried his eldeſt daughter, his iourney againſt the Caduſians, great famine in his armie.* 1023. *his courage, paynes and curteſie.* 1024. *he preuenteth his ſonnes treaſon and ſaueth his owne life.* 1026. *his ſonnes names, he dyed being 94 yeares of age.* 1027. *he is cõpared with Eumenes, his death more honeſt then Eumenes.* 651
Adriadne in loue with Theſeus, 9. diuers opinions of her, 10, being left in Cyprus, ſhe dyeth with child there, where they ſacrifice to her. 11
Arſanias fl. 563
Armiluſtrum. 30
Ariſteas taken out of ſight. 36
Areopagites councell 97. *their authoritie.* 99
Ariſtratus his picture was moſt exquiſite. 1086
Areopagus. 535
Arthmius defamed for bribing. 126
Artemiſium coaſt. 127
Aratus a ſoft man, raiſed Achaia. 394
Areus made king of Sparta. 441. *he aideth Sparta.* 443
Ardea a citie. 154
Armie like the parts of a man. 306
Ariſtotles ſaying of rich men. 306. *his bookes.* 513. *De anima.* 1037. *he is ſuſpected for poyſoning Alexander the great.* 757
Archias and Leontides gouernours of the Thebans. 308. *he hunted the baniſhed men.* 909
Archimedes a notable Mathematician. 334. *the force of his engines.* 335. 336. *his Syren and demonſtration*

of the Silinder. 337. diuers opinions of his death. 338
Architas a Philosopher. 1035. he requireth Plato of Dionysius. 1036
Architas and Eudoxus Mathematicians. 336
Aristocratia what. 350. 1033
Arimnestus dreame. 356
Armour that is good encourageth the souldiers. 396
Argos, sedition there. 453. a copper bull and wolfe set vp fighting. 445. they rebell against Cleomenes. 859. 1101.
Artaxes king of Armenia. 563
Articles for the Senate of Rome to confirme the peoples voyces. 464
Artaxata built by Anniball. 567
Ariston his wickednesse. 505. he yeelded to Sylla. 506. he is poysoned. 512
Archelaus suspected of treason, he is sent from Sylla to Mithridates. 512
Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia. 513
Ariomanes cast anker before Eurimedon. 533
Archidamus sodaine policie saued Sparta. 536. he is slayne. 852. his saying of warre. 597. his fortitude. 670, 862
Aristagoras vision. 546
Aristogiton a Sycophant. 795
Artemon Periphoretos, a timorous man. 182
Aristodemus tyrant of Megalopolis. 843
Aristodemus a notable flatterer. 947
Araxis fl. 992
Arar fl. 1133
Artabazus his trecherie to Antonius. 992
Aristomaches words to Dion to receiue his wife. 1049.
Aristomachus iometh with Aratus. 1082. his death. 1101
Artagerses giueth charge vpon Cyrus. 1015
Aristippus tyrant of Argos, his saying of Dionysius, his diuination. 1035. he layd wayt to kill Aratus, his miserable life. 1092
Aristæus king Philips bastard. 721
Aristobulus report of Alexanders death. 757
Arideus Alexanders bastard. 758
Arax fl. 767
Artabazes king of Armenia. 607. sent to Crassus. 609
Ariamnes, Captaine of the Arabians, deceiued Crassus. 608
Argyraspides Alexanders souldiers. 645
Arcadians victorie of Archidamus. 669
Arnus fl. 1136
Asty the Athenians townhouse. 13
Asyleus temple a sanctuarie for fugitiues. 25
Aspasia a faire woman described. 180. accused. 185. maried to Pericles. 177
Aspasia Ionian Darius concubine. 1025
Asopus fl. 356
Asia fell into miserie. 545
Aspides the castle at Argos. 444
Astronomie hath great contrarietie. 472
Assus fl. 507
Asbolomeni who they were. 525
Aspicke the propertie of her byting. 1002
Asinius Pollio reporteth the battell at Pharsalia. 709
Asteropus the first man that gaue the Ephores their authoritie. 854
Athens, they pay tribute to Minos 7. their idle liuers punished. 60. they grieue to send their tribute children into Creta. 8. their towne house Asty. 13. their warres with the Amazones. 14. they disdaine to obey Theseus. 19. their buriall. 92. sedition pacified by Solon. 93. three councels erected. 97. their tribes how called. 100. feastes in the towne hall. 101. sedition in Solons absence, it was forsaken. 128. and built againe. 133. their equitie. 134. diuers artificers. 171. their Odeon. 175. a generall councell holden. 178. their coyne. 182. they are accused at Lacedamon. 183. the plague. 186. their buildings passe Romes. 20. it is ouercome by the Lacedamonians. 232. and taken by Lysander. 233. their Iudges and people first corrupted with money. 242. their noble mindes. 355. they striue with the Tegeates. 357. the rich conspire. ibid. their strife for victorie. 363. their thankefulnesse, and liberalitie to Aristides children. 368. it is yeelded vp to Lysander. 454. an Edict against bamished men. 492. a great slaughter. 505. their miseries presaged. 863. their crueltie to Phocion. 807. they honored Demetrius too much. 945. their curtesie to Philip. 950. their vnfaithfulnesse to Demetrius. 955. their mangled statues and other signes made them affrayed to make warre in Sicile. 584. they are slaughtered at Syracusa. 590. their miserie. 592. they condemned their captaines to dye. 594. they torment the messengers of their ouerthrow. 595
Attalus death. 909. he made the Romaines his heire. 870.
Attalia Catoes wife, 812
Athenodorus Catoes friend. 813
Athesis fl. 460
Atellius opinion of Brutus battell. 1071
Atri dies. 560
Ausidius fl. 199, 1139
Authoritie should be vncorrupted. 353
Aulus Pompeius Tribune. 457
Autolicus a wrestler put to death. 485
Autolicus founder of Synope. 556
Auximum a citie. 676
Aug. Octa. Cæsar ioyned friendship with Cicero, his parentage. 933. his birth, he sueth to be Consull, he forsaketh Cicero. 934. his ambition was cause of the ciuill warre. 971. he giueth Antonius charge of Italie. ibid. he exacted grieuous payments of the Romaines. 996. his dominions, his power against Antonius. 997. a lucke signe to him before his battell with Antonius. 999. he lamenteth Antonius death, he sent to fetch Cleopatra aliue. 1005. he taketh Alexandria, he greatly honored Arrius the Philosopher, he commeth to see Cleopatra. 1006. his comming to Rome. 1063. he ioyned with Antonius against Brutus. 1065. he is falsely reported to be slayne at Philippes. 1073. great famine in his campe. 1075
Axius fl. 961

B

Babylon had no Iuie about it. 737
Batauij their valiantneſſe in warre. 1124
Barſine Eumenes wife. 638
Baſterna what they are. 265. 266
Barathrum a priſon. 450
Baſilica Porcia built by Cato. 381
Battabaces a Prieſt. 457
Bardiei what they were. 473. *they were ſlaine by their owne Captaines.* 474
Barbarians moſt eſteeme of money. 479. *wherein their force did moſt conſiſt.* 506. *they can abide no riuals in loue.* 1025
Barcinian faction. 1130
Beaſts dead and corrupted breed liuing things. 864
Berenicida a citie of Epirus. 425
Bernice Mithridates ſiſter ſtrangled her ſelfe. 552
Beſſus executed. 741
Beſula fl. 1157
Bebraicum a towne of Cremona. 1125
Bibulus his booke of Brutus actes. 1058
Bloud of a man drunke to confirme a confederacie. 109
Bluſhing in young men. 375
Boſphorus Cimmericus an arme of the ſea. 115
Boldneſſe too much not good. 305
Boeotians yeeld to the Romaines. 409. *their warres and cauſe thereof.* 492
Boeorix king of the Cimbrians. 461
Bocchas deliuered Iugurthe to Sylla. 497. *the cauſe of his friendſhip with Sylla.* 497
Boians and Inſubrians go from the Romaines to Annibal. 1134
Brennus king of the Gaules, he reproueth Fabius for breaking the lawes. 150
Breſſelles a towne hard by the riuer of Po. 1124
Brutus and Caſſius conſpire Cæſars death. 974, 787. *Brutus is taken priſoner, at Pharſalia.* 780. *they be both Prætors.* 785. *Brutus had a ſpirite appeared twiſe vnto him.* 791. *his parentage and manners.* 1059. *he followed the Academickes, his briefe maner of writing, he followeth Cato into Cyprus, he taketh part with Pompey.* 1054. *he ſtudied in Pompeys campe, he was ſaued by Iulius Cæſar.* 1055. *he and Caſſius contend to be Prætors.* 1056. *he is incenſed againſt Cæſar.* 1057. *he hideth the conſpiracie from Cicero, the conſpiratours were ſecret.* 1058. *and had many misfortunes.* 1059. *he encouraged his ſouldiers, he murthered Cæſar.* 1060. *he with his conſortes went to the Capitoll.* 1061. *his faults in Cæſars death, he and his conſorts fly from Rome, his playes in his abſence.* 1062. *he reproueth Cicero for ioyning with Cæſar, how he beſtowed his time at Athens.* 1063. *he commended Ciceroes ſonne, he prepareth for warre, he had a ſtrange diſeaſe, his thankefulneſſe, and clemencie.* 1064. *he is condemned for Iulius Cæſars death.* 1065. *he ioyneth armies with Caſſius, his gentle conditions, his intent was good, his noble minde to his countrey.* 1066. *he foretelleth Antonius enmitie, his gueſts in Lycia.* 1067. *his clemencie to the Lycians.* 1068. *he and Caſſius complaine the one to the other, his conſtancy in equitie, his care.* 1069. *a ſpirite appeared to him in Sardis, his campe againſt Cæſar, his ſouldiers were brauely armed.* 1070. *his talke with Caſſius about the battell, his anſwere to Caſſius.* 1071. *his battell at Phillippes.* 1072. *his clemencie and curteſie commended.* 1074. *his fault is excuſed by Plutarch, his victorie by ſea, the cauſe of his ouerthrow, the ſpirite appeared againe, ſtraunge ſights before his battell.* 1075. *his ſecond battell, his valiantneſſe and skill in warre.* 1076. *his flight, his wordes of flying, he ſlue himſelfe.* 1077. *his funerals.* 1078. *he was honored of his enemies after his death, his image was preſerued by Cæſar.* 1080. *his fathers death.* 681
Buriall of men aliue. 324
Bubbles of fire roſe out of a medow. 514
Butes burnt himſelfe, his friendes and citie for feare of Cimon. 529
Bucephalia a citie built by Alexander. 750
Bucephall Alexanders horſe. 719. *his death.* 751

C

Cannes the battell, there was great ſlaughter. 1140
Camerium taken for Romulus. 36
Carmentalia feaſts. 34
Capitoll building the charges of it. 115
Captaine wiſe and skilfull. 269, 306. *raſhneſſe in him a fault.* 347. *a principall point of wiſedome in him.* 715. *haſtineſſe in him is hurtfull.* 1138
Callias the rich. 181. *he was Ambaſſadour to take the king of Perſiaes oth.* 535
Caucaſius mons. 691
Callias the torchbearer his wicked fact. 362
Callicrates ſlaine without fighting. 361
Callidromus mons. 377
Caſſander Antipaters ſonne. 805
Catulus Luctatius, what he was. 815. *he flyeth from the Cimbres.* 460. *he killeth himſelfe.* 474. *his boldneſſe to diſſwade from Amlius law.* 688
Carthagmians threaten Tauromemon. 288. *their wars againſt Timoleō.* 295. *the order of their army.* 296. *they had two contrarie factions.* 1131. *they proclaime warres with the Romaines.* 1132. *their chaunge of fortune.* 1148. *they had three famous Captaines beſides Annibal.* 1157. *a very great ſlaughter of them.* 1164
Calauria a citie of Sicile. 298
Catana yeeldeth to Timoleon. 299
Cadmea taken by Phœbidas. 308
C. Billius cruell death. 873
C. Herennius pleadeth for Marius. 449
C. Lælius why he was called wiſe. 867
C. Fabricius Ambaſſadour refuſeth Pyrrus gifts. 435. *he aduertiſed Pyrrus of his Phiſitiās treachery.* 436
C. Antonius, yeeldeth to Brutus, he is murdered. 1065
Caius Caſſinius geueth the onſet of Cæſars ſide and is ſlaine. 709
Callicratidas ſucceedeth Lyſander. 478. *his patience and death.* 479
Calliſthenes poyſoned Lucullus. 571
Caſtor and Pollux. 482

Calibius Captaine of the castle at Athens. 485
Caphis superstition. 504
Cartes armed with Syethes. 509
Carboes tale of the fox and Lyon. 515. *he fled into Africke.* 516. *his death.* 678
C. Metellus his boldnesse against Sylla. 517
Callistratus the orator. 888
Caius Lentulus called Sura. 919. *his treason, he is apprehended.* 920. *he with the rest are executed.* 922. *he is Consull.* 928
Cassius maried Brutus sister, his first malice to Cæsar, he incenseth Brutus against Cæsar, his Lōs, he was enemie to tyrants. 1056. *he prayeth Brutus aide.* 1057. *his cruell conditions.* 1066. *he wan Rhodes.* 1067. *his crueltie to the Rhodians.* 1068. *his opinion of spirites.* 1070. *vnluckie signes, his words to Messula.* 1071. *his death.* 978. *he is ouercome by Spartacus.* 601. *he was treasurer vnder Crassus.* 607. *his gentle answere in the straights.* 615. *his misfortune, his valiantnesse and death.* 1073
Camidius fault Antonius Captaine. 988
Caduſia a barren country. 1023
Cambyses armie slaine by sand hilles. 732
Callisthenes comforteth Alexander, he is ennied. 746. *he is suspected of treason, he is slaine.* 747
C. Flaminius Consull with Serulius. 1136. *he is slaine.* 1137
Calanus alias Sphines a Philosopher of India. 752. *he sacrificed himselfe.* 754
Carmania a countrey. 753
Canninius Robilius Consull for one day. 785
Calpurnia Cæsars wives dreame. 788
Casca gaue Cæsar the first blow. 789, 1060
Callimachus gouernour of Amisus. 553. *he burned it and flyeth.* ibid. 564
Cassilinians their hard shift to liue during Annibals siege. 1143
Callippus Athenian conspireth against Dion. 1051. *his punishment, he is slaine.* 1052
Carres a citie. 612
Castulo a citie. 622
Cantarum what it is. 661
Capua why so called. 1141
Cæsarion Cleopatraes sonne by Iulius Cæsar. 782. *he is put to death.* 1006
Cæcilius Metellus Consull. 450
Cæpio Catoes brothers death. 813
Camillus was neuer Consull, his wisedome and modestie, he is hurt. 142. *his actes in his Censorship, he was thrise Tribune.* 143, 147. *he is chosen Dictatour.* 144, 155. *his prayer at the siege of Veies.* 145. *his triumphe of the Veians, he is maliced of the people.* 146. *he besieged Faleria and punisheth their schoolemaister.* 147. *he exileth himselfe.* 148. *he excuseth the Romaines and perswadeth the Ardeans to inuade the Gaules.* 154. *he slue the Gaules.* 155. *he beardeth Brennus and ouercometh him.* 157. *his triumphe ouer the Gaules.* 156, 165. *he was Dictatour the third time.* 159. *his office is proroged.* 158. *his stratageme against the Latines and Volsees.* 161. *he is chosen Tribune againe.* 162. *he ouercometh the Volsces, Prænestines and Thuscanes, he is sent against the Thuscanes, he is Dictator the fourth and fift time.* 163. *he dyed of the plague.* 166
Cato Vtican, his parentage, and maners. 809. *his austeritie, his constancie in his childhood, his hate to tyrants, his loue to his brother.* 810. *his act for Basilica Porcia, his exercises, his drinking.* 811. *his mariages, his first souldierfare, he is chosen Tribunus militum, how he trained his men.* 812. *his mourning for his brothers death, his iourney into Asia.* 813. *his modestie, he was honored of Pompey in Asia, he was rather suspected then loued of him.* 814. *his iourney to Deiotarus and abstinence from gifts, he is made Quæstor.* 815. *he made the Quæstorship of great dignitie and so left it.* 816. *he was reuenged of Syllaes bloudy murther.* 816. *his care of the common wealth, he draue Clodius out of Rome, his authoritie, his companie with Philosophers.* 817. *his Tribuneship.* 818. *his oration against Cæsar, he had ill fortune with his wiues.* 819. *he caused corne to be distributed to the people, he resisteth Metellus.* 820. *his noble courage.* 821. *his deedes for Lucullus, he resisteth Pompey, and refuseth Allyance with him.* 822. *he is committed to prison by Cæsar, he is sent Ambassadour into Cyprus.* 824. *his diligence about collecting money in Cyprus, his ennie to Munatius.* 825. *how much money he got in Cyprus, he is receiued into Rome with great honour.* 826. *why he sued to be Prætor.* 827. *he is put by the Prætorship, he went against the law to crosse Pompey, he foretold Pompeys ouerthrow by Cæsar.* 828. *he is chosen Prætor againe, he preferred a law against bribing.* 829. *he setteth forth playes and giueth wise counsell for them.* 830. *he sued to be Consull to resist Cæsar.* 831. *he was denied it, he inueyeth against Cæsar and foretelleth his tyranny.* 832. *he followeth Pompey, he is sent into Sicile, he leaueth Sicile, his lawes in Pompeys armie.* 833. *he saueth Ciceroes life, he went into Africke.* 835. *and ioyned with Scipio, he is made gouernour of Vtica.* 835. *his constancie in extremitie, his oration to the Romaines at Vtica.* 836. *his equitie, he is forsaken of the.* 300. *Romaine marchants, his pitie of the Senators.* 831, 838. *his sinceritie, his minde vnconquerable.* 838. *he reproueth mens ambition, he would haue no pardon begged of Cæsar, his counsell to his sonne.* 839. *his last wordes to his friends, his sword wherewith he killed himselfe.* 840. *his death and funerals, his sonnes maners.* 841. *he offered Cicero the charge of the nauie.* 931. *his oration against Cæsar.* 761. *his foresight.* 764. *his plaine manner became not the time.* 792. *his wordes of Lucullus.* 569. *his exclamation against Demetrius Pompeyes bondman.* 693. *he refused Pompeyes allyance.* 695. *he spake in Pompeys prayse.* 701
C. Gracchus his maners, he was Quæstor in Sardinia. 874. *his power, his lawes, he is Tribune.* 877. *he fell out with the Tribunes, he was repulsed from his third Consulship.* 870. *his sedition with the Senate, his Sergeant was slaine, an ordinance made against him, the people defended him.* 860. *the wisedome*

dome of the Gracchi.883. their actes did litle profit Rome, their end was vnfortunate, their faults.884.
C. his vision & dreame, his returne out of Sardinia to Rome, he is Tribune againe. 875. his other lawes. 476. his flight, the faithfulnesse of his seruants. 881
C. Marius his fauour, he was ignorant of the Greeke toung. 447. his parentage, maners and countrey, his first warfare, he was tribune of the people. 448. his refuseth to be Ædilis, he is chosen Prator, his actes in Spayne, his credit how it grew. 449. his temperance, he made Metellus his Lieutenant, he caused Turpilius to be condemned, he falleth out with Metellus. 450. his first Consulship offended the Nobilitie, he depriued Metellus of the honour of conquering Iugurthe. 451. the cause of his warre with Sylla. 452. his second Consulship against the law, his triumphe ouer Iugurthe. 453. his trayning of his souldiers, his moyles, he is commended for his iustice. 454. his third and fourth Consulship, his trench. 455. his bold wordes to his souldiers. 457. his battell with the Ambrons, he ouercometh them. 458. his second victorie of the Teutons and Ambrons. 459. his fifth Consulship. 460. he is denied to triumph, he helpeth Luctatius, he mocketh the Cimbres, he altered the dartes, his armie. 461. his sixt Consulship. 464. his double dealing. 464, 465. he procureth sedition, his iourney into Cappadocia and Galatia, his proud wordes to Mithridates. 465. his answere to Siloes stout chalenge. 466. his ambition, his sedition. 467. his sonne flying into Ægypt found an ayrie of Ægles. 768. he flyeth from Rome. ibid. he is forsaken of his mariners, he is hidden and taken. 469. he is sought for to be killed. 470. he flyeth into Africke, his wise answere against fortunes inconstancie, his son escapeth Hiempsales hands. 471. he ioyned with Cinna, he causeth great murther in Rome. 472. his seuenth Consulship, his feare, his deuise to winne sleepe. 474. his death and ambition. 475, 500, 502. his sonne flieth from Sylla. 515. and killeth himselfe. 518
Cercyon slaine by Theseus. 6
Cephisus fl. 6
Cermanum. 22
Celeres, why so called. 26
Censors office. 281. the dignitie of it, how they are chosen. 379
Cethegus a vitious liuer. 543. he ruled all Rome. 544
Censorinus and Megabacchus commended. 611
Cherilaus king of Lacedæmon. 45
Chalcedonians receiue the Athenians. 229
Charon faithfull in promise. 309
Chrisantas his valiantnesse and obedience. 347
Chæronesus a countrey in Thracia. 478
Chæronea a citie indited for treason. 525
Chæron founder of Chæronea. 508
Chio an Ile. 533
Chelonis her loue to her father and husband. 848, 849
Charicitanians what they were. 630
Cimmerij. 453
Cimbri. 452. they come into Italie. 455. they march against Marius. 461. their disaduantages in their battell with the Romaines. 462. their ouerthrow. 463
Cytheron mons. 358, 493
Cineas graue talke with Pyrrus. 430. he is sent Ambassadour to Rome. 433
Circus flaminius. 343
Cinna was driuen out of Rome. 471. his entrie into Rome with Marius, he is made Consull and sworne friend vnto Sylla. 503. his death. 675
Cinna the Poet his straunge dreame, he is slaine being mistaken. 1062, 790
Ciuill warre worse then tyranny. 1058
Cicero defended Murena. 818 he taught to write by notes and figures, 819. he brake Catoes stifnesse. 823. he blameth Cato. 832. his parentage, why he was called Cicero. 911. he is chosen Quæstor, his birth, his towardnesse, his Poetrie, he is a follower of Mutius Scæuola. 912. he was a weake man, he goeth into Asia, he declaimed in Greeke, his first practise in the cõmon wealth. 913. he was a fine taunter, he was chosen Quæstor againe, his diligence & iustice, his ambition, he studied to know mens names, lands and friends, his doings against Verres. 914. he was chosen Ædilis, his riches, and curtesie, he is chosen Prator. 915. he pacified the Tribunes, he is made Consull. 916, 917. great troubles in his Consulship, he ouerthrew the Decemuiri, his sweete toung. 917. he examined Catiline. 918. his prayse, he resigneth his office. 922. he was the first that was called the father of his countrey, he was giuen too much to prayse himselfe, and friendly to speake of others, he sayd Demosthenes slept in his orations, his pleasant sayings. 923. his malice to Clodius. 925. he is accused of Clodius, he is mourned for. 926. his exile and faynt hart. 927. 928. his returne from banishment, he taketh away the tables of Clodius actes. 928. he pleadeth Miloes case, he is chosen Augur, he was procõsull in Cilicia, his integritie, he was called Imperator. 929. he seeketh to pacifie Pompey. 930. the force of his eloquence, his life vnder Cæsar. 931. he put away his wife Terentia, and maried a young mayden, he was not priuie to the conspiracie against Cæsar. 932. his grudge to Antonius. 932. he sayleth into Greece, he ioyned friendship with Octauius Cæsar, his dreame of Octauius Cæsar. 933. his great power, he is appointed to be slaine. 934. crowes foreshewed his death, he is slaine by Herennius. 935. his head and hands were set ouer the pulpit. 936. his diuers doctrines. 937. his abstinence from money. 938. the difference of his and Demosthenes deaths. 939. he was reproued for lying. 971. his iudgement of Cæsar. 760. he wrote a booke in prayse of Cato. 783. his saying of Cato and the common wealth. 792. he reproueth Pompey, he followeth Pompey. 705
Cimon his good deedes. 171. his sonnes. 183. wherein he was like Lucullus. 526. his linage, and youth. 526. his conditions are praysed yet they are lasciuious. 527. his personage commended, he is generall of the Athenians. 528. he wan the Ile of Scyros, he sang

passing sweetly. 530. he bringeth Theseus bones to Athens foure hundred yeares after his death. ibid. his liberalitie, clemencie and vsage of his goods 531. his godly actes, he brought the golden world again, his integritie, his noble saying, he plagued the Persians. 532. he winneth Phaselis, his great victories of the Persians and other barbarous people. 533. he brought the Persians to cõditions of peace and droue them out of Thracia, he made certaine cõmon buildings. 534. he is accused and discharged, he prayed the temperat life of the Lacedæmonians, and followed it. 535. he procured aide for the Lacedæmonians. 536. he was banished and recalled. 537. his dreame was expounded, his death was foretold and kept secret. 538. he was the last famous Grecian, his monuments. 539. his two victories in one day. 573.

Cleandrides condemned for extortion. 594

Cleon his ieast, his victorie of the Lacedæmonians, his immoderate libertie, his lewd gestures in his orations. 580

Cleora Agis wife. 661

Clitus saued Alexander. 725. his malepertenesse to Alexander, his death. 745

Clarius fl. 102

Cleomedes, Astipalensis vanished out of sight. 39

Clusium besieged. 150

Cleandrides, corrupted by Pericles. 180

Cleombrotus king of Lacademon. 316. his banishment. 849. his death. 666

Clodius Macer gouernour of Africke. 1108

Cleopatra, is brought to Iulius Cæsar trussed vp in a mattresse. 781. her sumptuousnesse to meet and feast Antonius, her bewtie. 980. she was chiefe of flatterers. 981. she commeth to Antonius, her enticements vnto him. 993. she flyeth. 1000. her wonderfull attempt. 1001. she was busie in prouing the force of poyson. 1002. her monuments set vp by the temple of Isis. 1003. she flyeth into her monument. 1004. she is taken. 1005. she burieth Antonius, she mareyreth her selfe. 1006. she beateth her treasurer, her wordes to Cæsar, she deceiued Cæsar, her lamentation ouer Antonius. 1007. her death and of her two wayting women, her Image was caried in triumphe, her age. 1008

Clearchus and other Grecian captaines put to death. 1020

Cleonimus slayne at Cleombrotus foote. 666

Cleomenes, his linage. 850. he maketh strife betwixt the Lacedæmonians and the Achaians. 851. his iourney to the Argiues, his victorie. 852. his victorie of the Achaians, he slue the Ephores. 853. his oration touching the originall of the Ephores. 854. he winneth Argos. 858. he lost Corinth, he lost Argos. 859. he sendeth his mother, and children for hostages to king Ptolomie, he winneth Megalopolis. 860 he is ouerthrowne by Antigonus, he flyeth out of Peloponnesus. 863. his oration of death, he flyeth to Ptolomie. 864. he reformed the state of Lacedæmon, he inuaded the borders of the Megalopolitans, he was an example of temperance, and moderate diet. 855. his curteous entertainement at his bord, his victorie of Aratus and the Achaians. 856. his noble saying, he raised Megalopolis, his stratageme. 861. his moderation to his enemies, he is ouercome by Antigonus for lacke of money. 862. he obtained Corinth, his curtesie to Aratus. 1099. he ouerthrew Aratus. 1097. he winneth Megalopolis from the Achaians, spitefull letters betwixt him und Aratus. 1098. his vertue, he is committed to prison in Alexandria. 865. he practised to kill Ptolomie. 862. the end and death of Cleomenes and his friends. 862. he hanging vpon a crosse had a serpent wreathed about his head. 563

Cn. Octauius Æmilius Lieutenant. 274

Cn. Fulnius slaine by Anniball. 341

Cortonenses mountaines. 1136

Colonia a citie of Spayne. 1108

Comidas Theseus schoolemaister. 3

Corcyna Ariadnes nurce. 11

Coyne of Athens stamped with an oxe. 13. of Trezenia it was stamped with Neptunes three-forked mase. 3

Copper target the signall of battell 481

Carioles is besieged. 238. it is taken. 239

Consius a god. 28

Cornell tree. 34

Cothon a cup. 50

Corrupt consciences prenent lawes. 95

Collatinus softnesse is reproued, he resigneth his Consulship. 110

Concord maketh strong. 315

Cornutus seruants faithfulnesse. 473

Conon Admirall of the Athenians. 481

Couetousnesse the ouerthrow of souldiers. 552. it hath no end. 429

Cotta and Tsturius with their armie are slaine. 770

Cornelius an excellent Pognosticator. 780

Coponius gouernour of Carres. 614

Corinthians their common wealth. 1050

Corbis and Orsua two cosmes their vnfortunat fight & death. 1159

Cornelia Pompeyes wiues vertues. 701. her sorrow for her husband. 710

Cornelia mother of the Gracchi, her vertues. 864. she is honored at Rome. 876. her magnanimitie. 882

Cornelij the time of their florishing. 1169

Coriolanus his aunceslors brought the water by conduits to Rome, he made the Censors law. 235. his first warfare, he is crowned with okẽ bowes. 236. his continuance in well doing, his obediẽce to his mother, he was against the people. 237. he refused the tenth part of his enemies goods, his sur-name of Coriolanus. 240. he offendeth the people, he inuadeth the Antiates and getteth great spoyles. 242. his oration against the peoples insolencie. 243. articles are drawen against him. 244. his stoutnes, day is giuẽ him to answere, he is condemned to dye. 246. he is accused that he sought to be king, he is banished, his constant mind. 246. he goeth disguised to Antium, his oration to Tullus Aufidius. 247. he accused the Volsces. 249. he is chosen generall of the Volsces with Tullus Anfi-

Anſidius, he inuadeth the Romaine territories, he cauſed diſſention betwixt the people and nobilitie. 250. his compaſſion of his mother, he withdraweth his armie. 255. he is murthered at Antium, his funerals, he is compared with Alcibiades, ſee Alcibiades. 257. his abſtinence from bribes. 260
Craft of a Romaine. 144
Craſus ſaying of Solon. 103
Crowes fell at the ſound of voyces. 686, 412. they guided Alexander. 732
Cretans couetous. 273
Crimeſus fl. 293
Crauſis Philopœmens father. 391
Crates the Philoſopher deliuereth Athens from Demetrius ſiege. 964
Crateſiclea Cleomenes mother her noble minde. 860
Criſpinus his death. 1120
Cremona a goodly citie. 1122
Cteſiphon his crowne was adiudged him. 907
Cteſias his vanitie. 1020
Curtius the Sabyne and his lake. 32
Curſings among the Romaines. 606
Cycherus. 5
Cyberneſia games. 9
Cynoſargos a place of exerciſe. 123
Cybiſtus Thales adopted ſonne. 89
Cynicke Philoſophers counted dogges. 1069
Cyrus was vnlike his brother Artaxerxes, he is accuſed to his brother. 1012. his warre with his brother and wonderfull promiſes. 1013. he ſlue Artagerſes. 1015. he is hurt, his miſerable deſtinie. 1016. his death is reuenged. 1018
Cyrus king of Perſiaes Epitaphe. 754. his liberalitie to Lyſander. 480
Cydnus fl. 726
Cyrnus fl. 691

D

Damaſtes Procruſtes ſlaine by Theſeus. 6
Dayes vnluckey the 17. of Iuly. 38
Damiras fl. 299
Damon Peripoltas his lewd maners and death. 525
Damon baniſhed for too much wiſedome. 349
Danaus winneth Argos. 445
Damachus teſtimonie of the fiery ſtone ſeene in the element. 482
Dardarians who they were. 550
Darickes whereof ſo called. 532
Darius and Ochus Artaxerxes ſonnes. 1024. Darius is proclaimed king. 1025. he conſpireth againſt his father, he is condemned and executed. 1026
Darius king of Perſia, his dreame. 726. he contemneth Amyntas counſell and is ouercome by Alexander. 727 his mother, wife and daughters are taken by Alexander. 728. he ſendeth Ambaſſadours to Alexander, his talke with his Eunuch. 733. his great armie, his prayer. 734. he flieth from Alexander. 736. his death. 741
Dedalus flight. 10
Demades his infortunate end. 805, 911. his inſolencie. 791, 804. his naturall eloquence. 900. his words of Alexanders armie. 1106
Demetrius a ſlaue beloued of Pompey. 814. his power and inſolencie. 693
Dewcalion ſent to Athens to demand Dedalus. 10
Decaboeon. 13
Demaratus fond demaund. 139. his iourney to Alexander and his death. 749
Death is a happie thing. 325
Democratia what it is. 535, 944. 1033
Deſtinie ineuitable. 494
Decemuiri created. 917
Demo a curtiſan her words of Lamia and Demetrius. 953
Deidamia Demetrius wife her death. 956
Deſperate men are not to be fought againſt. 965
Domitius forſaketh Antonius. 998
Decius Brutus perſwaded Ceſar to come to the Senate houſe. 788
Deiotarius king of Galatia. 606
Demoteles his treaſon. 863
Demoſthenes his parentage, his patrimonie, why he was called Battalus. 887. why he was ſurnamed Argas, his earneſt deſire to learne eloquence, his firſt practiſe in orations, he is mocked for his orations. 888. his impediments of nature, his choller, his orations were ſtudied and pleaſing to the people. 889. he terrifieth Lamachus. 900. he reformed his deſectes, his geſture was miſliked, his wittie aunſwers, his comming to practiſe in the common wealth, his falling out with Midias. 901. he is enemie to the Macedonians, his conſtancie againſt Theopompus, he preferreth honeſtie, he is giuen to bribes, his francke ſpeach. 902, 928. he made orations for aduerſaries on both ſides, his doings againſt Philip, he ſtirreth vp the Grecians againſt the Macedonians. 903. the force of his eloquence. 904. he flieth from the battell, his deuiſe vpon his ſhield, he is corrupted with money, he prayſeth them that are ſlaine at Charonea. 905. he preferreth his countrey before his daughter, he ſtirreth vp the Grecians againſt Alexander. 906. his tale of the ſheepe and the wolues, he is bribed by Harpalus. 907. he taketh his baniſhment greeuouſly. 908. he is called home, and his penaltie remitted, his dreame. 909. he poyſoned himſelfe, the Athenians honour him after his death. 910. 594. his eloquence, he is compared with Cicero. 887. their maners. 937. their cunning in their orations, he is modeſt in his owne prayſe. 938. his arriuall and raſhneſſe at Syracuſa. 589. he is taken of the Athenians. 593
Demetrius Phalerian gouernour of Athens. 643
Demetrius his parentage, his brothers death, his bewtie, his maners, his loue to his father, his curteſie. 941. he ſaueth Mithridates life, he is ouerthrowne by Ptolomie, and conquered him againe, his bountie to Ptolomie. 942. he inuaded Arabia, and Meſopotamia, he goeth about to ſet Greece at libertie, he reſtored the Athenians their libertie. 943, 944. his armie. 427. he is maried to Pyrrus ſiſter. 951. his daunger for lecherie, he winneth Megara. 944. he honored Demetrius Phalerian. 944. he maried

Euridice, Phila and many others. 946. *another victorie of Ptolomie.* 947. *the first time he was called king, his iourney against Ptolomie.* 948. *he was skilfull in shipmaking, his wonderfull workes, he besieged Rhodes, his greatest engine described.* 949. *he maketh peace with the Rhodians, his victories in Greece.* 950. *his wantonnesse, his curtesans names, his iourney into Peloponnesus, he is chosen generall of all Greece.* 951. *his pride, his prodigall gift to his curtisans.* 952. *his dreame and signes, he maketh Antiochus fly and yet is ouercome, he flieth.* 954. *he inuadeth Cilicia.* 955. *he maried Ptolomeide Ptolomies daughter, his iourney against the Athenians, and they yeeld to him.* 956. *his clemencie to the Athenians, his iourney against the Lacedæmonians, his variable fortune, and misfortune.* 957. *he inuaded Macedon, he killeth Alexander, he is proclaimed king of Macedon, his wyles with Alexander.* 958. *he distributed corne monthly to his souldiers.* 960. *his iourney against Pyrrus and his insolencie, his rich cloke.* 961. *he is called a fortgasner, his preparation for the recouerie of his realme, three kings conspire against him.* 962. *his armie flyeth to Pyrrus, his straunge fortune.* 963. *his miserie, he maried Ptolomeide, his troubles in Asia, the famine, and plague in his armie.* 964. *he attempteth to assault Seleucus by night.* 965. *his armie yeelds to Seleucus, he yeeldeth to Seleucus, and is kept as prisoner.* 966. *he turned his captiuitie into pleasure, his death and funerals.* 967. *his posteritie.* 968. *he is compared with Antonius, their power.* 1009. *their ambition, their liberalitie, their riots, their wiues, their inconstancie, his lasciuiousnesse.* 1010. *their actes in warres.* 1011

Dion had a wicked spirite appeare to him. 1028. *his kinred, he was Platoes scholer.* 1029. *his bold speach to Dionysius, he marieth Aretè.* 1031. *his maners.* 1031. *he perswadeth the younger Dionysius to studie.* 1032. *he allowed not popular state, his letters to Carthage, he is banished by Dionysius.* 1033. *his wealth, his life in Greece.* 1034. *his vertues and honours done in Greece.* 1035. *he beginneth war with Dionysius.* 1036. *his armie, his sumptuous fare in feasting, wonders appeared to him.* 1037. *his preperation for warre, he was troubled with a tempest, he wanne Minoa.* 1038. *he went to Syracusa.* 1039. *he was receiued into Syracusa, he restoreth their libertie.* 1040. *his victorie of Dionysius, he is hurt.* 1041. *he departed out of Syracusa.* 1044. *and goeth to Leontina.* 1045. *his oration to the Syracusans.* 1046. *his fight in Syracusa, he compelled Nipsius to fly into the castle.* 1047. *his mercy to his enemies, and profit of his Philosophie.* 1048. *he tooke his wife Aretè againe, his temperance and thriftinesse, he sent to the Corinthians that he might aduance Aristocratia.* 1050. *a spirite appeared to him.* 1051. *his sonnes lamentable death.* ibid. *he is slaine, his wife is deliuered of a sonne in prison, his posteritie.* 1052. *he was inferiour to Brutus.* 1079. *he was skilfull in naturall Philosophie.* 591

Dionysius Chalcus founder of Thuries. 578

Dionysius tyrant of Syracusa, his wiues, his talke with Plato. 1029. *his malice to Plato, his death.* 1030. *he was very timorous, his dreame.* 1031

Dionysius yeeldeth Syracusa to Timoleon, he is sent to Corinth, his miseries. 289. *his notable sayings.* 290

Dionysius the younger, his vices, he is incensed against Dion. 1031. *his maners were chaunged by Plato.* 1033. *his tyrannicall loue to Plato, he sent him away.* 1034. *he sendeth for Plato againe.* 1035. *he marieth Dions wife to another.* 1036. *wonders appeared to him.* 1037. *his picke thankes are slaine, a wolfe caried away his messengers port-manteau.* 1039. *his clocke, he sent Ambassadours to Dion.* 1040. *his craft to Dion.* 1041. *he flieth from Syracusa.* 1044

Diana Orthia. 17. *Euclia.* 363. *Persica her sacrifices.* 557. *the signe of her.* 1095

Diuorce in Rome none for 230. *yeares.* 43. *a tale for diuorce.* 262

Diogenes wordes. 196. *he is sent Ambassadour to Rome.* 383. *he is slaine.* 511. *he mocked Dionysius.* 290.

Dictator might not ride in warres. 192. *he is equall to the generall of the horsemen.* 196. *how he is chosen.* 342. *his office.* 1137. *two at one time.* 1139

Dinocrates slue himselfe. 404

Dinon his report of Cyrus death. 1105

Domitius king of Africa camped hard by Pompey. 678. *he is slaine.* 679

Domitius fled to Pompey. 775

Domitians mad building humour. 115

Dorilaus Mithridates Lieutenant goeth against Sylla. 110

Dragons head and taile the fable. 842. *why it is consecrated to Princes.* 864

Dreames the cause of them. 1071

Druentia fl. 1134

E

Eagle how many egges she layeth. 469. *two fought ouer Brutus campe.* 1071

Earthquake at Lacedæmon. 536

Ebrus fl. 629

Eccleſiaſticall persons exempted from warres. 328

Eclipse of the Moone. 591. 1037. *of the sunne.* 660

Edylium mons. 507

Eloquence what force it hath. 176. 388

Elpinice. 183. *she was vnchast and poore yet had regard to match well.* 527

Elephants loue to his keeper. 445. *his wit to saue his master.* 750

Elatea the plaine. 566. *a battell fought there.* 510

Elysian fields. 626

Emylius his booke called Brutus. 1054

Enemies who to be feared. 315

Engium a citie. 338

Ennie the companion of vertue. 647, 1102. *the plague of Princes Courts.* 1151

Epimenides phestus one of the seuen sages. 92

Epycides sued to be generall. 126

Ephialtes an orator. 170. *he is murthered.* 173

Epaminondas his patience. 318. *his voyage into Thessalie.*

ſalie. 321. *he deliuereth Pelopidas out of priſon.* 322. *his ſaying of Lycurgus Retra.* 52. *his funerals.* 206. *he was ſent Ambaſſadour to Lacedæmon.* 666. *he inuaded Lacedæmon with* 70000. *men.* 667. *he reſtored Meſſina to liberty, his ſecond iourney into Sparta.* 659. *his death.* 670

Epyrus kingdome beginning. 422

Epicurians opinion touching felicitie. 435

Epeum mons. 514

Epitadeius his law for paſſing of lands by will. 844

Epicurus ſaueth his ſcholers liues with beanes. 957

Ephores, what they were. 653. *their dreame.* 853

Errour committed by the likeneſſe of men. 1089

Erianthus cruell aduiſe againſt the Athenians. 484

Eraſiſtratus Seleucus Phiſitian. 959. *he findeth out Antiochus loue.* 959

Eros Antonius ſeruant ſlue himſelfe. 1004

Eſope his ſaying of happineſſe. 325. *his fable of the cuckow.* 1094. *his tale of the hunter.* 1098. *a wiſe ſaying of his.* 617

Eteocles wordes of Lyſander. 487

Eumenes his parentage, how he came to preferrement by the kings of Macedon. 637. *he is made gouernour of Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia.* 638. *his skill in warre, his dreame.* 640. *his battell with Craterus.* 641. *his victorie his conſtancie in aduerſitie.* 642. *his ſtratageme.* 643. *his talke with Antigonus, he beſieged the fort Nora, his perſonage and pleaſantneſſe, his induſtry for martiall exerciſe.* 644. *he is made Lieutenant of king Philips armie, his temperance, his fained deuiſe.* 645. *his wilineſſe, his victorie of Antigonus.* 646. *his ſtratageme againſt Antigonus, his death conſpired.* 647. *he rent his friends letters to keepe them out of trouble, his conflict with Antigonus, he is betrayed by the Argyraſpides.* 648. *his oration to the traytours, his noble minde, his death.* 649. *he is compared with Sertorius, their deedes and conditions.* 650

Euchidas wonderfull ſwiftneſſe, and death. 363

Euphrates the riuer fell very ſodainly. 557

Euthidemus and Menander choſen Captaines with Nycias. 589

Euripides his verſes ſaued the Athenians liues. 595

Exerciſe what commoditie it hath. 913

F

Fabius Ambuſtus breaketh the law of all nations. 150. *he is made chiefe Biſhop.* 152. *three hundred Fabians ſlaine in one day.* 151

Fabius valens. 1122

Fabius Rullus Maximus, ſonne to P. Æmilius. 262. *he is called Verrucoſus, and Ouicula.* 190. *he was fiue times Conſull, his wiſe counſell.* 191. *he was Dictator, his maieſtie, his Religion, his vow.* 192, 1137. *his doing againſt Annibal.* 193. *he chaungeth priſoners with Annibal, and redeemeth others.* 195. *he is accuſed of treaſon.* 196. *his foreſight in warres.* 197. *he reſcueth Minutius, his modeſtie.* 198. *his counſell to P. Æmilius.* 199. *his courage after his ouerthrow.* 201. *his maner of mourning.* *ibid.* *he is generall with Claudius Marcellus.* *ibid.* *his lenitie in correcting.* 202. *his rules for a Captaine, he wonne Tarentum againe.* 203, 204. *his ambitiō was cauſe of cruell murther, his ſecond triumphe.* 204. *his wittie aunſwere, he croſſeth Scipio, and obeyeth his ſonnes commaundement.* 205. *his death.* 206. *he is compared with Pericles,* 206. *he was aduerſarie to Scipio.* 1162

Faleria beſieged. 147. *peace concluded.* 148

Fauſtulus. 22. *his care to ſaue Romulus.* 24

Fanniaes curteſie to Marius. 717

Face, it ſheweth the conditions. 717

Feciales Prieſts. 74. *their colledge erected.* 150

Felicitie wherein it conſiſteth. 886

Fencers what ſouldiers they are. 1125

Fire holy the force of it. 15

Filly ſacrificed. 317

Fimbria camped at Thyatira and is ſlaine. 513. *he beſieged Mithridates with diſſolute ſouldiers.* 541

Flamen Quirinalis inſtituted. 71

Flatterie winneth the common people. 162. *the force of it.* 948

Flute players vile. 210, 167

Flaminius raſhneſſe and death. 191

Flauius his actes. 343

Flaccus goeth againſt Sylla. 510

Flowers blowne vpon Lucullus ſouldiers. 514

Flauius Gallus his bold act. 988. *he is ſlaine.* 989

Flora a fayre curteſan loued Pompey. 674

Flauius Flaccus bewrayeth T. Gracchus his conſpiracie, 872

Flaminius enuieth Philopœmen. 400. *he inuadeth Lacedæmon.* 401. *his firſt charge in warre was againſt Philip, his curteſie wan the Grecians.* 406. *he landed at Epirus, he tooke the ſtreights.* 407. *his forbearing ſpoyles wanne him friends.* 408. *his armie, ioyneth battell with Philip.* 409. *he ouercometh him.* 410. *he graunteth Philip peace.* 411. *his care of the Grecians.* 413. *he made peace with Nabis.* 414. *he entreateth for the Ætolians, his triumphe, he is ſent into Greece.* 415. *honours done vnto him, his curteſie, his emulation with Philopœmen, his ſayings.* 416. *his wittie aunſwere to Antiochus Ambaſſadours, grudge betwixt him and Cato,* 417. *his ambition is cauſe of Annibals death, he is ſent Ambaſſadour.* 418. *his benefites to Greece, he is compared with Philopœmen, he was wiſer then Philopœmen, he commended good ſouldiers.* 420. *he is ſent Ambaſſadour into Aſia.* 1152. *he and Marcellus are Cenſors.* 1168

Flaminus brother is put from the Senate, his crueltie. 380, 417. *he is reſtored.* 417

Fortunes temple was built for women. 255. *ſhe is inconſtant.* 290. *her power.* 862. *her wonderfull workes.* 291. *her ſtrife with valiancie.* 292

Fountaines compared to womens breaſts. 267

Frute of obedience. 266

Friendſhip the cauſe of it. 707. *it decayeth with aduerſitie.* 473

Furcifer, whereof it came. 249

Fuluia bewrayeth Catilines intent to kill Cicero. 919. *ſhe ruled her husband Antonius.* 973. *her warres*

with Octauius Cæsar, her death. 982
Fuluius a seditious man. 878
Fuluius Viceconsull his death. 1146. he sent his sonne to offer peace. 881. his sonnes death. ibid.
Furnius an eloquent orator. 996

G

GAbinius law for Pompeys authoritie against the Pirates. 685
Gades of great antiquitie. 1160
Ganges fl. 750
Gangaridæ and Præsii. 751
Gaiba, his vvealth and nobilitie, he maners, his curtesie. 1107. he is called Emperour, he is iudged an enemie, and his goodes sold. 1108. his crueltie, he entred Rome with murther, his vilenes. 1112. he killeth Neroes officers, his noble saying offended the souldiers. 1113. his souldiers rebelled against him. 1114, 1115. he adopted Piso his heire, euill signes appeared to him. 1116. there did arise a great tumult about him. 1117. he vvas deceiued by a lye. ibidem. his death and last wordes. 1118. he was Consull with Centimalus. 1145
Gaules beginning, their comming into Italie. 149. they march towardes Rome. 151. they ouercame the Romaines, and slue 330. of one name. ibidem. they clymbe vp to the Capitoll. 156. they are vexed with the plague. 156. they come to Rome againe. 164. their warre. 328. their warre with Rome. 330. they are ouercome by Marcellus, their couetousnes. 440. they rebelled against Cæsar. 770
Gæsilus Lacedæmonian should haue bene generall of Syracusa, he reconciled Heraclides and Dion. 1049
Generall, his authoritie. 972. he ought to bee kept safe. 1015. vvhat vertues are fit to be in him. 1157. his goodnesse and faults. 207. his presence encourageth the souldiers. 450, 550
Gentius aideth Perseus and is ouercome. 267
Geese saued the Capitoll. 156
Gessates mercenarie Gaules. 328
Gentlenesse commended and vsed to brute beasts. 372
Gelanor king of the Argiues. 445
Geminius sent to forewarne Antonius to looke to him selfe. 996
Gedrosa a countrey. 753
Gellius and Lentulus sent against Spartacus. 601
Gele and Leleges people that do companie vvith the Amazones. 691
Gerania mons. 1095
Gifts may be taken after a sort. 349
Giscoes warre in Sicile. 298
Glaucias king of Illyria. 423
Glorie vvhat power it hath. 927
Glerenum a citie of Apulia. 1138
Gnidus Insula. 1022, 660
Goddesse called the good goddesse. 762
Gods prouidence. 24, 317
Gods familiar with men, 69. whom they loue. ibid.
Goates marsh. 38
Gordius a citie of Phrygia. 726
Gomphes a citie of Thessalye. 779
Gongylus a Corinthian slaine. 588
Gouernours their office. 1098
Granius strangled in Syllaes sight. 520
Granius Petronius his noble minde. 766
Grecians victorie of the Persians nauie. 131. they gaue their kings surnames. 240. they do honour to Æmilius. 279. they punish cowards. 306. their fight vvith the Persians. 360, 361. their victorie, many of them are slayne. 362. their chiefe cities. 363. they yeeld to the Plateians. 363. the chaines of Greece. 411. their coyne stamped with an owle. 485. they are ouercome by Antipater. 802. their ouerthrowe foreshewed. 904. their valiantnesse vnder Xenophon. 990
Gylippus, ouercame the Athenians, and robbed the treasure sent vnto Sparta. 180, 845. he is banished. 485. he shewed mercy to Nicias. 594. he vvas couetous. 594. he reconciled Heraclides and Dion. 1049

H

HAires offered at Delphes of custome. 3
Harmonia the goddesse. 23
Harpalus a great monyed man flied frõ Alexãder. 907
Hasdruball Annibals brother is sent with an army into Italie. 1157. his iudgement of Scipio. 1158
Hanno taken prisoner. 1158. he is ouercome and slayne. 1163. his stratageme at Carthage. 292
Helicon fl. 494
Helenus Pyrrus sonne. 445
Hercules a destroyer of theeues. 4. he serueth Omphale. ibid. his deedes. 6. his loue to Iolaus. 315
Hecatomboeon. 13
Helene rauished by Theseus. 17. her three-footed stoole, 88
Hersilea Romulus vvife. 29
Hearbe that is deadly vvithout vvine. 990
Hemlocke an hearbe that the Athenians did vse to poyson men withall. 946
Hephæstion fell out with Philotas. 743. his death. 755
Heluetians ouercome by Cæsar. 767
Hedui rebell against the Romaines. 771
Helicon mons. 661
Heraclides vvhat he vvas, he returned to Syracusa, he is chosen Admirall to despite Dion, he practised rebellion against Dion. 1042. 1048, 1050. he is murthered. 1050
Hector and Andromache in painted tables. 1063
Hesiodus his saying. 1113
Herophilus chuseth the spoile before the prisoners. 531
Hiceteria offerings. 9
Hippolytus Theseus sonne. 15
Hipponium a citie in Luke. 927
Hipparete, sueth a diuorce from Alcibiades. 213
Hippon tyrant of Messina put to death. 299
Hippocrates generall of the Syracusans. 334
Hipparinus Dions sonne. 1041
Historie vvhat it is. 526
Hieronymus the historiographer Demetrius Lieutenant. 960
Hostilius slayne. 32. his reigne. 82. he is repulsed out

out of Macedon. 265
Homers vvorkes prayſed, and brought to light by Lycurgus. 46. where he was borne and died. 622
Holy band inſtituted. 315
Holy Iland in Rome. 111
Horatius Cocles why ſo called. 116
Honour that is ſodaine killeth deſire of fame. 236. it nouriſheth art. 373. it chaungeth maners. 381
Hoplia fl. vvhy ſo called. 494
Hyperbolus, banſhed for ten yeares. 215. the cauſe thereof. 353
Hybreas reproueth Antonius for requiring two tributes in one yeare. 279
Hydaſpes fl. 749
Hyrodes king of the Parthians. 607. he is ſtrangled by his ſonne. 618
Hypſicratea her manlineſſe. 690

I

IAnus vvith two faces, when his temple was ſhut. 79
Iberus fl. 1130
Iberi, who they were. 691. they yeeld to Annibal. 1131
Icetes tyrant of the Leontins. 283. he was a traytor. 286. he beſiegeth Dionyſius, he ſendeth Ambaſſadours to Timoleon. 287. his treaſon to Timoleon, he beſieged Syracuſa. 291. his wiues, and children put to death, his crueltie to Dion. 299
Ilota ſlaues to the Lacedæmonians. 536
Ilandes vnfortunate. 625
Images may ſweat and ſpeake. 256
Iniurie better receiued then offered. 805
Ioxus Menalippus ſonne, Ioxades. 15
Ioy that is extreme cauſeth ſodaine death. 1137. it maketh ſimple men mad. 1088
Iphicrates his ſaying of mercenarie ſouldiers. 1106
Ipes and Tenterides people of Germanie ſlaine by Ceſar. 769
Irenen vvhat. 75
Iſthmia games. 14, 411
Iſmeniaes death. 308
Iſeus Demoſthenes ſchoolemaiſter. 888
Iſchines a citie. 612
Iſſorium Dianaes Temple. 668
Iſadas his valiantnes, rewarded and amerced. 670
Italie plagued with riot. 978. it yeelds to Annibal. 200
Iupiter, Hecalian. 7. Iupiter, Pheretrius. 30. ſtator. 32. Capitolinus, his temple burnt and built how often. 115. Olympius. 508, 510
Iuno her braſen temple. 47
Iuſtice prayſed. 353. the power of it. 829
Iulia the mother of M. Antonius. 969
Iulia, Ceſars daughters death. 770, 700
Iunius Prætor of Aſia. 739
Iuba came of kings. 626
Iugera. 867
Ixion his fable. 842
Iulius Ceſar Prætor. 820. his friendſhip vvith Pompey. 823. he and Pompey deale craftily vvith P. Clodius. 824. he reproueth Catoes couetouſneſſe. 833. his ſaying to Cato being dead. 841. he is priuie to Catilines conſpiracy & gaineth his opinion of the conſpiratours. 921. he was choſen Prætor. 922. he put away his wife Pompeia. 926. he ioyneth with Cinna & Marius. 758 his iorney into Bithynia, he is take̅ with Pyrates, his eloquence. 759. he loued hoſpitalitie, he was a people pleaſer, he is Tribune, his funerall oration at Iuliaes buriall, he was the firſt that prayſed his wife in funerall oration, he is made Quæſtor, his prodigalitie. 760. he is accuſed of rebellion, he is made chiefe Biſhop, he is ſuſpected of Catilines conſpiracie, he practiſed to deliuer the conſpiratours. 761. he putteth away his wife Pompeia, he is Prætor of Spaine, his actes there, his order betwixt the creditor and debter, he is called Imperator. 763. he reconcileth Pompey and Craſſus, his firſt Conſulſhip, his lawes, he maried Calpurnia, he made Alliance with Pompey, he ſent Cato to priſon. 764, 697. he drineth Cicero out of Italie, he is an excellent ſouldier, his conqueſtes in Gaule, the valiantneſſe and loue of his ſouldiers. 765. he had the falling ſickneſſe. 766, 783. his temperance in diet, and ciuilitie. 766. he refuſed his horſe in fight. 767. he warred with Arioviſtus and ouercame him. 767. he ouercame the Belgæ, he ſlue the Neruij, the great Rom. Lordes come to meete him. 768. his horſemen are put to flight, he ſlue, Ipes and Tenterides, he made a bridge ouer Rheine, his iourney into England. 769. his danger and victory of Alexia. 771. his diſcord with Pompey, he ſued to be conſull and to haue his gouernement proroged, he bribed the magiſtrats. 772. his requeſts to the Senate. 773. his doubtfull thoughts, he tooke the citie Ariminum, his damnable dreame, his comming to Rome made all in an vprore. 774. his iourney into Spaine againſt Pompeys Lieutenants, he is choſen dictator, he is conſull with Iſauricus, he goeth to Epirus, his ſouldiers complaine of him, his great aduenture. 776. his dangers and troubles in Epirus, his armie fled Pompey, his wordes of Pompeyes victorie, his minde is troubled. 777. his battell at Pharſalia. 779. his ſtrategeme, he ouercometh Pompey, ſignes of his victorie. 780. his clemencie in victorie, the cauſe of his vvarre in Alexandria. 781. he ſwimmeth vvith bookes in his hand, he made Cleopatra Queene of Egypt, his victorie of king Pharnaces, he certifieth the victorie in three wordes, his iourney into Africke againſt Cato and Scipio, his troubles and daungers in Africke. 782. his great victorie and ſmall loſſe, his ſorrow for the loſſe of Cato, he wrote againſt Cato. 783. he feaſted the Romaines, he taketh muſter of them, his fourth Conſulſhip, his battell with the young Pompeyes, his victorie of them, and triumphe, he is choſen perpetuall Dictator, the Temple of Clemencie is dedicated to him for his great curteſie. 784. his wordes of death, he reformed the inequalitie of the yeare. 785. vvherfore he was hated. 786. he ſaued Brutus life after Pompeyes ouerthrowe, foreſhewings of his death, and the day foretold. 787. he refuſed a diademe but againſt his will. 786. the ſignes and place of his death. 788. he had. 23. woundes, his murtherers fly to the Capitoll. 789. his funerals, his age, his

death reuenged, wonders after his death. 790. he vvas carefull of Brutus, he loued Brutus mother. 1055. he made Brutus gouernour of Gaule. 1055. his murtherers had reward, his laſt vvill. 1061. he burnt Pompeys letters. 683. his lawes for deuiding of lands. 697. he vvas gouernour of Gaule and Illyria. 697. he had great reſort vvintring at Luca. 699. he bribed the Conſull and Tribunes. 703. he paſſed the riuer rubicon, his entring Rome vvhen Pompey fled bred a tumult, he followed Pompey. 704. he leaueth Pompey and goeth into Spaine. 705. his clemencie, he vvent from Spayne to Pompey. 706. his conqueſtes. 707. his order of fight, he miſliked Pompeys order. 708. he arriueth in Egypt after Pompeyes death. 713. how he and Ageſilaus came to be ſo great, their faults. 714. their deedes, his fault in forſaking Rome. 713. his flying into Egypt is excuſed. 714

K

Kiſſing came from the Troyan vvomen. 20
Kinred vnnaturall infamous. 263
Kings greatly honored of the heathen. 850. they can brooke no equals. 941. their office, vvhat is their ſureſt gard. 1032, 785, 1092. Kings of the eaſt their cruell ſport. 1032. their indignation is death. 273
Kingdomes are full of troubles. 1168
Knights of Rome their cuſtome. 683

L

Labirinth a priſon in Creete. 8
Lapithe ouercame the Centauri. 16
Laurentia feaſtes. 22
Laurentia a curtiſan. 22
Lamia an engine of vvarre. 953
Lamia a famous curtiſan taken by Demetrius. 947. ſhe feaſted him. 952. ſhe reuerſed Bocchoris ſentence of the ſute of a louers dreame. 953
Labienus forſooke Cæſar and fled to Pompey. 775, 705. he vvas generall of Pompeius horſemen, 707
Lamachus valiant but ſimple. 585. his death. 586
Latines vvarre and their generall. 40. they are ſlaine. 161
Lauinium built by Æneas. 251
Labour recompenſed. 532
Latona brought to bed. 314
Laconian education of their children. 476. their ſcytala vvhat. 487
Lacratidas his vviſedome. 495
Lælius marriage. 812
Lacedæmonian meales. 51, 56. their properties, ibid. their blacke broth. 52. their vvomens diſcipline. 53. their matrimoniall ceremonies. 54. their regard to auoyde ielouſie. 54. the education of their children. 55. no adulterie there. 55. young children vvaſhed vvith vvine. 55. their theeuerie. 56. their childrens exerciſe after ſupper. 57. their maner of louing. 57. ſhort ſpeach taught there. ibid. and commended. 58. their ſongs. 58. their dances, Terpanders ſaying of them. Pindarus ſaying of them, their long haire, their beginning of battell. 59. how long they purſued their enemies, their opinion to ſerue their countrey, their reſt. 60. how they ſpent their time, gold and ſiluer baniſhed, they liued to their cõmon vvealth, their chooſing their Senate. 61. their buriall, they vvere forbidden to trauell, no ſtraungers admitted there, their law Cryptia. 62. their crueltie to the Ilotes. 63. their reaſon for mariage. 83. their maides too manly. 84. they inuade Attica. 185. their vvalles are brought to the ſea. 217. they practiſe Alcibiades death. 224. their fight vvith the Athenians. 226. their conqueſt. 232. they are ouerthrowne at Leuctres, the cauſe. 317. they ſtriue for victorie. 362. their temperance. 365. they offer peace to the Athenians. 484. their money vvas iron. 485. they receiue gold and ſiluer into their citie. 487. a ſingle life puniſhed. 495. they fell from their ancient diſcipline. 444. their new lawes. 447. their ouerthrow at Leuctres. 666. conſpiracies vnder Ageſilaus. 668. their modeſtie in their victories. 669
Lawes ſhould be ſecret till they be publiſhed. 95. their darkneſſe is the Iudges credite. 96. the law Boucation. 318. they muſt yeeld to common profit. 433. lawes for vſurers. 554. law of Armes. 579. they muſt yeeld to armes. 677. a law for triumph. 695
Leos diſcouereth treaſure to Theſeus. 7
Lex Agraria. 823, 446, 764. it vvas confirmed by the people. 697
Leonidas his linage. 843. his prodigalitie. ibid. he reſiſted Agis. 845. he is accuſed and depriued by Lyſander. 846. he flyeth to Tegea, 847. he returneth from exile. 848. he is gouernour of Alexander. 719
Leucus fl. 269
Leo Bizantine his courage. 590
Learning the power of it to ouercome ſorrow. 882, the benefit of it. 236
Leotychides Alcibiades his baſtard. 223
Leon Captaine of the Corinthians vvinneth Acradina. 292
Leptina yeeldeth to Timoleon. 295
Leuctres the battell there. 317
Leuinus ſent againſt Pyrrus. 432
Lucius macer condemned. 915
Lamnus ſeeketh to kill Alexander. 744
Liuius Druſus Catoes vncle. 809. he is Tribune. 877. his lawes, he pacified the people againſt the Senate. 878
Licinia her vvordes to her husband C. Graechus. 881
Lictores vvhy ſo called. 371
Libitina honored at burials. 74
Licinius Stolo moueth ſedition at Rome. 163. he made a law for the enioying of landes, and firſt broke it. 164
Luris fl. 469
Lice killed diuers famous men. 520
Loue is one minde in two bodies. 375. too much loue cauſeth hate. 825
L. Lucullus, his parentage. 539. he accuſeth Sernilius the Soothſayer. ibid. his eloquence and Philoſophie, his booke of the Marſians vvarre, his loue to his brother Marcus, he and his brother are both

choſen Ædiles, he coyned money. 540. he giueth lawes to the Cyrenians, his iourney into Egypt, his deeds vnder Sylla, his ſtratageme, he had a rich emerode giuen him. 541. he refuſeth to aide Fimbria, he put Neoptolemus to flight, his ſtratageme at Mitylena. 542. he is honored of Sylla, he vvas Conſull vvith M. Cotta, his ambition, his falling out vvith Pompey. 543. his gouernement of Cilicia and vvarres vvith Mithridates. 544. his godly ſaying, his armie, his politicke conſideration to decyfer the enemie. 545. he ouerthrew Mithridates horſemen and footemen. 547. his dreame, he ouercame Mithridates nauie. 548. his victorie at Fidentia. 515. he examineth the truth of a murther. 325. his ambition was commendable, his iourney into Pontus, his ſouldiers mutinie, his oration and excuſe to his ſouldiers. 549. he fleeth Mithridates horſemen. 550. his daunger by Olthacus conſpiracie, his life ſaued by ſleepe, his victorie of Mithridates. 551. he won Amiſus, his curteſie, his gentle ſaying. 553. he relieued Aſia from extreme vſurie. 554. he goeth againſt Tigranes. 557. he taketh Sinope in Pontus, his dreame. 556. he ſent Sextilius againſt Mithrobarzanes, he beſiegeth Tigranocerta. 558. his armie againſt Tigranes. 559. his terrible great battell, his armour. 560. his famous victorie, he taketh Tigranes diademe, his prayſe, he ouercame two famous kings, he tooke Tigranocerta. 561. his iuſtice and clemencie, his preparation againſt the Parthians, his ſouldiers mutine. 562. he beſieged Artaxata, the order of his armie, he fighteth againſt three kings and maketh Tigranes fly againe. 563. he taketh Antiochia, the alteration of his fortune, the cauſe of his misfortune, his faults, his vertues, vvhy his ſouldiers miſliked him. 564. his armie did euer lye in the field. 565. he is forced to humble himſelfe to his ſouldiers. 566. his meeting vvith Pompey, and miſliking betweene them, he vvas not beloued of his ſouldiers, his returne to Rome, his triumphe. 567. he forſaketh Clodia and marieth Seruilia as vnchaiſt as ſhe, he giueth ouer gouernement of the common vvealth. 568. his goodly gardens, he is called Xerxes the gowne-man, his exceſſe in meates, certaine ſayings of his. 569. he appointed to euery of his halles the rate of his expenſes in them, his librarie, he loued Philoſophie, he vvas againſt Pompey. 570. he was mad before his death, his death. 571. it vvas bleſſed. 572. great difference betweene him and Cimon. 573. he vvas beloued of his ſouldiers after his returne out of Aſia, he inueyeth againſt Pompey. 696

Lucretius Offella beſieged Marius in Praneſte. 516. he is ſlaine. 518

L. Saturninus Tribune. 455

Lucius Catiline ſlue his owne brother. 518. his conſpiracie. 818, 916. it is bewrayed. 918. his departure. 919. he is ſlaine in battell. 922

Lucius Scipio ſurnamed Aſian. 1168

L. Brutus, cauſeth his ſonnes to be executed. 111

L. Bandius a valiant man. 331. reward made him a true ſubiect. ibid.

Lucius Ceſars life ſaued by his ſiſter. 977

L. Appuleius accuſed of Camillus. 148

L. Oſtius the firſt parricide at Rome. 35

Lucius Terentius his treaſon to Pompey. 674

Lucius Furius ouercome by the Volſces and Praneſtines. 162

Lucilius faithfull to Antonius. 1001. and to Brutus. 1077

Lucania fl. of a wonderfull nature. 602

Lugdunum built by Plancus Munatius. 1134

Lupercalia feaſts. 34, 776

Lycius fl. 550, 299

Lyſimachus his decest againſt Pyrrus. 425. and warre. 429

Lying counted a vertue. 464

Lyſiadas yeelded Megalopolis to be made a popular ſtate. 853, 1094. he is ſlaine. 853, 1097

Lyſanders Image, his kindred. 476. his maners, he was a deſpiſer of riches, his wordes of Diogenes liberalitie, he is generall of the Lacedæmonians by ſea, he enlarged the citie Epheſus. 477. he tooke money to pay his ſouldiers, his victorie of the Athenians, his ſpight to Calliſtratidas. 478. he is deceiptfull, a wiſe ſaying of his. 479. his wicked dealing, and periurie, his actes. 480. his craft by ſea. 481. his victoria of the Athenians. 482. his crueltie. 483. he ouerthrew the vvalles of Athens. 485. he ſent money to Sparta. 485. he is ambitious, proud and cruell, his periurie. 487, 486. his honours. 486. his terrible wordes, he depriueth Leotychides of his kingdome, he made Ageſilaus king. 489. he carieth letters againſt himſelfe, he goeth to Iupiter Ammon. 488. his viſedome, he is made ſurueiour for victuals, his talke vvith Ageſilaus. 491. he ſeeketh a chaunge in Sparta, he deuiſed falſe oracles. 491. his fained deuiſe to poſſeſſe the kingdome. 492. his iourney into Boeotia, he is ſlaine by the Thebans. 493. his tombe, his cleane hands and powertie is commended after his death. 494. his counſell for altering the kingdome, he is honored after his death. 495. he is compared with Sylla. 521. their faults, his temperance. 522. his exploits. 233. he appointed thirtie tyrants. ibid. his practiſe for alteration. 661

Lycurgus the orator reſcued Zenocratus. 413

Lycurgus kindred. 44. his trauels into Aſia. 46. he chaungeth the common wealth. 47. he aſketh counſell at Delphes. 47. he inſtituteth a Senate at Lacedæmon of 28. Senatours. 47. his Rete. 47, 865. his viſedome. 48, 844. he deuideth his citizens their lands. 49. he chaungeth their gold and ſiluer into iron coyne. 49. he abaſeth all ſciences. ibid. he appointeth a diet. 50. his eye is ſtroake out. 50. his patience. 51. his lawes muſt not be written. 52. his Retra for warres and meales, with diuers wiſe ſayings. 52, 53. he defameth them that would not marry. 53. his wiſe anſwers. 57. his loue to god. ibid. he is a very good Captaine, his counſell for eſtabliſhing lawes. 63. his death. ibid. his lawes are broken and corrupted by money. 64. he is honored after his death. 65. he is compared with Numa. 82. his lawes eſtabliſhed. 83. the cauſe of long haire.

wearing. 476. the force of his lawes. 858

M

MArcellus his kinred, his conditions, he saueth his brother, he is chosen Ædilis and Augur. 327. he accuseth Caputolinus. 328. he killeth Britomaris in single cambate, his prayer to Iupiter Feretrius. 330, he vvinneth Milaine, his triumphe, his offering of rich spoiles, he is sent into Sicile with an armie. 331. his gentlenesse. 332. his third voyage into Sicile, his victorie of Anniball at Nola. 333, 1142. he vvinneth Leontines & besiegeth Syracusa. 334. his engine Sambuca. 336. his victories in Sicile, he vvinneth Syracusa and Acradina. 337. his gentlenes, his spoyles at Syracusa. 338. he first brought curiositie into Rome. 338. his triumphe. 340. his lowlinesse, constancie and curtesie to the Syracusans, his actes against Anniball. 341. he is ouercome, his stratageme. 342. his victorie of Anniball, he is accused. 343. he vvas Consull fiue times, he buildeth temples, vnfortunate signes to him, his age. 344, 345. his death, his funerall, and mouuments. 345, 202. his posteritie. 346. he is compared with Pelopidas, hee excelleth him. 346. he made the Romaines valiant. 347. he vvas Consull vvith Crispinus. 1147

Marcus Crassus, his kinred and youth, his couetousnesse, his riches, how he came to be rich. 596. his saying of builders, his care about seruants, his iudgement who be rich men, his diet, his eloquence. 597. he flyeth with Marius and Cinna, his cause. 598. his viage into Afrike, he is sent to the Marsians, his emulation vvith Pompey, he tooke the citie Tuder, his valiantnesse, his rising in the cõmon wealth. 599. his inconstancie. 600. he is sent against Spartacus. 601. his vvonderfull trench and vvall, he layeth an ambush. 602. he is Consull vvith Pompey, his feasting of the people. 603. Pompey and he be made friends, he is Censor vvith Catulus, he is suspected for Catilines conspiracie, Cæsar and he are confederates vvith Catiline, he is Ciceroes enemy, Pompey and he are reconciled againe vvith Cæsar, they all do meete at Luca. 604. his modest answere, he had the gouernement of Syria, Pompey and he be made Consuls twiseperforce. 604. his iourney into Syria, he passeth ouer Euphrates, he taketh Zenodotia, he committeth great faults, young Crassus came to his father. 606. ill signes, Ambassadours sent from the Parthians. 608. his wilfulnesse. 610. his armie against the Parthians, his battell. 610. his oration to his souldiers, he is an example of fortunes inconstancie. 613. his flying. 614. his vvordes at his death. 616. his head is brought to Hyrodes. 617. he is compared with Nicias, their riches. 618. their actes. 619. difference betweene them. 620. his follie blemished the Romaines happinesse his death was more commendable then Nicias. 621. he had a desire to conquer Asia vpon Lucullus triumphe. 567. he was high Bishop of Rome. 206. he vvas suretie for Cæsar. 763

Marcus Cato, called an vpstart, what Cato signifieth. 369. his maners & life, he was an excellent orator, and souldier very young, his fierce lookes. 370. he studied Greeke in his age, he profited most by Demosthenes, his straunge life, his comming to Rome, he is chosen Tribune, his offices, he followed Fabius Max. he reproued Scipio and accused him of riot, his eloquence, continencie, and paines, his thrift. 372. his streight life, he is Prator in Sardinia, his seueritie, his speach and writing. 373. his sayings, against offices of perpetuitie, he punished himselfe. 374. he is Consull, his doings in Spayne. 375. his abstinence from briberie, he ouercame the Lucetanians, his acts after his triumphe, he falleth out vvith Scipio. 376. he mocked Posthumius for vvriting in Greeke, his doings against Antiochus. 377. his oration to his souldiers, their boldnesse, his victorie of Antiochus, he prayed his owne doings, he bringeth newes of victorie, he is an accuser. 378. he taketh the streight of Thermophyles. ibid. he vvas fiftie times accused. 379. he is Censor, his actes, he put Flaminius off the Senate, he putteth downe feasts. 380, 381. his Image set vp. 381. his qualities in his owne house, his iudgement of vvines, his vvife nourced her owne children, his sonne vvas valiant and vvell brought vp. 383. his sons mariage, his opinion of sleepy men, he altereth his minde for wealth, his good husbandry, he is an vsurer especially by sea. 383. he misliked the Greeke toung, his Phisicall bookes. 384. he marieth his clarkes daughter, his son misliked his mariage, how he passed his old age. 385. his writings and monuments, his reuenue, his compame was pleasant, he procureth warres against the Carthaginians. 386. his death, his posteritie. 387. he is compared vvith Aristides, their accesse to the common wealth. 387. he excelled him in warres, their displeasures in the common vvealth. 388. he is reproued for his second vvife. 390. the death of his sonne. 1076

M. Tetius his valiantnesse. 505

M. Anthonius the orator betrayed by a tauerner. 473

M. Cotta ouercome by Mithridates. 545

M. Manlius repulsed the Gaules. 156. he moueth sedition. 161. he is imprisoned, and put to death. 162

M. Liuius and C. Nero Consuls. 1148. they ouercome Hasdruball Annibals Lieutenant. ibid.

M. Octauius vvas against Tiberius Gracchus. 868

M. Lepidus created Consull. 680, 519. he moueth ciuill warre. ibid. his death. 681

M. Fannius Catoes friend. 830

Martia Catoes vvife. 819

Machares Mithridates sonne prayeth aide of Lucullus. 557

Magistrates that be graue, resembled to Surgeons. 573. the ill Magistrates doe confound a common vvealth. 486. their dutie. 619

Mago forsaketh Sicile. 293. he killeth himselfe. 294

Man how he may be tamed. 687. his life described. 526

Marius Celsus oration to Othoes souldiers. 1125

Maharball Annibals Lieutenant of his horsemen, his saying to Anniball. 1141

Magnanimitie the power of it. 1147

Martius Lucius his valiantnesse. 1156

Maſinissa offereth friendſhip to the Romaines. 1118. *he commeth to Scipio.* 1160. *his ready and faithfull good-will to the Romaines.* 1163. *he wan Cyrtha vvhere he fell in loue vvith Sophonisba.* 1165
Maſſina riseth againſt Timoleon. 298
Marathon. 18
Manipulares, vvhy ſo called. 25
Matronalia feaſtes. 34
Martius the Sabyne Senator at Rome. 81
Marſilea built by a marchant. 87
Matutaes temple built. 144
Martiall diſcipline. 432
Manlius Torquatus crueltie to his ſonne. 196. *he is put from the Senate.* 197
Machanidas ſlayne by Philopœmen. 397
Macheriones vvhy ſo called. 670
Manumiſſion of ſlaues. 415
Macedonians armie againſt the Romaines. 270. *they ſubmit themſelues to Æmilius.* 274. *they flye.* 408. *their maner of battell.* 410. *it vvas deuided betweene Pyrrus and Lyſimachus.* 429. *there was great ſtriſe for it after Caſſandres death.* 957. *they maried vvith the Perſians.* 754, *they had a band of ſouldiers euery man aboue 60. yeares old.* 648. *the cauſe of their ſhauing.* 3
Manius Acilius Lieutenant to Marius. 455
Manius Curius ouerthrew Pyrrus, his thriftineſſe and moderation. 370
Martha a Propheteſſe, her attire. 45
Murica ſilua. 470
Mamercus tyrant of Catana. 289. *his verſes.* 298. *he is ouercome.* 299. *his death.* 300
Maſiſtius generall of the Perſians ſlayne. 358
Mardonius ſlayne. 362
Mamertines vvhy ſo called. 438
Mandracidas ſtout aunſwere to Pyrrus. 441
Medea perſwadeth Ægeus to poyſon his ſonne Theſeus. 6. *her enchantment.* 737
Menius Agrippaes tale to pacifie the people. 228
Megarians their buriall. 92. *their citte.* 423
Meliſſus Philoſopher generall of the Samians. 182
Meſſina riseth againſt Timoleon. 298
Metaurium fl. 1148
Medius dreame. 948
Melas fl. 510, 314
Megacles ſlayne being taken for Pyrrus. 433
Meton the Aſtronomer his madneſſe. 585. *he counterfeiteth the foole, his counſell to the Tarentines.* 430
Memmius Craſſus Lieutenant ouerthrowne by Spartacus, 601
Meſſala Coruinus Brutus friend: 1078
Metrodorus prayſe and death. 555
Metellus vvas againſt people pleaſers. 463. *he vvas conſtant in vertue, his baniſhment.* 464. *his returne.* 465. *he vvas high Biſhop and maried.* 500. *his death.* 761. *he beſieged Langobrites.* 628. *he feared Sertorius, he is called Imperator, his vanitie.* 633. *his riot.* 682
Minotaurus vvhat it vvas. 71
Minos defaced by Poets. 8. *he ſent Theſeus home vvith his priſoners and releaſeth the Athenians tribute.* 9. *his death.* 10
Miniſters beloued. 41
Minerua Opiletide. 51
Minutius good counſell. 108. *he deſpiſeth Fabius counſell.* 193. *his raſhneſſe.* 195. *his pride.* 197. *his modeſtie, his oration, his vvordes to Fabius.* 198
Minturnians ſuffred Marius to depart vvith ſafetie. 470
Miſers vvhyne für their goods. 273
Miltiades his victorie of the Perſians. 351. *he dyed in priſon.* 526
Mirto Ariſtides neece maried to Socrates the Philoſopher. 368
Midas ſlue himſelfe. 418
Might ouercometh right. 463
Miſene mons. 467
Minerua Itonian her temple. 661
Migdonia a countrey. 564
Mithridates his power. 503. *he taketh exceptians at Syllaes conditions of peace.* 512. *he excuſeth himſelfe to Sylla.* 514. *his armie againſt Lucullus.* 544. *his ſiege of Syzicus, his ſouldiers ſtratageme.* 546. *great famine in his campe, he flyeth by ſea.* 547. *he vvas in daunger by tempeſt.* 548. *his armie at Cabira.* 550. *he flyeth being ouerthrowne by a mutine.* 551. *his ſtratageme, he ſlue his vvife and ſiſters.* 552. *he ſent Ambaſſadours to Sertorius.* 634. *he gaue Marius proconſull the vpper hand.* 635. *his victorie of Lucullus Lieutenants.* 565, 566. *his dreame.* 689. *his remembraunces.* 692. *his death, the value of the ſcabard of his ſword.* 694
Mithridates Parthian bewrayeth his countreymen to Antonius. 990
Mithridates Artaxerxes man moſt cruelly put to death. 1019
Mithridates king of Pontus dyed in Boſporus. 574
Mneſtheus king of Athens. 19
Moone eclipſed, the cauſe thereof. 270
Moloſſians maner of Supplication. 136
Morion fl. 508
Molus fl. 510
Monyme Mithridates vvife her throat cut. 552
Money the ſinew of warre. 862
Mutius Scæuola his actes. 116
Murther of outlawes through all Italie. 518
Munychion the moneth called Demetrion. 945
Mutia Pompeys vvife. 695

N

Naturall loue. 89
Naples had two factions in it. 1144
Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon winneth Meſſina, he flyeth Philopœmen. 398. *he beſiegeth Gythium.* 399. *he is ſlayne.* 400
Narthacium mons. 660
Naſica ſetteth vpon Tiberius Gracchus, he is made chiefe Biſhop of Rome. 874
Naptha an oyle vvhat force it had. 737
Neptune called Aſphalius and Geiochus. 19. *he is the god of horſemen.* 28

Nemea the feast. 413
Nearchus a Pythagorian Philosopher, Catoes schoolemaister. 370
Neacles the painter his saying of tyrants. 1086
Nero set Greece at libertie. 414
Neochorus slue Lysander, 494
Neoptolemus Mithridates Lieutenant. 542. *his death.* 642
Nicagorus Messinian, an exemie to Cleomenes. 865
Nicocles tyrant of Sicyone flyeth from Aratus. 1085
Nicomedes king of Bithynia. 513
Nicias, his equals, he was timorous, his liberalitie. 576. *his superstition, his mines of siluer, he gaue to the vvicked for feare.* 577. *his vvarinesse to offend, he vvas Heerons schoolemaster, his life.* 578. *his notable actes.* 579. *he reconciled the Spartans and Athenians, his peace.* 581, 216. *he vvas holpen by an earthquake, he is sent to Sparta.* 582. *he ioyneth vvith Alcibiades against Hyberbolus.* 583. *he is chosen Captaine in Sicile.* 583. *his foolish fearefulnesse, his counsell to inuade the Syracusans.* 585. *his notable stratageme, he winneth the hauen of Syracusa, he forbeareth to spoile Iupiters temple, he besiegeth Syracusa.* 586. *his vvall at the siege, he was sole Captaine of the armie.* 589. *his counsell to Demosthenes.* 589. *he vvas ignorant of naturall causes.* 591. *he deceiued Hermocrates.* 592. *his extreme miserie, he moueth treatie of peace, he is ouercome, his wordes yeelding himselfe to Gylippus.* 593. *he slue himselfe.* 594. *he foretold the miserie of the Athenians,* 595. *his riches.* 618. *his feare fulnesse.* 619. *his honest actes commended.* 620. *his craft.* 338
Nonæ caprinæ. 160
Noes flood. 506
Numitors vvisedome. 24
Numidians their craft in flying. 1135
Numa is chosen king, he vvas borne in Cures, his maners before his raigne, he vvas conuersant vvith the nymphe Egeria. 68. *his oration to the Ambassadours refusing the kingdome.* 69. *he beginneth his kingdome.* 70. *he vvas consecrated by the Augures, he dischargeth the gard Celeres and induceth ciuill life.* 71, 77. *his and Pythagoras institutions like.* ibid. 76. *he worshipped Tacitu, he forbiddeth Images of God, he instituteth Bishops.* 72. *his vvonders, his speaking to Iupiter, Picus, Faunus, his purifying of thunder, he buildeth temples to Fauth and Ferme.* 77. *he aduaunceth tillage, his diuision of occupations, his monethes, he appeased Romulus and Tatius.* 78. *no warres in his time.* 80. *his vvues and posteritie.* ibid. *his death.* 81. *his bookes.* ibid. *his successours misfortune, he is compared with Lycurgus.* 82. *his orders dyed.* 85. *he is preferred before Lycurgus.* 86. *his ceremonie touching Religion.* 249
Nymphidius Sabyne vvith Tigellinus betrayed Nero. 1107. *he taketh vpon him to be Emperour, his honours made him too bold, he caused Neroes friends to be slayne, his parentage.* 1109. *his practises, he aspireth to be Emperour.* 1111. *he is slayne.* 1112
Nyssa, a citie. 749

O

OBedience vvhat it profiteth. 64. 56. *obedience to the Prince.* 273
Octauius negligence against Cinna and Marius, he vvas too much giuen to Soothsayers, his vertue and imperfection, he is slayne. 471, 616
Octania Octauius Cæsars halfe sister. 982. *her vvords to Macenas and Agrippa she pacified Antonie and Cæsar.* 984. *she came to Athens to meete vvith Antonius.* 993. *her loue and vvomanly behauiour to Antonius.* 994
Oenopion and Staphylus Theseus sonnes. 10
Oeconomia, vvhat it is. 389
Offices at Rome came by degrees. 406
Oke the goodnesse of it. 236
Olympia. 14
Olympus mons how high. 268
Olympus Cleopatraes Phisitian. 1006
Olympia Philip of Macedons vvife, her dreame. 717. *she had a serpent frequented to her.* 718
Oligarchia vvhat. 944
Olthacus Prince of the barbarians. 551
Ombricus foretold the treason against Galba. 1116
Opinions of life and death. 305
Optio and Tessararius vvhy so called. 1116
Opimius the Consull built the temple of concord. 882. *he vvas the first Consull that vsurped the name of Dictator, he tooke bribes and vvas condemned for it.* ibidem
Oplites fl. 494
Optimalia vvhat. 535
Onesicratus a Philosopher. 752
Onatius Aurelius his dreame. 603
Oracle of Apollo at Delphes. 13. *of victorie.* 356. *to Sylla.* 507. *in Greece.* 913. *of the three Lentuli.* 919
Orators cause tumult against Camillus. 158. *their subtiltie.* 902
Orodes king of Parthia. 983
Orchalide mons. 494
Orobazus sent from Parthia to Sylla. 498
Oscophoria feastes. 11
Ostracismon, vvhat. 172, 215, 353. *the vse of it.* 582. *it is taken away.* 583
Osca a citie. 629
Othoes moderation at the beginning of his raigne. 1119. *he tooke vpon him the name of Nero.* 1120. *his liberalitie to his souldiers, his maners like to Vitellius, his souldiers frowardnesse, the prayse of his Captaines.* 1122. *his consultation for giuing of battell.* 1123. *he vvas a vvanton liuer.* 1124. *his maners, he is sent Proprator into Lusitania, his credit about Galba.* 1114. *his practise to be Emperour.* 1115. *he bribed the souldiers.* 1116. *he is called Emperour, he receiued the Pratorian souldiers.* 1117. *his souldiers fight vvith Vitellius souldiers, and are ouercome, his Captaines yeeld to Vitellius.* 1125. *his souldiers are faithfull, and most courageous, his courage before his death, and his oration to his souldiers.* 1126. *his vvordes to his nephew Cocceius, his death like Cato Vticans, he slue himselfe, his funerals.*

funerals. 1129. *his tombe, his age and raigne.* 1128
Ouation triumphe vvhat. 340
Owles vvhy they see best by night. 1085. *they are like ignorant men.* *ibidem*
Oyle the nature of it. 389, 748. *a spring of it found in the ground.* 748

P

PAsiphae Atlas daughter. 845
Pallas had fiftie sonnes. 3
Pallantides. 3. *they take armes against Ægeus and Theseus.* 6
Palme a token of victorie. 11
Panathemæa and Metoecia feasts. 13
Palilia a feast. 27
Patrocles stirreth vp Seleucus against Demetrius. 963
Patricians and Senate vvhat. 27
Patres conscripti vvhat. 28
Pacorus his death. 983
Parricides. 35
Parthians take Antonius engins of batterie. 986. *their craft against the Romaines.* 987, 999. *they set vpon Antonius.* 988. *their vvarres vvith the Medes.* 993. *their maner was neuer to fight by night.* 615. *they send Ambassadours to Pompey.* 691
Pantarchus Demetrius Lieutenant. 426
Parysatis Cyrus mother her craftinesse and crueltie to them that slue her sonne. 1018, 1019. *she hateth her daughter in law Statira and seeketh to poyson her.* 1020
Paralos the holy galley of Athens. 282
Pachynus the foreland of Sicilia. 1038
Paritas Alexanders dogge. 750
Padus fl. 623, 1135
Pasitiris fl. 646
Patareians yeeld to Brutus. 1068
Paulinus Othoes Captaine accused for a coward. 1123
Pausanias generall of all Greece. 356. *he vvas proud and couetous, his crueltie to souldiers.* 365. *he openeth treason to Themistocles.* 136. *he reconcileth the Athenians and Spartans.* 488. *his exile.* 494. *he lost the Lacedemonians their rule of Greece, he killed the young Bizantine virgine.* 528
Paulus Æmylius linage vvas from Pythagoras, his vertues, he is made Ædilis and Augur. 261. *his diligence in trifles, he is sent Prætor into Spaine, his policie for warre.* 262. *he his chosen Consull, he ouercommeth the Lygurians.* 263. *his oration at his second Consulship and his voyage to Macedon.* 265. *his armie against Perseus.* 266. *his maner of vvatch and admonition to his souldiers.* 267. *his answere to Scipio for charging vpon the enemies.* 269. *his policie to procure skirmish.* 270. *he ouercommeth Perseus in one houre.* 270, 272. *his oration to Perseus touching fortune.* 275. *his honorable progresse in Greece, he setteth Macedon at a stay, his good order at feasts, his abstinence.* 276. *he spoyleth Epirus, his returne to Italie, his triumphe is enuied.* 277. *it is furthered and described.* 278. *he scorneth Perseus cowardlinesse.* 279. *his aduersitie foretold, and oration at his childrens death.* 280. *his victorie releaseth the subsidie, he is chosen Dictator.* 281. *his sickneſſe, he remoueth to Velia, his death, funerals, and goods,* 282, 1138. *he is compared vvith Timoleon.* 305. *his abstinence from gifts, he exceeded Timoleon.* 305. *his saysng of souldiers.* 1106. *he vvas Consull vvith Terentius Varro.* 1139. *the difference of their natures.* *ibid.* *he was slaynes at Cannes.* 261, 200
Pericles the base borne put to death. 188
Pericles had a long head, his mothers dreame, his studies and teachers. 168. *his behauiour, and patience.* 169. *a rammes head found in his ground.* 169. *his first beginning in the common vvealth like Pisistratus.* 170. *he is surnamed Olympius, his comon wealth.* 171. *he diminisheth the Areopagites authoritie, he banisheth Cimon, he recalleth him from exile.* 172. *his care for idle persons, his buildings.* 173. *he erected games for musicke.* 175. *he is slandered by Poets, his noble sayings, his power, he altereth the common wealth.* 176. *his good life, he is free from gifts taking, his good husbandrie.* 177. *he loueth his mens safetie, his iourneys.* 178. *he is not couetous.* 179, 181. *he is an enemy to the Lacedemonians.* 179. *his policie in forraine intertainement, his actes in Euboea, he inuadeth the Samians.* 180, 181. *he marieth Aspasia the curtesan.* 181. *he taunteth an old vvoman.* 183. *he warreth against Peloponnesus.* *ibid.* *his malice to the Megarians.* 184. *he is accused by Cleon.* 186, 187. *is policie to pacifie the people.* *ibid.* *his hard fortune, he is deprived of his charge, his home troubles.* 187. *his constancie, his sickneſſe, his death.* 188. *his notable saysng, he vvas deseruedly called Olympius, his losse lamented.* 189. *he is compared vvith Fabius.* 206. *he brought the common vvealth to a Democratia.* 535
Perseus is couetous, he warreth with the Romaines. 264. *he ouercommeth them* 265. *his couetousnesse was his destruction, the end of his husbandrie.* 266. *his double dealing vvith Gentius, his armie how many.* 267. *he camped before Pydney.* 269. *he flyeth.* 273. *his misere.* 275. *his children.* 279. *his straunge death.* 281. *the state of his sonnes.* *ibidem*
Perseus answere to Zenoes opinion of a vvise Captaine. 191. *he is made Captaine of the Acrocorinth.* 1088
Pelops king of Peloponnesus. 2
Periphetes Corinetes a famous robber slayne by Theseus. 4
Perigowna Sinnis daughter. 5
Perithous friendship vvith Theseus. 16. *he is torne in peeces by Cerberus.* 17
Peculium whereof. 113
People are vnconstant. 243, 224, 465. *they are enuious.* 353
Peticius dreame of Pompey. 710
Perpenna ioyned vvith Sertorius. 629. *he enuied Sertorius, and moued seditious wordes against him.* 635. *his treason against Sertorius, he is taken for Pompey, he is put to death.* 636
Persepolis burned by Alexander. 738
Peace and vvarre like money. 429
Periurie rewarded. 618

Pergamum had a famous Librarie. 996
Pelusium is yeelded to Cæsar. 1003
Persians how they consecrated their kings. 1012. *how they punished traytors in vvarre.* 1017. *their cruell death to offendors.* 1019. *their punishment for poysoners.* 1021. *the stampe of their coyne. ibidem. they are full of vanitie.* 1022. *thirtie thousand boyes are taught the discipline of vvarre.* 755. *they are ielous.* 137. *they honour their king as a god.* 138. *their battell vvith the Grecians.* 361, 360. *many of them slayne.* 362
Petelium mons. 344
Peripoltas and his posteritie. 524
Pelopidas, his linage and liberalitie. 306. *his saying for necessitie of money.* 307. *he is banished from Athens, his counsell for the libertie of Thebes.* 308. *he conspireth against Lacedæmon for Thebes, and cometh thither disguised.* 309. *his daunger.* 300. *he killeth the tyrants.* 311. *he receiueth the castle Cadmea by composition.* 312. *he ouerthrew the Lacedæmonians his policie to make the Lacedæmonians and Athenians fall out.* 312. *his victorie at Tegira.* 313, 314. *his Princely answere, his dreame at Leuctres.* 316. *his and Epaminondas victorie at Leuctres.* 317. *his iourney to Peloponnesus, he condemned Meneclidas a seditious orator.* 319. *he is taken prisoner.* 320. *his stoutnesse, he is sent Ambassadour into Persia, he is greatly honored of the king, he refuseth his gifts.* 322. *his second iourney against Alexander, and battell.* 323. *his death greatly lamented.* 324, 306. *his happinesse.* 325. *he is compared vvith Marcellus, their actes are vnlike.* 349
Phea the wild sow of Crommion slayne. 5
Phea a vvoman theefe. 5
Phædra Theseus vvife. 15
Philologus death for betraying his maister Cicero, his sonne is Consull vvith Aug. Cæsar. 936
Philipides the Poet, his aunswere to Lysimachus. 946
Philo Ciceroes schoolemaister. 912
Philip of Macedon, his curtesie and humilitie. 961. *his armie and death.* 264, 905. *he is deliuered for hostage to Pelopidas.* 320. *his flying.* 408. *his verses against Alcæus.* 411. *his dreame.* 717. *his quarell vvith his sonne Alexander.* 721. *he is slayne by Pausanias.* 722
Philip Antigonus sonne, his double dealing. 1103. *he became cruell.* 1104. *he is punished.* 1105. *his saying of Corinthe.* 1088
Philotas and his father put to death. 744
Phila Demetrius vvife poysoneth her selfe. 963
Philotas Antonius Philition, his proposition. 981
Philostratus an eloquent orator. 1006
Philistus the historiographer banished by Dionysius. 1032. *he returned and accused Dionysius.* 1033. *he is slayne.* 1043
Philosophers aduaunced Dions vvarre. 1037. *they vvere persecuted at Athens.* 591
Philosophie vvhat benefit it bringeth. 290, 169
Philarchus the historiographer, not to be credited. 1098
Phaonius a follower of Cato. 1069. *his ouer bold words to Pompey.* 704
Pharos insula. 731
Pharsalia, a vvonder seene there before the battell. 779
Philippes, many slayne at the battell. 1074
Phasis fl. 565, 691
Phormio a Peripatetician his reading in Ephesus. 1172
Philotis her deuise. 40, 106
Phitalides feasted Theseus. 6. *his thankefulnesse to them.* 12
Phidias the Image-maker. 184
Philidas secretarie to the tyrants. 310
Philoctes cruell aduise to the Athenians. 480. *his constancie.* 483
Philoboeotius hill. 506
Phæux the orator lacked eloquence. 215
Phrynicus a Poet. 221. *he vvas murthered.* 225
Philopœmens schoolemasters. 391. *he vvas the last famous man of Greece, he is taken for a seruing man, he is hastie and wilfull, he delighted in vvarre, he reproued wrestling.* 392. *how he employed, his games, his care in tillage, his delight to read books of wars, he saued the Megalopolitans, he is sore hurt.* 393. *his noble act against Cleomenes, he is hurt againe.* 394. *he is generall of the Achaians, he slue Demophantus, his prayse, he is compared to Aratus.* 395. *he changeth the Achaians discipline, he turneth all dainties into rich armour.* 396. *he killeth Machanidas, and conquereth the Lacedæmonians.* 397. *his name made the Boeotians fly, he deliuered Messina, his second iourney into Creta.* 398. *he made diuers cities rebell against the Achaians, he is generall of the Achaians, he is ouercome by sea.* 399. *he ouercometh Nabis, he is free from couetousnesse.* 400. *his vvise counsell, his noble act, his cruelty to the Spartans, he altereth Lycurgus law, his counsell against the Romaines, he is the eight time generall, his loue to the Romaines.* 421. *his iourney against Dinocrates.* 402. *he is poysoned, his last vvordes, his funerall.* 404. *his honour.* 415
Phocus Phocions sonne. 800
Phocion his parentage, he neuer vvept nor laughed, his maners, his first souldierfare. 793. *his victorie in Naxos, his notable sayings.* 794. *he vvas surnamed good, his iourney into Euboea, and victorie, he sendeth away the mutinous souldiers.* 796. *he saued Bizantium, he draue Philip out of Hellespont and ioyned Megara vnto Athens.* 797. *he pacifieth Alexander, he refuseth Alexanders money, his house and vvines.* 799. *he despiseth Harpalus money.* 800. *he refuseth to defend his sonne in law in an ill cause.* 801. *his victorie of the Macedonians, he goeth Ambassadour vnto Antipater.* 802. *he refuseth Menillus gifties, he loueth pouertie.* 804. *he vvas accused of treason, and sent to Athens to be condemned.* 806. *his constancie being condemned.* 807. *he gaue money to be put to death, his funerals.* 808. *his saying of vertue.* 842. *he is called the axe of Demosthenes orations.* 900
Piso and Gabinius Consuls. 926
Pityusa insula. 625
Pisander slayne. 660

Pyrates,

Pirates their vvarre, their power. 684. *their nauie, they scorned the Romaines.* 685
Piso and Iunius murthered. 1118
Pitheus the grandfather of Theseus. 2. *his wisedome.* *ibidem*
Pittacus a tyrant. 94
Pisistratus vvicked craft. 104
Pisuthnes the Persian. 181
Pirea the hauen vvonne. 506. *and fortified.* 133
Plague at Rome. 34
Placentia the fertilest towne of Italie. 1122
Platoes opinion of a common vvealth. 80. *he vvas a marchant* 87. *his saying of a louer.* 315. *his opinion of pleasure.* 370. *his saying to Zenocratus.* 448. *his vvordes at Marius death.* 474. *his communitie of vvomen.* 820. *his Dialogue of the soule.* 840. *he writ of foure kinds of flatterers.* 981. *his wordes of concupiscence.* 985. *he sheweth how to make men famous.* 1028. *his comming to Syracusa.* 1029. *he is sold into Ægina.* 1030. *he is sent for to the younger Dionysius.* 1032. *he commeth.* 1033. *the third time.* 1035. *he resembled Democratia to a market.* 1050. *his saying of an armie.* 1106
Plateians their magnanimitie. 357. *a generall councell there, and solemne sacrifices.* 364
Plutarch excuseth the Gracchi. 843. *his iudgement of Images.* 145. *his iudgement of Sylla and Lysander.* 524. *his countrey.* 886. *he prayseth Demosthenes.* 906. *he reproueth Æschines for mourning.* 906. *he reproueth Cresias for a lyer.* 1017
Plistonax king of Lacedemon. 179
Plainenesse how esteemed. 478
Plistarchus, gouernour of Cilicia. 955
Pleasure the bait of euils. 1143
Pompeia Cæsars vvife. 760
Pompey vvas made sole Consull. 831. *he chaungeth his minde for the gouernement of his armie.* 834. *he leaueth Cato.* *ibid.* *he would not see Cicero accused.* 927. *he fauoured Cicero.* 928. *his prayse.* 977. *he maried Iulia, and licenced Cæsars lawes by force.* 764. *he gouerned Spayne and Africke, he is abused by flatterers.* 772. *Pompey flyeth from Rome, he flyeth to Epirus.* 775. *his determination for vvarre, he is called king of kings, his dreames at Pharsalia.* 778. *his armie vvas twise as great as Cæsars, his order of battell, he committed a fowle fault at Pharsalia.* 779. *his flight.* 780. *he is called the great, and Imperator.* 599. *his triumph for Spayne.* 603. *his stout aunswere.* 605. *he flyeth Sertorius.* 632. *he burned Sertorius letters.* 636, 683. *he succeedeth Lucullus in Asia, and offered him murie.* 566, 688. *Strabo his father vvas hated.* 673. *he vvas beloued and fauoured of the Romaines, his temperance in diet.* 674. *he is accused for robbing the common treasure, he maried Antistia.* 675. *his first Captaineship vnder Sylla, he was chieftaine at 23. years old, he goeth to Sylla, his victorie of the Marians, he ioyned vvith Sylla, he is called Imperator of Sylla.* 676. *he vvas honored of Sylla, he vvent to ayd Metellus in Gaule, his wonderfull victories, he put away his wife Antistia, and maried Æmilia, he is sent into Sicile.* 677. *he sealed vp his souldiers swordes, his iourney into Africke vnder Sylla.* 678. *his victorie of Domitius, he tooke king Iarbus, his conquests at 24. yeares of age, his souldiers loued him, he is called Magnus by Sylla.* 679. *his stout aunswere to Sylla, he triumphed before he vvas Senator against the law.* 680. *his iourney into Spaine against Sertorius, he slue Herennius and Perpenna.* 681, 682. *his modestie.* 682. *he ouercame the bondmen, his first Consulship vvith Crassus, he sueth to be discharged from the warres, he submitted himselfe to the Censors.* 683. *he and Crassus are made friends, his pride and glory.* 684. *his preparation against the Pirates, his curtesie to Piso.* 686. *his victorie of the Pyrates, his lewd fact against Metellus.* 687. *his great dissimulation, his quarell vvith Lucullus, their meeting in Galatia.* 688. *his iourney against Mithridates.* 689. *he ouercame him.* 690. *he ouerthrew the Albanians, he ouercame the Iberians, he slue Cosis.* 691. *his abstinence from gifts, his fault.* 692. *his iourney into Syria, he made Syria a prouince, his vertues.* 693. *his theater.* 694. *his returne from Asia, he forsooke his vvife Mutia, and discharged his souldiers, his third triumph.* 695. *what countreys he conquered, the captiues led in his third triumphe, he conquered three parts of the vvorld, the change of his fortune, he ioyned vvith Clodius, he forsaketh Cicero.* 696. *he gaue his consent for* Lex agraria, *he maried Iulia Cæsars daughter, he driueth Bibulus out of the market place, he vvas scorned of Clodius, he had commission to bring corne to Rome,* 698. *he and Crassus vvere Consuls the second time by force, they two and Cæsar did deuide the prouinces amongest themselues.* 699. *the beginning of his dissention with Cæsar.* 700. *he is chosen Consull, he maried Cornelia the daughter of Metellus Scipio.* 701. *his prouinces vvere assigned him for foure yeares longer, he fell sicke, great reioycing for his recouerie, vvhy he despised Cæsar, his proud vvordes.* 702. *he vvas soothed by Appius.* *ibid.* *he is chosen to go against Cæsar.* 703. *he forsooke Rome.* 705. *his stratageme to fly from Cæsar, he forsaketh Italie, his power in Greece, he trayned his souldiers.* *ibid.* *he ouerthrew Cæsar and followed him into Thessaly.* 706. *his souldiers mocked him, his dreame before the battell at Pharsalia, signes before the order of his battell at Pharsalia.* 708. *his horsemen are put to flight and he flyeth.* 709. *his miserable estate, he imbarked in a hyred ship, he arriued at Mitilene, his sorrowfull meeting with his wife.* 710. *he reasoneth with Cratippus, he arriued at Attalia, his great errour.* 711. *he arriued in Egypt, his intertainement.* 712. *he was slayne as he landed, his patience, his funerals, his ring, his murtherers put to death.* 713
Pontifices vvhy so called. 72. Pontifex maximus. 73
Porcena proclaimeth vvarres at Rome. 115. *peace graunted.* 117. *he is made iudge betwixt the Romaines, and Tarquines.* *ibid.* *his liberalitie.* 118
Posidonius vvordes of Fabius and Marcellus. 332
Pomerium vvhy so called. 26
Polybius an historiographer. 1098

Porcia Catoes daughter Brutus vvife. 1058. *she vvas studied in Philosophie, her courage, her wordes to her husband. ibid. her weakenesse.* 1060. *her sorrow for her husbands absence.* 1063. *her death.* 1078, 841
Polyperchon generall of the Macedonians. 805. *his conspiracie against Phocion. ibid. he put Dinarchus to death.* 806
Polixenus maried Thesta Dionysius sister. 1036
Porus his stature. 750
Polymachus his death. 754
Pothinus king Ptolomies eunuch ruled all Egypt. 712
Policie, to make souldiers fight. 507
Pompilia Numaes daughter. 80. *she is maried to Martius.* 81
Posthumi. 520
Pontius Cominius climeth vp to the Capitoll. 155
Pouertie is hard to be borne: vvhom it shameth. 367. *vvhether it be ill.* 389
Posl. 461
Polygnotus the paynter. 527
Pretorium souldiers tumult. 1120
Presche an Iland of Peloponnesus. 1088
Protegenes an excellent paynter. 950
Prima Romulus daughter. 29
Prosperitie encreaseth pride. 37
Prince his office. 42
Prodicos vvhat. 45
Praecia a famous curtizan. 543
Pritani treasurers. 185
Pstulsis an Iland. 753
Ptolomie king of Egypt goeth to Cato. 825. *his liberalitie to Aratus.* 1086. *he is restored to his kingdome againe.* 698
Ptolomie Pyrrus sonne slayne. 444
Ptolemie the Soothsayer his prediction of Othoes Empire. 1116
Ptolomie being conquerour, his bountie to Demetrius. 942. *his great galley.* 962
Publius Clodius a vvicked man: he incenseth the souldiers against Lucullus. 565. *he ouercometh Spartan.* 601. *he setteth vpon Pompey.* 697. *his loue* [illegible] *peia.* 762. *he is taken among the sacrificers to the good goddesse: he is accused, and quit.* 763. *he is Tribune.* 824, 926. *his vvicked parts.* 925. *his death.* 928
Publius Crassus his death. 612
Publius Cornelius and Sempronius Consul's. 1132
Publius Valerius Publicola, his linage. 107. *he helpeth to expulse the kings. ibid. treason opened to him by Vindicius.* 109. *he accuseth Collatinus.* 110. *he vvas the first that triumphed vpon chariot.* 112. *his house, he is ouerthrowne, he is a good example for Magistrates.* 112. *vvhy he is surnamed Publicola.* 113. *his actes and lawes. ibid. vvith whom he vvas Consull.* 114, 115, 118. *his brother triumphed of the Sabines. ibidem. his death, he is happie, he is compared vvith Solon.* 120
Pythagoras Numaes schoolemaister. 72, 65. *he taught silence.* 72. *his opinion of God. ibid. of prayer.* 76. *his sect left nothing in writing.* 81
Pythopolis built by Theseus. 14
Pyrrus his saying of the Romaine armie. 408. *his kinred, his name signifieth red, how he vvas preserued in his infancie.* 422. *his countenance and teeth, he healed the splene, his great toe vvould not burne.* 423. *his realme is taken from him, his valiantnesse, his behauiour, his mariage, he is restored to his kingdome, he deuideth it vvith Neoptolemus.* 424. *he slue Neoptolemus, his first iourney into Macedon, he vvarred vvith Demetrius.* 425. *his victorie of Pantarchus, he is likened to Alexander, his skill in warre, his wise answere, his curtesie.* 426. *his wittie sayings, his vvives & children, he is called an eagle, he inuadeth Macedō.* 427. *his dreame, his secōd iourney to Macedon, his prayses, how he vvore his head peece, he is proclaimed king of Macedon.* 428. *he aideth the Grecians.* 429: *he is generall of the Tarentines, his iudgement of orators, he is cast on shore by tempest going into Italie.* 431. *he reformeth the Tarentines, his foresight in his battell vvith the Romaines.* 432. *he chaungeth his armour and cloake, his victorie of Leuinus.* 433. *his Phisitian offereth to poyson him.* 435. *he sendeth the Romaines their prisoners vvithout ransome, his victorie of the Romaines at his second battell.* 436. *his iourney into Sicile at the Ambassadours request, and vvinning of Erix.* 437. *his crueltie in Sicile, his returne into Italie, he is hurt on his head.* 438. *his mightie blow, he is ouerthrowne by the Romaines in his third battell.* 439. *he is compared to a dice player, his victorie of Antigonus.* 440. *why he inuaded Peloponnesus, his stratageme to the Spartans, he besiegeth Lacedamon.* 441. *his battell, his dreame.* 442. *he is in daunger of his life at the siege of Sparta, he is repulsed from Sparta.* 443. *he killed Eualcus, tokens of his death, his fight at Argos.* 444. *he is slayne by a vvoman.* 446, 858. *he could not keepe those realmes he conquered.* 1141

Q

Qvestores their beginning. 113, 121
Quirites vvhy so called. 33, 68
Quirinus hill. 40
Q. Fuluius chosen Dictator. 342
Q. Crispinus the Consull slayne. 345
Q. Aurelius a quiet man slayne for his house. 518
Q. Cycero slayne. 935
Q. Valerius his death. 678

R

Rasaces attempted to bribe Cimon. 532
Radamanthus. 8
Rashnesse, the perill of it. 1018
Raine followeth great battels. 459
Remus taken of Numitors heardmen. 23. *he is slayne by Romulus.* 26. *his oration declaring his birth, and of his brother Romulus.* 24. *his education.* 23. *they disagree.* 25
Reioycing at other mens harmes argueth a base mind. 798
Rhea Sertorius mother. 622
Rhegio a citie of Greece. 287

Rhodanus fl. 455
Rheynus fl. 767. *the head of it.* 1133
Rhodians very discurteous. 950
Rhone vvhence it springeth. 1133
Rindacus fl. 5471
Riuers that vvere salt. 991
Roscius a stageplayer. 914. *he is put in suite.* 912. *his law.* 918
Rome, it rained bloud there. 36. *opinions of it.* 20. *when it was founded.* 26. *and built.* 23. *feasts for it* 27. *signes at the founding.* 27. *it is besieged.* 31. *plague there.* 36. *it was without parricides.* 600. *yeares.* 35. *dissention for chusing the king.* 67. *their interregnū.* 67. *their woodē bridge.* 73. *it is taken by the Gaules.* 75. *their maner of worship.* 76. *their watch word for diuine seruice.* 76. *their bounds.* 78. *their reason for mariage.* 84. *their maides are modest ibid. their matrmony.* 29. *the first diuorce there.* 84 *they sing Talassio at mariages.* 29, 675. *the holy Iland.* 111. *funerall orations begun.* 112. *their virgins boldnes.* 117. *an oracle from Delphes.* 144. *a law for dwelling at veies.* 146. *a golden cup sent to Delphes made of the womēs Iewels. ibid. their womens, equity.* 148. *their army against the Gaules is* 40000. *footemen.* 151. *they obserue dayes.* 152. *they are taken by the Gaules.* 153. *their Senators maiestie. ibid. they offer gold to Brennus.* 157. *they are 7. monthes in the Gaules hāds.* 158. *it is built again in one yeare.* 159. *it is deliuered from war.* 160. *they exempt Priests from warres.* 165. *sedition for Consuls chusing. ibid. a commoner chosen Consul with a nobleman.* 165. *wonders seene.* 191. *they are ouercome. ibid. there are slayne at Cannes.* 50000, 200. *their buildings inferiour to Athens.* 209. *vsuris complained of.* 137. *it is forsaken of the people.* 238. *why they haue three names.* 240. *famine causeth sedition.* 241. *how they sued for offices, and obtained them by desert.* 242. *store of corne brought thither.* 243. *sedition for Coriolanus.* 244, 248. *how they punished their slaues.* 248. *their superstition.* 249, 329. *they giue the Volsces occasion of warre.* 249. *they send Ambassadors to Coriolanus.* 251, 252. *priests and soothsayers sent Ambassadours, their cowardlines in Spaine.* 263. *they are troubled with warre 22. yeares.* 328, 327. *their publicke sacrifice.* 329. *their maner of worship.* 330. *they punished cowardly souldiers, and detested them.* 334, 602. *they mutine.* 411. *they are sold for slaues.* 414. *their noble mind.* 434. *their confederates rebell.* 466. *ciuill warre in Sylas time.* 498. *their captaines greatly commended.* 504. *an infinit number slayne in one day.* 513. *they thought it a noble deede to accuse the wicked.* 540. *the constancie of their souldiers, and punishment of cowardes.* 550. *great contention who should raigne.* 971. *it vvas deuided amongest the Triumuiri.* 982, 600. *their law for the mariage of vvidowes.* 982. *their good order in their march.* 986. *their testudo against shot.* 989. *the peoples voyces are bought and sold.* 772. *the valiantnesse of 20. souldiers.* 614, 615. *many slayne at Crassus death.* 616. *their armie led by foure Captaines.* 627. *the Counsellers enuie Lucullus.* 554. *their vvisedome in rewarding seruice done.* 679. *their Empire whereto likened.* 1106. *the hope of giftes destroyed it.* 1107. *they sold citizens heades.* 1118. *their constancie in extremities.* 1141. *their victories against Annibal.* 1143
Romulus birth. 21. *his nurce.* 22. *signes at his birth.* 27. *he vvas a godly man.* 25. *he instituteth a common wealth.* 27. *his triumph.* 30. *he is hit on the head.* 32. *his pallace, he taketh Fidnea.* 34. *he instituteth Nuns and holy fire.* 35. *his lawes. ibid. his valiantnes, he made peace with the Veians, his gard.* 37. *he conuerted the kingdome of Alba to a common wealth, he vanisheth away, diuers opinions of his death, he appeareth to Iulius Procunsul.* 38. *his oracle to Proculus, he is called Quirinus and honored for a god, vvhy he is so called.* 39. *his age and raigne.* 40. *he is preferred before Theseus, his loue to his kinne.* 42. *his rauishment of vvomen, is excused, he is more acceptable to the gods then Theseus.* 43. *his death, he agreeth with Dionysius.* 67. *his Augur staffe vnburnt.* 359
Ruminalis. 22. *Rumilia the goddesse.* 22
Ryntases a bird that hath no excrements. 1020

S

Sabynes what they were. 29, *their women were rauished.* 28. *their wordes.* 33. *their fight with Romulus.* 32. *their parley.* 33. *peace concluded. ibid. they obey Romulus.* 36. *and vse the Romaines monethes.* 34
Salij Priests. 74, 75
Saturnes feastes and customes. 83
Salius a Captaine. 270
Salamina yeeldeth to Demetrius 947. *striue about it.* 91. *it is wonne.* *ibidem*
Samena a ship. 128
Samians are inuaded. 180. *and ouercome.* 181, 182
Sacrifices of ouation and quiet triumphe. 340. *they differ at Sparta and Syracusa.* 340
Sappho describeth the tokens of a louer. 959
Sardis the chiefe citty of Lydia. 477, 642, 656
Sabacon, put off the Senate. 448
Saluenius a souldier. [redacted]
Satyre taken sleeping. 514
Sciron a notable robber throwne downe the rockes by Theseus. 5
Scopaes goods all in toyes. 381
Scythians their customs in drunkennesse. 949
Scipio Nasica & Fabius Maximus take the streights. 266. *they are against Cato to destroy Carthage.* 385
Scipio the father hurt by Annibal. 1134. *he vvas saued by his sonne.* 1135. *he and Sempronius vvere Consuls. ibid. he vvarreth vvith Carthage, his victorie of them.* 1149
Scipio African, he is sent against Annibal. 1133. *he meeteth vvith Annibal at Ephesus.* 1151. *his first souldierfare.* 1154. *he rescueth his father, honours done to him being verie young, he vvas Viceconsull at 24. yeares of age, his great mind and goodlie personage, his iourney into Spayne.* 1155. *he besieged new Carthage, and wanne it, his great chastitie.* 1156. *his liberalitie to his enemies, he is called*

king by the Spaniardes. 1157. the souldiers rebell in his sickneſſe, his wiſedome ſuppreſſing his anger, his wiſedome in punishing offenders, his care of his countreymen. 1159. he put the authours of rebellion to death, he had a maieſticall perſonage, his noble deeds, his returne from Spayne. 1160. he prepared his armie and nauie in 45. dayes, his policie in Sicilia. 1161. he is accuſed, his nature. 1162. his craft. 1163. his great continencie, his battell at Zama, and victorie of the Carthaginians. 1165. he burneth the Carthaginians ſhippes and returneth to Rome, his triumph, he is choſen Cenſor with Ælius Petus, he is Prince of the Senate, he and Sempronius are choſen Conſuls. 1166. his craftie counſell, his loue to his brother L. Scipio, his loue to his country. 1167. the laſt good day of the Africans, his voluntary baniſhment from Rome. 1169. his accuſation, and diuers opinions about it. 1169. his wife and childrē, his death, his ſtatues, his Epitaph, his age. 1170, 878. he deſpiſed Catoes counſell. 835. his deedes in Africk. 206. he was ſonne to P. Æmilius. 262. his clemencie commended, his talke with Annibal. 419. his iudgement of Marius. 448. his ſentence of T. Gracchus death. 874. he was very valiant. 273

Seruice rewarded. 116

Sempronius, his valiantneſſe in diſcharge of his oath to the Emperour: his death. 1118

Senate houſe: the maieſtie of it. 439. their decree againſt Antonius being dead. 936. they ſware by the name of Otho. 1118

Seleucia a citie. 556

Seleucus Cleopatraes treaſurer. 1007

Seleucus requireth Stratonice Demetrius daughter in marriage. 955. he marrieth her. 956. his ſtrife with Demetrius. ibid. his loue to his ſonne. 959

Selfe will hurteth. 243

Sextus Pompeius, his taunts to Antonius: he refuſed great offers to keepe his faith. 983

Sextilius ſlue Mithrobarzanes. 558

Serulia Brutus mother 1053 & Catos ſiſter. 1054

Secundus the Orator ſecretarie to Otho. 1124

Sena a citie. 1148

Sertorius, his parentage, his praiſe, his eloquence, his firſt ſouldierfare vnder Marius: he is made Colonell. 622. his ſtratageme: he is treaſurer of Gaule: he loſt one of his eyes: his malice to Sylla: he taketh part with Cinna: he diſſwadeth Cinna to receiue Marius. 623. his temperance: he ſlue Marius guard: his iourney into Spayne. 624. his curteſie to the Spaniards: he flyeth into Affricke. 625. he wan the citie Tingis: he is ſent for to be the Luſitanians captaine: his qualities, his bountie & clemency. 626 his fayned lye of the hind: his armie: his victories. 627. his warlike vertues: he finely deceiued Metellus. 629. he ouerthrew Aquinus: he taught the Spaniards the Romanes maner: his ſubtill pollicie. 629. he taught his men the benefite of time: his deuice againſt the barbarous people. 630. his deedes againſt Pompey: he beſiegeth Lauron: his ſaying of a Captaine: he burnt Lauron. 631. he was inuincible: his battell with Pompey: he mocked Pompey. 632 he ſlue Pompeys Lieutenaunt, he beſieged Pompey. 633. his noble mind, his loue to his countrey, his loue to his mother. 634. his noble aunſwere to Mithridates, his worthy ſaying, his league vvith Mithridates, he ſlue the Spaniardes ſonnes. 635. his modeſtie at his table, he is murthered. 636. his valiantneſſe in Spayne. 681. he wanne Lauron in Pompeys ſight. 681. his battell with Pompey. 682

Sicambri people of Germanie. 769

Sicyonians common wealth turned to tyrāny. 1082. their pictures paſſed all Greece. 1086

Simis Ptiocamtes a cruell murtherer ſlaine. 5

Sicilians enterpriſe. 179. their miſerie. 294

Sibylles bookes. 192

Similitude of a picture drawing. 526

Sheepe fed vvith fiſh. 753

Sleene a fiſh. 29

Slaues made free in the field. 509

Smalage an ill ſigne. 295. garlands of it. 296

Solois in loue with Antiopa. 14

Solois fl. ibid.

Soule eternall. 39. Heraclitus opinion of it. ibid.

Sophiſters begun. 124

Souldier his propertie. 238. their teſtaments. 239

Socrates his loue to Alcibiades. 211. he ſaueth him. 213. his diuination. 219. he was not poore. 349. he is praiſed. 373. his patience. 382

Sochares Decelean thwarteth Miltiades requeſt. 529

Soſis practiſeth rebellion againſt Dion. 1043. he is cōdemned to death. ibid.

Sophene a countrey. 557

Sophonisba king Syphax wife. 1163. ſhe poyſoneth her ſelfe. 1165

Solons linage. 86. his friendſhip with Piſiſtratus. ibid. his ſtatute for bondmen: he was in his youth a marchant: his iudgement of riches. 87. how he vſed his poetrie: In what philoſophie he delighted. 88. his meeting with Anacharſis: his talke with Thales about mariage and children. 89. he fayned madneſſe to recouer Salamina. 90. he winneth it. 91. his ſtratageme. 90. he defendeth the cauſe of the temple at Delphes. 92. his equitie: he remedieth debt and vſurie. 95. he is choſen reformer of the lawes. 93. he refuſeth to be a tyrant. 94. his abſolute authority: he tooke away all Dracons lawes: he rateth his citizens. 96. other lawes. 97. 98. 99. 100. 105. his trauell: he ſaw Cræſus in Sardis. 102. his opinion of happineſſe: his anſwer to Æſope. 103. his returne to Athens: he reproueth Theſpis for lying. 104. his libertie and conſtancie. 105. his tables for his lawes 101. He inſtituted praiſes for the dead. 112. he is compared with Publicola. 120

Sparta: their nurces. 55. no adulterie there. ibid. it flouriſhed fiftie yeares. 64. Riches brought into it againe. ibid. Their ſouldiers obedience to death. 361 their womens courage. 441. 442. How they make their ſlaues drunke. 940. Their ambaſſadors plaine anſwer to Demetrius. 961. The fortitude and conſtancie both of their men and women, and their puniſhment for cowardly ſouldiers. 667. They ſend ambaſſadors to Athens. 582. diuerſe temples there. 854

Spitefull men. 319
Spolia opima. 30. *who offered them.* 331
Sperchius fl. 18
Springs how they come. 267
Sphragitides nymphes. 356
Speech wherein the excellencie of it consisteth. 793
Sphodrias practise to take the hauen of Pirea: he is accused of treason: he is saued from death. 664
Spartacus his warre. 600. *his wit and behauiour. ibid. his victorie of Varinus.* 601. *the valiantnesse of his souldiers: he retireth.* 602. *his valiantnesse: his death.* 603
Spharus a philosopher. 851
Splene a remedie for it. 888
Spaniards, their loue to Sertorius: their deuotion. 629 *they conspire against Annibal.* 1131. *their opinion in old time.* 449
Stratonice Mithridates chiefe concubine. 692
Statilius a follower of Cato. 839
Stoickes opinion, a wise man is euer rich. 924
Stilpo the Philosopher his sayings to Demetrius. 944
Stratocles his boldnesse, 945. *and cruell saying. ibid.*
Statyra Artaxerxes wife. 1013. *She is poisoned.* 1020
Statyra Alexanders wife slaine by Roxane. 758
Statyra Darius wife dieth in trauell: her buriall. 733
Stasicrates an image maker. 756
Stratagemes, whom they most deceiue. 672
Strato Brutus familiar friend: 1077. *he is receiued into Cæsars fauour.* 1078
Sthenis his statue. 556. *his bold speech.* 678
Starres that fall. 482
Statues of Mercurie. 529
Sulpitius his guard: his boldnesse: 467. *his wickednesse: his sedition with Marius made the lawe to cease for a time.* 501. *His death.* 502
Superfluitie counted riches. 381
Sunne eclipsed. 187. 323
Sutrium a citie taken. 161
Surena Arsaces lieutenant sent against Crassus. 609. *his personage described: his stratageme to hide his armie.* 610. *Another.* 614. *Another: his craftie speech to Crassus.* 615. 616. *His armie is described: his triumph of Crassus.* 617. *his death.* 618
Swessa the tower of Bathes. 1138
Sylla his dissention with Marius. 466. 497. *His kinred:* 495. *his honestie reproued: his stature: the signification of his name: his scoffing: his voluptuousnesse: he is made Quæstor.* 452. 496. *His noble deeds vnder Marius, and vnder Catulus.* 497. *he is chosen Prætor: he is accused of extortion.* 498. *he attributeth all his successe to fortune: his beliefe in dreames: his strange sight, and conditions.* 499. *he is chosen Consull: his wiues.* 500. *He marcheth towards Rome: his vision: he setteth the Romanes houses on fire.* 502. *he goeth against Mithridates.* 503. *he besiegeth Athens, and spoileth the temples.* 504. *he was the first that gaue too much libertie to his souldiers: he taketh Athens.* 505. *he burnt Philoes armorie: he meeteth with Hortensius.* 506. *he is straight to his souldiers: he sendeth to ayd Cheronea.* 507. *he ordereth his battell: he driueth away Archelaus aide.* 508. *his conflict with Archelaus: his victorie of Mithridates.* 509. *his words to animate his souldiers: his victorie at Orchomene and Cheronæa: his parle with Archelaus.* 511. *They conclude peace.* 512. *he meeteth Mithridates: his stoutnesse.* 512. *his answer to Mithridates: he was hardly intreated in Asia: he went to the bathes to helpe the goute.* 513. *he fought against fifteene Generals: his returne into Italie: he ouerthrew Norbanus and Marius: his victorie foreshewed by a slaue.* 514. *his policie with Scipio: he wan fortie ensignes from Scipio: his vision in his dreame.* 515. *he is in great danger.* 516. *he fled. ibid. he slue sixe thousand against the law of armes: his honor changed his conditions: he committeth infinit murthers: his proscription of outlawes.* 517. *he murthered* 1200 *in Prænestе: he was chosen Dictator.* 518. *his triumph: his twinnes: he leaueth his Dictatorship: he feasted the people: he breaketh his owne lawes.* 519 *he maried Valeria: his impostume turned to lice: his commentaries vpon twelue bookes: his dead son appeared to him: his death and funerals.* 520. *his Epitaph.* 521. *he is compared with Lysander. ibid. his licentious life and tyrannie.* 522. *he was more warlike than Lysander: he ouercame the greatest men.* 523. *his note for dreames.* 556. *he fell from the loue of Pompey.* 680. *his loue to Cato a boy.* 810. *his souldiers conspired with Catsline.* 918
Syllanus Consull with Murena. 918. *his sentence of the conspirators.* 921
Synaldus Captaine of Minoa. 1038
Syrians why so called. 556
Syphax king of the Masesyliens. 1157. *he maketh league with the Romanes.* 1158. *he reuolteth from the Romanes.* 1162. *he is ouercome and taken prisoner.* 1164
Syracusans state before Timoleons time. 283. *It is replenished againe with citizens.* 294. *They accuse Marcellus.* 340. *They ouercame the Athenians by sea: they are promised victorie.* 592. *Their triumph of the Athenians.* 594. *Signes appeared to thẽ.* 1044 *Their cowardlinesse, negligence, and troubles.* 1045 *They send for Dion: their vnconstancie.* 1046. *It is burnt.* 1047. *their forwardnes against Dion.* 1048 *The Castle rendred to Dion.* 1049. *Their great oath.* 1051. *Their crueltie to Dion and his posteritie.* 1052

T

Taurus one of Minoes Captains. 8. *he is suspected with Pasiphae: he is slaine by Theseus.* 9
Taygetum mons. 536
Tarutius the mathematician calculated Romulus his nativitie. 27
Tarentum wonne by a woman. 204. *It is deliuered vp to Annibal by treason.* 1144
Tarpeia betrayeth the castle of the Sabines: She is prest to death. 31
Tatius death: 36 *his pallace:* 34 *he besiegeth Rome.* 31
Tatia Numaes wife. 68

Tarquinius Superbus. 107. His ambassades. 108. His field consecrated to Mars. 111. He warreth with the Romanes. ibid. He ouercommeth them. 112
Taxilles armie how great. 506
Telesso why song at mariages. 675
Tagus fl. 630. 1131
Taxiles his talke with Alexander. 749
Tale-bearers their subtiltie. 1051
Taxiles perswadeth Tigranes not to fight with the Romanes. 559
Taurinus the valley. 1134
Tarentum deliuered vp to Annibal by treason. 1144
Termerus euill. 6
Teutons armie in Italie. 452. They fall vpon Marius: their campe. 457
Terentius Varro his rashnesse: he was Consull vvith Paulus Æmilius. 198. His campe. 199
Tempests in the face of the Carthaginians. 297
Teleusias Agesilaus halfe brother made General. 660
Themistocles: his towardnesse. 123. His schoolemaisters. 124. His youth. ibid. His grudge to Aristides. ibid. His ambitiō. ibid. 125. He maketh galleys to go to sea. ibidem. He is a good husband. ibid. He is Generall against Xerxes. 126. His stratagem. 127. His stratageme at Salamina. 130. Another. 132. His honor. 132. His ambition noted. ibid. His sayings. 132. 133. His subtiltie. ibid. His gods. 134. He is banished for fiue yeares, 135. and suspected of treason. 136. He fled into Corphu. ibid. His dreame. 137. He is conueyed to the king of Persiaes Court. ibid. His talke with the king. 138. He is honored by the king. 139. The reuenue of 3 cities allowed for his diet. ibid. He escaped murder by a dreame. 140. His loue to his countrey. 140. His death. ibid. His children, tombe, and honor after his death. 141. 418. The cause of his willing death. 538. His, & Catoes vertues. 619. His enemies in the cōmon wealth: his words of partialitie. 350. His couetousnesse. 351. He enuieth Aristides. 353. His wicked deuice. 364
Theseus like Romulus. 2. His linage. ibid. Why so called. ibid. He killeth the Pallantides. 7. His maner of shauing. 3. He goeth with the tribute children into Crete. 6. 8. His returne. 9. 10. He is sayd to be Neptunes sonne. 3. His youth. ibid. He taketh the bull of Marathon. 7. He followeth Hercules. 4. They are kinsemen. ibid. They meete. 16. He carieth Periphetes club. 5. His conquest in Creta. 10. He hagate Menalippe of Perigouna. 5. He returneth into Delos. 11. The white saile forgot. ibid. His dance. 11. His iourney into Mare maior. 14. He brought the Athenians into one citie. 12. He resigneth his kingdome, 13 and maketh degrees of men in it. ibid. His battell with the Amazones. 15. Peace concluded. ibid. His mariage: his battels. 16. He is detected of oblusion, 42, and for his rauishing of women. 43. His mariages caused troubles. 43. He goeth to steale Proserpina. 17. He is close prisoner, ibid. but delinered by Hercules. 18. He fled from Athens, 19. he was slaine by Lycomedes, ibid. his bones brought to Athens: his tombe, ibid. his sonnes. ibi.
Thesea. 3. He slue the Minotaure. 9
Thermedon what. 904
Thermodon fl. 691. alias Hæmon fl. 15
Thestaes noble answer to Dionysius. 1038
Thais the harlot, her boldnesse. 738
Thapsacus a citie. 753
Theophanes Lesbian perswadeth Pompey to go into Egypt. 711
Theryction his oration to Cleomenes touching death. 863
Thebe Alexanders wife. 321
Thetis the oracle. 21
Thales Milesius the Philosopher was a marchant. 87
Thales a harper. 46
Thesmothetes. 101
Thespis a maker of tragedies. 104
Thessalians oration to the Thebans. 325
Theodotus Rhetoritian king Ptolomies schoolemaister: his iudgement of a Soothsayer. 180. 425. he perswadeth the Egyptians to kill Pompey. 712. he is put to death. 1068
Thargelia a curtisan. 180
Theopompus vvordes of the Lacedæmonians. 483
Thermopyles the streight. 506
Thracians their braue armour. 507
Thurium mons. 505
Thuscans destructiō was lack of iustice. 149. their power, ibid. their craft. 163. they were destroyed by Annibal. 191. their opinon of eight vvorldes. 500
Thucidides vvas aduersary to Pericles. 171, 173. he is banished. 176. his linage. 526. his prayse. 575
Thrasibulus a man of a very bigge voyce. 226
Thensa reliques of Rome. 249
Thebans, libertie restored. 311. their exercise in armes, their victorie against the Lacedæmonians. 313. they resigned their offices yearely. 318. their ingratitude to Pelopidas and Epaminondas. ibid. they reuenge Pelopidas death. 325. their treason against Athens. 360. an edict in fauour of their banished men. 492. they yeeld to Demetrius. 960. their departure out of Laconia. 668
Timoleon, his parentage, how he became generall, he saued his brothers life. 284. his voyage into Sicile. 286. he is craftier then the Carthaginians. 287. he landeth at Tauromenion. 288. he ouerthrew Icetes, and the Adranians. 289. he subdueth the Carthaginians. 297. his prosperitie. 291. he winneth Syracusa. 293. he altereth the state. 294. his armie against Carthage. 295. he setteth vpon the Carthaginians, his order of battell, his bigge voyce. 296. he banisheth the traytours, strife among his Captaines, it is pacified, he putteth Icetes and his sonne to death, he maketh peace vvith the Carthaginians. 299. he quieteth Sicile, his fame, he attributeth his good successe to fortune, he dwelt still in Syracusa. 300. his accusers, his prayse, he lost his sight, a law made to honour him. 301. his death, funerals, and tombe, a decree in memorie of him. 301. he is compared vvith Æmylius. 303
T. Gracchus the father, his worthines, he maried Cornelia Scipio Africans daughter, his loue to her. 864

Verres Quaestor is made Augur: he maried Clodius daughter. 803. his first souldierfare: he is chosen Quaestor. he made peace with the Numantines. 866 he preferred the lawe Agraria: he is chosen Iudge. 869. 870. 1169. his counsellers to preferre the lawe Agraria: his orations: his modest contention with Octauius. 865. he deposed Octauius from his Tribuneship. 869. the law for deuiding Attalus money. 870. his oration touching the authoritie of the Tribune. 871. Other lawes made by him: vnluckie signes of him. 872. he & his friends slaine. 873

Tindarides warre with the Athenians. 17. they are honoured as Gods. 18

Tibris fl. 20

Tibora a citie. 506

Titus Lartius a valiant man. 238

Timophanes Timoleons brother made captaine of the Athenians: his crueltie: his death procured by his brother. 285

Timeus follies: he reproueth Plato and Aristotle. 575

Tigranocerta built by Tigranes. 558

Tigranes pride and power. 555. he maried Mithridates daughter. 549. his meeting with Mithridates. 555. he slue the messenger of Lucullus approch: he sent Mithrobarzanes against Lucullus. 558. his proud wordes: his armie. 559. his flight. 561. he yeldeth himselfe to Pompey. 574. and layeth his diademe at his feete. 690. his sonne was prisoner. 691

Timoclea of Thebes: her noble act. 723

Titius and Plancus yeeld to Cæsar. 996

Timon of Athens. 1001. his epitaph. 1002

Tisaphernes betrayeth the captaines of Greece. 1020. he is slaine. 1023

Timagoras Athenian bribed by Artaxerxes. 1022. he is put to death for it. 1023

Tiribarus a light headed man. 1013. his stratageme saued Artaxerxes armie. 1023. he incenseth Darius against his father: his maners and conditions. 1025 he is slaine. 1026

Tigurians ouerthrowne by Labienus. 767

Tiber fl. 785. wonderfully ouerflowed. 1121

Timæus and Ephorus the historiographers reproued. 1043.

Titinnius his death. 1074

Tirrannion the grammarian taken. 553

Tigris fl. 558

T. Annius a subtill questioner. 870

T. Iunius his conditions. 1110. his death. 1118

Theophrastus his praise of vertue. 842. his iudgement of Orators. 900

Tigellinus killed him selfe. 1120

Timagoras an Ambassadour put to death for taking giftes. 322

Tombes of loseng fashion. 15

Tolmides slaine in the field. 178

Tribune what it is. 818. the first beginning of it. 238

Triumph begun by Romulus. 30

Triumuirs. 1065. their meeting. 934. their proscription. 977

Treason iustly rewarded. 31. 650

Tresantas faint hearted men. 667

Trebia fl. 1135

Turpilius wrongfully died for treason. 450

Tullus Anfidius Volscian a great man. 247. he seeketh to kill Coriolanus. 256. he is slaine in battell. 257

Tynondas a tyrant. 94

V

VArro a Philosopher. 27

Valeria besieged. 147

Valiantnesse preferred before villanie. 147. it is rewarded. 240. what it is. 437. it feareth to offend the lawes. 854

Valeria a gentlewoman was desirous to be partaker of Syllaes good fortune. 509

Valeria Publicolaes sister: her speech to Volumnia. 253

Valerius and Rullus called Maximi. 679

Valerius Flaccus a graue wise man. 371

Valerius Coruinus was sixe times Consul. 464

Vacca a great citie. 450

Varius a great drinker. 976

Venus Epitragia. 9. her temple Coliad. 90

Vestall Nunnes instituted: their holy fire: their prerogatiues. 73. their ordars appointed. ibid. their punishment, their temple and burial. 74

Vertue, the power of it. 167. 792. 1170. what it signifieth. 236. the loue of it whence it springeth. 813

Veies was seuen yeares besieged. 143. it was taken by myning. 145

Verginius rufus gouernor of Gaule is called Emperour 1108. he was a famous Captaine. 1110

Velitres a colonie. 241

Vetidius his notable victorie of the Parthians. 983. only he triumphed of the Parthians: his conquests. 984

Vercingentorius Captaine of the rebels against Cæsar 770. he is ouerthrowne. 771

Vitely certaine traitors. 108

Vindicius the first bondman that was manumisſed. 110

Vindicta why so called. 111

Vicus Publicus a temple. 112

Vibius his curtesie to Crassus. 598

Vitellius a drunkard. 1124. he accepted the name of Germanicus and Emperour. 1116. his rebellion. 1121

Vindix rebelled against Nero. 1107

Vliades his rebellious act against Pausanias. 365

Volsci, their place of abode. 1133. they are ouercome. 239. they enuie Coriolanus. 253

Volumnia Coriolanus mother: her answer to the Romane Ladies. 253. her oration to her sonne. 254

Vulturnus fl. 1145

W

WAlles holy. 26. wodden walles signifie shippes. 128. 484.

Waightie matters to morrow, prou. 311

Wise men should be wise to themselues. 389. they haue bad memories. 809

Wit ought to be employed about good things. 167

Wittie answers. 668

Wisedome what it was in old time. 124

Women that be bold. 32. they are honoured. 33. their praises at funerals begun. 146. their qualities. 458

their crueltie. 462. they seeme like monsters with burganets on. 1095
Words that be good, remedie hatefull matters. 95
Wonders fayned of images. 145. 256. of vultures. 456
Wonders 274, 411, 945, in the element. 286, 482, 545. in Romania. 329. in Italie. 457. at Rome before the ciuill vvarres. 500. in Ciceroes exile. 927. a cow offered her selfe to be sacrificed. 546, 557. vvonders in sacrifices. 1101. vvonders by rayne. 1145

X

Xanthippus buried his dogge. 129, 373
Xanthus the citie burnt, and the desperate end of the Xanthians. 1067
Xerxes had a thousand ships. 230. his Admirall ibid. his bridge is broken. 132. his armie. 15 he cut through the mount Atho. 560
Xenocrates authoritie is despised of Antipater. 802
Xenophanthus a famous musitian. 77
Xenophon the Philosopher described Artaxerxes vvith Cyrus. 1014. he vvas great vvith Agesilaus. 661. his sayings. 666

Y

Yeare diuersly counted. 79

Z

Zabienus king of Gordiena. 154
Zenon Elatean. 268
Zenoes opinion of a vvise Captaine. 10
Zoylus an excellent armorer.

FINIS.